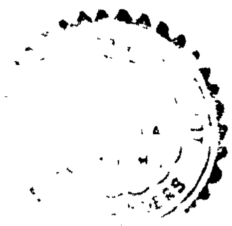


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THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, Etc., Etc.,

EDITED BY

SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A , F.S.A.,
HON. FELLOW, TRIN. HALL, CAMBRIDGE,
FORMERLY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, INDIAN ARMY,

CHARLES E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.,
FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A.,
(Hony.) Ph.D., F.A.S.B.,
HONORARY CORRESPONDENT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,

AND

Prof. DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.,
(Hony.) Ph.D., F.A.S.B.,
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Published under the authority of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

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TO
VOL. LX.—1931.



BOMBAY :

Printed and Published at the BRITISH INDIA PRESS, Mazgaon.

LONDON :

BERNARD QUARITCH, LIMITED, 11, GRAFTON STREET,
NEW BOND STREET, W.

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

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CHITOR AND ITS SIEGES.

By R. R. HALDER.

(*Continued from vol. LIX, page 239.*)

The fortress being surrounded and attacked on every side, detachments were sent out to ravage the Râṇâ's country. Rûmî Khân, one of the Sulṭân's ablest generals, displayed extraordinary skill in placing his guns and in constructing covered ways. The garrison was soon reduced to straits. The walls were shattered by the batteries on every side, and the garrison saw that the fall of the fortress was imminent. In this emergency the mother[64] of Râṇâ Sâṅgâ sent a message to the Sulṭân through her *vakîls* to the effect that if the Sulṭân would forgive the faults of the Râṇâ, several towns of the territory of Mâṇḍû, which had been in possession of the Râṇâ since the time of Maḥmûd Khalji of Mâlwâ, would be surrendered and the golden girdle and jewelled crown and cap of immense value, which had belonged to Sulṭân Maḥmûd and which were presented by him to Mahârâṇâ Sâṅgâ,[64a] would also be given to him. Besides these, one hundred lakhs of *tankas* and a hundred horses and ten elephants would be presented as tribute. The Sulṭân acceded to these proposals ; having special regard to the prayer of the Râṇâ's mother, who had saved his life by restraining the Râjpûts, by threatening to take her own life, from killing him, when in his youthful days, a fugitive from his brother Sikandar Khân, he had killed Râṇâ Sâṅgâ's nephew at a feast. So on the 24th March 1533 A.D., the Sulṭân received the promised tribute and departed from Chitor.[65]

Soon after this, when Bahâdur Shâh reached Mâṇḍû, the ambition of conquering Chitor again overcame him, and he resumed operations in 1534 A.D. He left the direction of the siege to Rûmî Khân, promising him as a stimulus that full command of the fortress, after its reduction, would be placed in his hands. But at this time discord broke out between Bahâdur Shâh and the emperor Humâyûn. The reason was this : Muḥammad Zamân Mîrzâ, who had married Humâyûn's sister, assumed a hostile attitude towards Humâyûn and was imprisoned by him at Agra. The Mîrzâ, however, managed to escape from his confinement and fled to Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât. On being requested by the emperor to hand over the fugitive, Bahâdur Shâh refused to comply. The emperor, therefore, marched with an army from Agra against the Sulṭân, proceeding towards Chitor, which was then being besieged by Bahâdur Shâh. When Humâyûn reached Gwalior, he reflected that it would be against the law of the Prophet to attack Bahâdur Shâh at a time when he was engaged in fighting against an infidel. So he halted at Gwalior to watch the course of events.

Sulṭân Bahâdur, when he was informed of the movement of Humâyûn, sent Tâtâr Khân Lodî with a large army to attack and take the city of Delhi. Tâtâr Khân was confronted by Mîrzâ Hindâl, whom Humâyûn had deputed for the purpose, and giving battle against the express order of his master Bahâdur Shâh, was defeated and killed. In the meantime the garrison of Chitor was reduced to extremities, and the Sulṭân was growing exultant, when the defeat of Tâtâr Khân came as a shock to him. Just at this time the conquest of Chitor was completed.[66] The Râṇâ Vikramâjit and his son Udayasiṁha had been conveyed to Bûndi before the fortress fell, and the command was placed in the hands of the chiefs of Mewâr, the leading man among them being Râwat Bâghasiṁha of Deolia. Thousands of Râjpûts lost their lives in this siege, while hundreds of women together with the Râṇâ's (Vikramâjit's)

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[64] This is somewhat doubtful. The likelihood is that she was the wife of Râṇâ Sâṅgâ, and mother of Vikramâditya, the then reigning prince of Chitor.

[64a] *The Bâbar-Nâmâ in English* (A. S. Beveridge), pp. 612-13.

[65] Bayley's *Gujarât*, pp. 369-72.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 374 and 381.

mother, Hâḍî Karmavatî, were reduced to ashes in the flames of *jauhar*. Thus ended the second great attack on Chitor made by Bahâdur Shâh, known as "the second *sakha* (*śâkâ*) of Chitor."[67]

After the fall of Chitor Bahâdur Shâh failed to give effect to his promise to place Rûmî Khân in command of the fortress. Enraged at this, Rûmî Khân secretly instigated Humâyûn to attack Bahâdur Shâh. Accordingly, Bahâdur Shâh was attacked and defeated by Humâyûn and was obliged to flee for his life to Mâṇḍû on the 20th Ramazân 941 A.H. (25th March 1535 A.D.) Pursued by Humâyûn's troops, he went to Châmpâner, and thence on to the port of Diu, where he met his death by drowning in a scuffle with the Portuguese on the 14th February 1537 A.D.[68] Hearing of this defeat of Bahâdur Shâh by Humâyûn and his subsequent flight to Mâṇḍû, his army at Chitor began to waver. Observing this, the Râjpûts gained fresh courage, and attacking the Muḥammadans with renewed vigour, drove them out of the place once more and took possession of Chitor. Râṇâ Vikramâjit with the infant Udayasiṁha returned to his capital from Bûndi and resumed charge of the government for a very short period.

After the death of Vikramâjit in Saṁvat 1593 (1536 A.D.), his son Udayasiṁha, fortunately saved in his childhood through the devotion of his nurse Pannâ from the murderous hand of Vaṇavîra, the bastard son of Pṛithvîrâja, one of the sons of Mahârâṇâ Râyamal, became the ruler of Mewâṛ in Saṁvat 1594 (1537 A.D.). During the reign of Udayasiṁha II (1537—72 A.D.), Chitor was subjected to two further attacks, one in 1543 A.D. by Sher Shâh, and the other—the last and most famous—by the emperor Akbar in 1567 A.D. As regards the former, it is known that in the Hijrî year 950 (1543 A.D.), Sher Shâh, after he had brought under control the districts of Mârwâṛ, advanced towards Chitor. When about 12 *kos* from the fort, the Râṇâ sent him the keys. Leaving Miyân Ahmad Sarwânî and Ḥusain Khân Khaljî there, Sher Shâh himself proceeded towards Kachwâṛâ.[69] The latter siege, which was the fourth great attack on Chitor, was made by Akbar in the year 1567 A.D.

The ultimate object of this attack was the same as had prompted 'Alâu'd-dîn Khaljî of Delhi and Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât to make their onsets on the place. The immediate cause of the attack, however, was the offering of protection by the Râṇâ, Udayasiṁha, to Bâz Bahâdur, the fugitive ruler of Mâlwâ, and to an insubordinate chief of Narwar.[70] An interesting account[71] of this invasion, as given in *Târîkh-i-Alfî* and *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*, is quoted below :—

"Many *zamîndârs* and *râjâs* of Hindûstân had become subjects of the imperial throne. But Rânâ Udî Singh [Udayasiṁha], Râjâ of Mârwâṛ [*scil.* Mewâṛ], confident in the strength of his fortresses, and the number of his men and elephants, had thrown off his allegiance. Now that the emperor had returned to the capital with his mind at rest in respect of 'Alî Qulî Khân and other rebels, he turned his attention towards the capture of Chitor. He accordingly began to make preparations for the campaign. . . . . .[72]

"When the emperor marched from Gâgrûn against the Râṇâ, he had only 3,000 or 4,000 horsemen with him, for he hoped that the smallness of the force might induce the infidel to try the event of a battle. But the Râṇâ knew his own strength, and while the emperor was at 100 *kos* distance from his country, he fled with his family to the distant hills. He felt at ease about Chitor, because the emperor's force had but little siege apparatus, and it did not

[67] Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 364

[68] Bayley's *Gujarât*, pp. 383-397.

[69] Elliot, *History of India*, vol. IV, p. 406. Chitor is said to have been taken by Sher Shâh in Qanungo's, *Sher Shâh*, p. 332, and Burgess' *Chronology*, p. 29.

[70] V. A. Smith's *Akbar*, p. 81.

[71] The account given in *Storia do Mogor*, vol. I, p. 124 f., about the assault on Chitor by Akbar is unique. It is composed of three elements :—(1) The story of 'Alâu'd-dîn's attack on Chitor, (2) Bahâdur Shâh's attack, and (3) Akbar's siege. In the 'Alâu'd-dîn's attack on Chitor described above, Gorâ and Bâdal, the two relations of Padminî, according to Col. Tod, do not, however, seem to be two different persons, but only one, *viz.*, Bâdal of the Gaura Kshatriya family which reigned in Râjputânâ as early as the fifth century A.D., and existed there up to the fifteenth century A.D. The word 'Gorâ' stands for Gaura.

[72] Elliot, *History of India*, vol. V, pp. 324-25.

seem likely that he would attempt to reduce the place. But the fort was set in order, great quantities of provisions were stored, and the garrison consisted of 8,000 veterans, including the Râṇâ's own men, with their wives and families. When the emperor entered the Râṇâ's territory and was informed of his flight, he wished to pursue him, but he ascertained that the Râṇâ had gone to a place far in the hills and jungles, which it was impossible to reach. So the emperor determined to attack Chitor, which is an exceedingly strong fortress. When he came near the fort, the rains were so heavy, that for a time the fort was invisible; but as the weather cleared, he got a view of the place. The fortress is situated in the midst of a level plain, which has no other eminences. The circuit of this mountain at its base is six *kos*, and the ground upon which the walls of the fort stand is nearly three *kos*. Upon the top of the hill there is a fountain, but not content with that, the constructors of the fort formed large reservoirs of stone and mortar, which get filled in the rainy season. So with these supplies the garrison are never short of water. The eastern side of the fort, and towards the north, is faced with hard stone, and the garrison felt quite secure as to that portion. On the other sides if guns (*top*), swivels (*zarb-zan*), catapults (*sang-r'ad*), and *manjaniks* are able to reach the fortress, they cannot do so much harm. Travellers do not speak of any fortress like this in the whole habitable world. At this time, all the space of three *kos* at the top of the mountain was full, and the houses of the people rose several storeys over each other. Great numbers of men guarded the battlements at the top of the walls, and great quantities of ammunition were stored in the fortress. His Majesty carefully reconnoitred the place on every side, and saw that it would not fall without a long siege. When the garrison perceived the small number of men with the emperor, and thought of their fortress being six *kos* in circumference, they uttered cries of derision. The batteries were apportioned out among the *amîrs*, and *bakhshîs* were appointed and sent to those *amîrs* who had not yet come up. Every day some one arrived and went to his battery, so that in a short time the whole fort was invested.

"Âṣaf Khân went under orders to take Râmpur. He took the place and having plundered and ravaged the country, he returned victorious. Ḥusain Qulî Khân went to attack Udipur, the capital of the Râṇâ and of his ancestors. He ravaged the country with fire and sword, and returned bringing great spoil and numerous prisoners from the fastnesses of the mountains.

"From day to day the brave assailants carried their attacks closer to the fort on every side, and a great number of them suffered martyrdom, for the fort was very strong, and made a most excellent defence. Orders were given for digging ditches and for constructing *sâbâṭs*, and nearly 5,000 builders, carpenters, stone-masons, smiths, and sappers were collected from all parts. *Sâbâṭs* are contrivances peculiar to Hindûstân; for the strong forts of that country are replete with guns, muskets, and warlike apparatus, and can only be taken by means of *sâbâṭs*. A *sâbâṭ* is a broad (covered) way, under the shelter of which the assailants approach a fortress secure from the fire of guns and muskets. Two *sâbâṭs* were accordingly begun. The one which was opposite the royal quarters was so broad that two elephants and two horses could easily pass along it, and so high that an elephant rider could carry his spear. The *sâbâṭs* were commenced from the middle of the hill, which is a fortress upon a fortress. The people of the fort had never seen a *sâbâṭ*, and were puzzled, but they endeavoured to stop the work. Seven or eight thousand horsemen and numerous gunners exerted themselves to the utmost in attacking them. And although the *sâbâṭs* had thick roofs of cow and buffalo hides to protect the workmen, no day passed without a hundred men more or less being killed. The bodies of the slain were used instead of stones and bricks. His Majesty's kindness and justice would not allow any man to be pressed for the work, but heaps of *rupees* and *dâms* were scattered as hire, and each man went to work for what he could get. In a short time one *sâbâṭ* reached the walls, and was so high that it overlooked them. On the top of it a seat was constructed for the emperor, from which he could see at his ease the efforts of his warriors, and from which he could also take a part in the fight if so minded. While the men of the garrison were endeavouring to interrupt the progress of the *sâbâṭs*, the sappers formed

several mines under the walls, and wherever stones were met with, the stone-masons opened a way through with their iron tools. Two bastions in front of the royal battery were completely undermined, and, according to order, both mines were filled with gunpowder. Three or four hundred brave men of the imperial army were posted ready armed near these bastions, to rush in as soon as the explosion took place, before the defenders could rally to resist them. Both mines were fired, and one which took effect blew the bastion from its foundations into the air, and every stone fell at a distance. A great breach was visible, and the storming party instantly rushed forward shouting their war-cry. A strong party of the garrison came forward to oppose them, and while the contest was at the hottest, and a great number of the faithful and of the infidels were struggling upon the other bastion, the mine exploded, and blew friend and foe together into the air, scattering their limbs in all directions. The quantity of gunpowder used was so enormous that stones of fifty and a hundred *mans* were hurled to the distance of two and three *kos*. Many corpses were also found within a radius of two *kos*. Saiyid Jamâlu'd-dîn and . . . other braves of the imperial army perished. Vast numbers of the garrison were killed. The vast quantities of dust and smoke prevented all movement in the imperial army for a time : stones, corpses, and limbs fell from the air, and the eyes of the soldiers were injured. The enemy, concealing their loss, showed a brave front. When the emperor perceived the state of affairs, he exerted himself more strenuously to take the place. He ordered the *sâbâṭ* in front of Shujâ'at Khân's battery to be pushed forward. The garrison was sore distressed, and ready to succumb, but no one had the courage to propose surrender to the emperor. For he had determined that he would capture by storm this the strongest fortress of Hindûstân, so that in future no other fortress should dare to resist the imperial army. He took his position on the top of the *sâbâṭ*, and his brave soldiers kept up such a discharge from their bows and muskets that no one could escape from the place. His Majesty also had his own musket, deadly as the darts of fate, with which he killed every moving thing that caught his eye. On the 5th Sha'bân, 975 (A.D. 4th Feb., 1568) the assault was made by the emperor's command. The walls had been breached in several places, and the signs of victory were in favour of the assailants. Jaimal,[73] the commandant of the fortress, an infidel yet valiant, all day long struggled bravely in every part, inciting his men to fight and resist. At the time of evening prayer he came in front of the royal battery, where His Majesty, holding his musket, discharged it as often as light blazed out in the bastion. It so often happened that Jaimal was standing in that tower when His Majesty discharged his piece into a lighted place. The ball struck Jaimal in the forehead and killed him on the spot. When the men of the garrison saw their leader fall, they felt that all further resistance was useless ; they gave up fighting, and after first burning the body of Jaimal, they performed the *jauhar* at their own homes. *Jauhar* is the name of a rite among the Hindus. When they know for certain that there is no escape, they collect their wives and children, goods and chattels, heap firewood around the pile, and fire it with their own hands. After the burning is accomplished, they rush into the fight, and give themselves over to death. This they esteem a great act of devotion. The great flames of the *jauhar* and the lull of the conflict on the bastions and walls showed the assailants that the garrison was reduced to extremity, so they began to make their way into the place in parties. Some of the boldest of the infidels, who had no wives and families, stood to their posts resolved to sell their lives. The emperor witnessed the prowess of his warriors from the top of the *sâbâṭ*. Under his orders three elephants were taken through the breach into the city, and one of them named Madkar on that day killed many infidels, and although he received many wounds, never turned tail. The second elephant named Jagna was surrounded by infidels, and died of the numerous wounds he received from spears and swords. In the last watch of the night the assailants forced their way into the fortress in several places, and fell to slaughtering and plundering. At early dawn the emperor went in mounted on an elephant, attended by his nobles and chiefs on foot. The order was given for

73 In *Memoirs of Jahângîr* (Rogers and Beveridge), vol. I, p. 45, Jaimal is misnamed Jitmal.

a general massacre of the infidels as a punishment. The number of fighting men in the fortress exceeded 8,000. Some of them repaired to the idol temple, and there fought to the last. In every street and lane and *bâzâr* there was desperate fighting. Every now and then a band of infidels, having thrown away all hope of life, would rush from the temple with swords and shields towards their own homes, and so were the more easily despatched by the warriors they encountered. By midday, nearly 2,000 had been slain. Under the favour of heaven, Zarb 'Alî Tawâchî was the only person of note in the imperial army, who was killed, which was a very marvellous fact. Those of the fortress who escaped the sword—men and women—were made prisoners, and their property came into the hands of the Musalmâns. The place being cleared of infidels, His Majesty remained there three days, and then departed, leaving the government of the country in the hands of Âṣaf Khân."[74]

From the above account we see how Chitor was conquered by the emperor Akbar in 975 A.H. (1567 A.D.), though there is, no doubt, a certain amount of exaggeration, as is usually the case with the historians. The fact is that the garrison was reduced to extremities not only by the death of its leader Jayamal, but also by scarcity of food. The two Râjpût leaders, Jayamal and Pattâ, the ancestors of the present rulers of the Badnor and Âmet estates in Mewâṛ, respectively, died a hero's death after showing extraordinary bravery, in appreciation of which Akbar caused statues of Jayamal and Pattâ seated on two large elephants of stone to be placed at either side of one of the principal gates of the fort of Delhi.[75] This was the last great attack on the fortress.

(*To be continued.*)

SIDI ALI SHELEBI IN INDIA, 1554-1556 A.D.

BY C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I., I.C.S. (*Retired*)

(*Continued from vol. LIX, page* 241.)

Sidî 'Alî had arrived in Sind just at the close of the long reign of Mîrzâ Shâh Ḥusain (Arghûn). The old king, now infirm both mentally and bodily, had fallen under the influence of favourites of low origin. The insolent behaviour of these persons when thrust into high appointments had disgusted and exasperated the high-born and proud Arghûns and Tarkhâns.[38] Dissatisfaction culminated in revolt, Mîrzâ Muḥammad 'Îsá Tarkhân, governor of Tatta, being chosen to lead the movement. The senile king, who had made Bukkur his headquarters, was then on his way down the Indus with his army and fleet to quell the rebellion. Sîdî 'Alî gives a very brief account of the political situation, in the details of which he is fully borne out by the Muḥammadan historians. When Mîrzâ Ḥusain heard of the arrival of the Turks, he at once sent an envoy with assurances of goodwill. Subsequently Sîdî 'Alî had an audience, was presented with robes of honour and was offered (the governorship of) Bandar Lâhorî,[39] "otherwise Dîûlî Sind." In declining this offer he asked that he might be permitted to proceed. Firmly, though politely, the king replied that he must await the successful

74 Elliot, *History of India*, vol. V, pp. 169-175. See also *Akbarnâma* (English translation by H. Beveridge), vol. II, p. 466 f.

75 Bernier's *Travels* (Constable and Smith), pp. 256-57.

38 For the Arghûns and Tarkhâns, see *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, Blochmann's trans., vol. I, pp. 361-62.

39 Diez gives لاهوری and دیولی سند as the spelling found in the MS. used by him. The mention of a place known in 1555 as Bandar Lâhorî "otherwise called Dîûlî Sind" is of importance in connexion with the identification of the site, or sites, occupied by places of these names, which occur so often in the old records, but which up to date have never been satisfactorily located. It is interesting to know that in the middle of the sixteenth century both names were applied to the same port. The original name would appear to have been Lâhorî Bandar, sometimes called simply Lâhorî. Ibn Baṭûṭa, who spent five days there more than two centuries earlier (*circa* 1333-34), calls it Lâharî, "a fine place situated on the shore of the ocean, near which the river of Sind (i.e., the Indus) falls into the sea." It seems probable that the name Dîûlî Sind was given to this port by the Portuguese during their early intercourse with western India, a name that was also used by the English traders at the beginning of the seventeenth century, who sometimes referred to this port of Sind as Dîûlî Sind and sometimes as Larre Bunder, etc. (various spellings, representing Lâhorî Bandar) meaning apparently one and the same place, the *then port* of Sind.

termination of the war. It appears from a passage later on that the services of Sîdî 'Alî and his companions were enlisted by Shâh Ḥusain, and that they actually took part in the siege of Tatta. One interesting item of information is given in this connexion, namely, that Tatta was at that time situated upon an island, which can only mean that it was surrounded by two branches of the Indus. Mîrzâ Shâh Ḥusain's forces had, we know, come down from the north. We are told that his artillery was ranged up on the bank of the river opposite the town, but the distance was so great that it could make no effect upon the defences. We may fairly conclude from this, perhaps, that what is now known as the Kâlrî channel was then (1555) a broad river, flowing round the town on the north and north-west,[40] while the Baghâr channel enclosed it on the east and south.

The war between Shâh Ḥusain and Muḥammad 'Îsá lasted about a month, when a compromise was effected (due, according to the text followed by Diez, to the intercession of our author). Sîdî 'Alî writes that in the first days of *Jumâda* I (962 A.H.) Sulṭân Maḥmûd (the governor of Bukkur, who was commanding the king's forces) returned with the troops towards Bukkur by land, while the old king himself started back by river with all the boats, but died on the third day of the voyage.[41] According to this account the death of Shâh Ḥusain must have taken place during the first half of *Jumâda* I, that is to say between the 24th March and 7th April, 1555. Ma'sûm, however, specifies Monday, the 12th *Rabî* I (corresponding with the 4th February) as the date of the king's death. The discrepancy is marked, but it may be found that our author is the more correct.[42] At all events Shâh Ḥusain was alive in the first months of 1555, and did not die in 1554, as some authors had supposed.

Sîdî 'Alî and his companions seem to have travelled with the king's fleet on the way towards Sehwân. When Shâh Ḥusain died, his body was sent back to Tatta with 50 boats. Sîdî 'Alî's party were attacked by " Chaghtâîs "—apparently marauders out for pillage, who were beaten off by gun-fire, and they then proceeded upstream, reaching Naṣrpur [43] in ten days. Here news was received that Mîrzâ Muḥammad 'Îsá and his son, Mîr Ṣâliḥ, were coming north from Tatta, in pursuit of Sulṭân Maḥmûd, and Sîdî 'Alî deemed it his best policy to turn back to meet them. He does not tell us why ; but the reason seems fairly obvious : 'Îsá was evidently the rising sun. On the third day, going downstream, they fell in with Mîr Ṣâliḥ, and again turned and came upstream with him. After another ten days they arrived at a village called Sind,[44] where Sîdî 'Alî had an interview with 'Îsá. The latter seems to have treated him generously, accepting his explanation of the part he had played on Shâh Ḥusain's side at Tatta, and letting him have seven boats, with sailors, and an official to

[40] See Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, Map III, facing p. 30 ; also p. 77, where the author suggests that the Kâlrî must have been a perennial stream in the fourteenth century, as otherwise the Sammâs would not have chosen a site on its bank for their chief town ; also p. 85, where he quotes Ma'sûm as stating that in 1519 " the bulk of the river (i.e., Indus) flowed (through the channel) to the north of Thata." It may be noted also that Walter Peyton, master of the vessel that carried Sir R. Sherley on his way back to Persia in 1613, anchored at the mouth of the Indus, and on a rough sketch map, now in the British Museum (the existence of which has been brought to my notice by Sir William Foster, C.I.E.) shows both Tatta and " Diule Sinde " as situated on the eastern, or left, bank of the " River Sinde."

[41] Jamâl, in his *Tarkhânnâma*, says Shâh Husain died on the 12th Rabi I at the village of Aliputra, 20 *kos* from Tatta. Ma'sûm (trans. Malet) says " at the village of Nalee Potruh. On the 1871 Survey sheet there is a village Haleypotra marked some 5 or 6 miles N. by E. of Tando Muhammad Khan, and about 50 miles from Tatta. This is probably the site referred to ; and this indicates the course of the river in 1555.

[42] Sîdi 'Ali left Râdhanpur on the 1st *Rabî* I (24th January 1555). It took him the best part of a month to reach Bâgh-i-Fatḥ ; then the fighting lasted about another month ; so that, according to his narrative, the death of Shâh Ḥusain must have taken place, as he states, in the first half of *Jumâda* I, and not in *Rabî* I, as Ma'sûm says.

[43] Nâṣirpûr (ناصرپور), according to Diez. This is the Nasarpur of the modern Survey sheets, 18 miles NE. by E. from Hyderabad, an ancient site and a place of much importance in and before Sîdî 'Alî's days, lying on the bank of the Indus until about the middle of the eighteenth century, when the river shifted its channel to the west and flowed close to the site on which Hyderabad was founded in 1768.

[44] I suspect this should read Sann, in the vicinity of which the boats should have arrived.

accompany him on his further journey. So Sîdî 'Alî went on to Sehwân, reaching that town in five days' time, having had daily skirmishes with the local tribes on the way. We thus get glimpses from time to time of the very disturbed condition of the country, a condition that had probably supervened since Shâh Husain had lost his vigour and power of control. Leaving Sehwân, still, it seems, travelling by boat, he passed by two places, which Diez transcribes as Patara and Derildjeh, and Vambéry as Patri and Dible,[45] before reaching Bukkur.

At Bukkur our traveller halted for more than a month, and had several interviews with Sulṭân Maḥmûd, then ruling over northern Sind, under the arrangement made between him and 'Îsá at Tatta some three months earlier in the year. Sîdî 'Alî had evidently thought of going back to Constantinople *viâ* the Bolân Pass and Qandahâr, as he tells us that Sulṭan Maḥmûd advised him that this route was not safe, and that he had better go *viâ* Lahore, warning him at the same time that he would have to be on his guard against the Jâṭs, through whose country he would have to pass. Maḥmûd not only gave him a good horse, a team of camels, a tent and a *shâmiâna* and money for his road expenses, but also provided him with an escort of 250 men mounted on camels, and gave him a letter to the emperor Humâyûn. Thus equipped, our traveller started in the middle of *Sha'bân,*[46] and going *viâ* Sulṭânpur,[47] arrived at the fortress of Mau [48] in five days. As the distance from Bukkur would be rather more than 100 miles, the rate of progress was more rapid than hitherto, due no doubt to the camel transport. With the object of avoiding the Jâṭs, the party then took the "desert"[49] route towards Ucch, but not finding wells by that way, after two days they retraced their steps to Mau, and took another route through what Vambéry describes as the "woods," and Diez as "hills," by which is probably meant the higher ground, farther from the Indus bed, which was covered with tree and grass *jangal.*[50] Here we obtain some indication of the number of Turks that Sîdî 'Alî still had with him. The Sind escort supplied by Sulṭân Maḥmûd hesitating to travel by this *jangal* route, perhaps through fear of attack by Jâṭs, he tells us that he placed ten of his gunners in the van, ten in the rear and the remainder in the middle of the caravan, managing thus to inspire the Sind men with sufficient courage to proceed. Surmounting various difficulties they reached Ucch in ten days.[51] Here they must have halted for a few days, as a visit was paid to Shaikh Ibrâhîm and pilgrimages made to the shrines of Shaikhs Jamâlî and Jalâlî.[52]

In the beginning of *Ramazân* [53] Sîdî 'Alî resumed his march and came to the Gâra river, which was crossed on rafts. At this river, the Sutlej, the Sind escort was dismissed and went back, so we may perhaps assume that the Sutlej at that formed the northern boundary of the Sind kingdom. They next crossed, by boat this time, another big river, which is named

45 The second name *possibly* represents the modern Dabro; but neither of these sites is identifiable with any degree of certainty from the maps available. The channel of the Indus between Sehwân and Bukkur at the time is unfortunately not known. If these places could be identified, it would help us to trace the channel. At any rate we can conclude from Sîdî 'Alî's narrative that in 1555 the Indus flowed past Sehwân and Naṣrpur down to Tatta.

46 *Sha'bân* 962 A.H. corresponds with 21 June to 19 July 1555, so the middle of *Sha'bân* would mean roughly the first week of July 1555. As he stayed more than a month at Bukkur, he probably arrived there at the end of June, so that more than two months had been spent on the way up from Tatta.

47 Sulṭânpur, now a small village, lies some 20 miles ENE. from Rohri.

48 This can only refer to Mau-i-Mubârak, some 10 miles N. of Naushahro railway station. For a description of the remains of the old fortress of Mau, see *I.A.*, XI, 7.

49 The *chol* or *cholistân* of the Muḥammadan historians.

50 A hundred years ago Charles Masson, who followed much the same route as our author from Rohri to Ucch, describes the thick *jangal* encountered at intervals, and how he more than once lost his way.

51 Probably inclusive of the days wasted in trying the "desert" route. The crossing of the two big rivers and the settling up with the Sind escort would also occupy much time.

52 Possibly the very Saiyid Jalâlu'd-dîn, "the most pious saint," who presented Ibn Baṭûṭa with his *khirqa*, or religious garment.

53 *Ramazân* 962 A.H. corresponds with 20 July to 18 August 1555. and as Sîdî 'Alî reached Multân on the 15th *Ramazan*, he probably left Ucch on the 24th July, or thereabouts.

the Mâchwâdî or Mâchwâra [54] in the translations. This may have been the Biâs, then flowing in its old channel by which it joined the Trinâb near Theh Kalân.

(To be continued.)

DRAVIDIC MISCELLANY.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L

(Continued from vol. LIX, page 234.)

The suffixes do not create any difficulty here ; nor does the change of the radical vowel (from *a* to *e*) offer any difficulty either : [for *bâi* or *vâi* could change into *bê* or *vê*, as in the Dravidian instances *kai* (hand), *kei* ; *śâr, śêru* ; *vai* (to place), *vei*, etc.]. The semantic connection between 'mouth' and 'speaking' is attested by ancient forms like *vây* (utterance) and *vây-viḍu* (to speak), etc.

But the initial *p* of these forms could be related to *v* of the first set of forms only if a sufficiently large number of rigorously tested analogies could be adduced. Here we are treading on delicate ground, where modern analogies are only few : but the following are tentatively suggested as shedding some light on the question. The correspondences shown below are remarkable, inasmuch as in none of them could we trace *v* or *b* from *p*, and the forms with *b* or *v* appear to be ancient and original. A very ancient change of *v*, *b* to *p*, before it could be accepted as finally proved, will have to be discussed in relation to a number of *p*– words, and then sifted and classified, so far as we can do so. Reserving this for a separate paper, I give below merely a table of correspondences which raise this question and render such a change probable :—

Tam.	Tel.	Kann.	Tuḷu.	Kûi.	Gôṇḍi	Kurukh.	Brâhûi.
viḷi (to call)	*piḷi*						
ven, pin (back) cf. *mîḷ, vîḷ-* (to return)	*ven-*	*ben, pin*	..	*vêo-*	*pijja*	*biṛdnâ* (to give back) *pisnâ* (afterwards)	
vayi (pain) Mal. *payi* (pain, hunger) ; Tam. *paśi* (hunger) Mal. *veśappu* (hunger).	..	*bayi*	..	*bis*	..	*pasnya* (hunger) *pac*	*bingun*
veḍi (fear), Mal. *pêḍi*	*beḍagu-*	..	*bódi*	..	*vari*	..	..
vaḷ- (to bend)[11]	..	*baḷ-*	..	*palga* (to bend)	..	..	..
Common Dr. base *vi-, bi-* South Dr. base *vaṛ-* (to be dry)						(Gôṇḍi) the following :— *pai* (to fry) *piat* (by day) *pio* (steam)	(Brâhûi) the following :— *pi-un* (white, bright) *pirai* (to dry up).

Cf. also the Mal. forms *piḍar* and *viḍar* (to burst), *pirakk* and *virakk* (to mix into). *paraṇḍu* and varaṇḍu (to scrape).

[54] Diez writes 'Matchiwadı (ماچوادی); Vambéry, Machvara. There are several villages of this name in the Panjâb, the best known being that near the banks of the Sutlej in the Ludhiana district, where Humayûn defeated the Afghâns in this very year (1555).

[11] Cf. also Tam.-Mal. *pāḷ-am* (strip of metal) from *vaḷ-* (to bend) : *vêḷ, pêṇ* (to desire) ; Tam. *pôle* (like) and Tel. *vale* (like), Kûvi *valle* (like) ; *vêṛ* and Tel. *per-* (other different) ; southern *pala* (many), Br. *pal* (much) and common Dravidian *val* (to be strong) in Mal. *valiya* (big), *mallan* (strong man), *mal-ai* (mountain), etc.; cf. also southern *pîḍiga* (shop, camp, halting-place) which is related to *viḍ, viḍu*.

If then we can tentatively postulate an ancient change of *v* or *b* to *p* under certain conditions (which have of course to be classified), the above-mentioned *p-* forms also will have to be considered as ultimately traceable to *vâi bâi*. The question of the change of *v*>*p* cannot, however, yet be considered as finally proved.

Further, just as Kurukh *ba'ana* (to speak) is related to *bâr-na* (to be called, to be named), the *p-* forms mentioned above also appear to be related semantically and structurally to the following forms, all of them signifying 'name':—

Tamil : *peyar*, *pêr*	Kûi : *pada*.
Telugu : *pêru*.	Kodagu : *peda*.
Kannada : *pesar*.	Brâhûî : *pin*.
Tuḷu : *pudar*.	Kurukh-Malto : *pinj* (to name).

The only changes calling for special comment in the above forms are the following :—

Tuḷu, Kûi, Kodagu *-d-* arises from *-y-* through *ś* : cf. Tuḷu *kade* (to disjoin) with Tam. Kann. *kaś-*, *kas-* (to separate), Tuḷu *bâd-* (to fight) with the base *bây* (to be hot, angry, etc.).

Tuḷu *-u-* in *pudar* is characteristic of a number of words with initial bilabials which change the immediately following vowels to *-o-* or *-u-*; cf. Tuḷu *bolli* (silver), *bûru* (to fall), *bôḍi* (fear) with the corresponding non-Tuḷu southern forms.

Gôṇḍî *par-ol* possibly shows the base *par* : but the Gôṇḍî suffix *-ol*, usually attached to masculine words, is strange in this context ; Gôṇḍi *a* of *par* corresponds to Sn. *e*, as in *parr* (to pick—cf. *pira-*, *pera-*) *kari* (ear—cf. Kann. *kivi*).

Brâhûî *-n-* in *pin* stands probably for *r* (cf. p. 32 of Sir Denys Bray's Grammar). *n* and *r* do also appear to be connected in southern forms like *pin*, *pir* (back).

III. SOUTH DRAVIDIAN *anal* AND SANSKRIT *anala*.

In a short but exceedingly interesting and thoughtful paper contributed to the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (vol. 56), Professor F. Otto Schrader (to whom all students of Dravidian should feel grateful for his unwavering interest in Dravidology) adverts to the possibilities of the relationship of the Sanskrit word *anala* (fire) and Dravidian ***kanal*** (fire), ***anal***, etc. Prof. Schrader, after giving expression to his doubts about the orthodox derivation of Sanskrit *anala* (*an*+*ala*, 'not satisfied')—especially because *ala* (satisfaction) and ***al*** (to be sufficient) appear to be invented by grammarians expressly for the purpose of explaining the origin of *anala*—observes that, as *anala* does not appear in Vedic and crops up for the first time only in the late *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (i.e., about the period of the Buddha), it would be essential to investigate whether the Sanskrit word may not have been imported from Dravidian or some other non-Âryan language of India. After dismissing the possibility of Austric (the only important non-Âryan Indian language-group other than Dravidian) having lent this word to Sanskrit, on the ground that the Austric forms for 'fire,' 'heat,' etc., known so far, bear no resemblance to the Sanskrit word, he proceeds to suggest that the Dravidian word *kanal*, after its initial *k* had been dropped off or reduced to a slight aspirate, may have been adopted in Sanskrit as *anala*. Prof. Schrader does not arrive at any definitive conclusion but observes : "Es ergibt sich also ein *non liquet*, aber doch wohl mit einer gewissen Warscheinlichkeit der Herkunft unseres Wortes aus dem Dravidischen."

Prof. Schrader's course of argument is that Skt. *anala* may have been adopted from a modified form of *kanal*, which is undoubtedly Dravidian. He places a certain amount of reliance on the theory of the disappearance of initial *k-* in Dravidian. Though there are instances, in the colloquial dialects of the South, of an original *k-* having disappeared, the theory is, as will be shown below, of extremely doubtful validity in a large number of connected ancient forms which appear with slightly different meanings, alternatively with and without initial *k-*, where we shall find that the forms with initial vowels are, so far as we can judge now, traceable to ancient bases *without k-*, from which they themselves and other independent forms have arisen. I think, therefore, that if we could demonstrate that *anal* occurring freely in south Dravidian is based on a native Dravidian root, a fair

presumption could be made out for the theory of Sanskrit having borrowed Dravidian *anal* directly.

It is the object of this paper to adduce evidence to show that *anal* is based upon a native Dravidian root and is not merely a modified form of *kanal*.

The connected series of words in Dravidian are : (i) the group formed of *anal* and its derivatives *anali, anaṭpori, anaṯṟu*, etc.; (ii) *aḻal*- group and its derivatives ; and (iii) the forms connected with the *kanal*- group. Before we advert to the relationship of *kanal* to *anal*, we shall deal with *anal* and *aḻal*.

To begin with, we may observe that the formative *-al* in *anal* and *aḻal* is purely Dravidian. Next, the question of the radical or radicals underlying these forms is best approached by examining a large group of Dravidian forms with initial *a, â, ê* or *i* occurring in Dravidian, which contain the idea of 'heat,' 'fire,' 'light,' etc.

Tamil : *êṅgu* (heat) ; *eri* (to burn) ; *endru* (the sun) ; *êṅgu* (to fade) ; *aḍ* (to cook) ; *aḻ* (to burn) ; *avidal* (to be boiled) ; *avir* (to glisten), *av-âvu* (to desire ardently), etc.

Telugu : *eṇḍa* (sunshine) ; *eṇḍu* (to heat) ; *eri* (to burn) ; *ãka* (heat) in *nikk-ãka* (continued heat)—cf. also *ãkali* (hunger), *ãkônu* (to feel hungry).

Kannaḍa : *isu* (heat) ; *ese* (to burn) ; *eri* (to burn).

Tuḷu : *eri* (glare) ; *eri* (to burn).

Kûi : *aṭa* (to boil); *âja* (cf. Tam. *âṟu=â+iṟ*, to cool down) ; *êrpa* (to kindle) ; *riva* (to burn, from *eriva*, with aphesis of initial *a*- and lengthening of medial vowel).

Gôṇḍî : *addi* (heat) ; *âṟu* (to feel heat) ; *âṟu* (to lose heat, *â+iṟ*) ; *aḍu* (to cook) ; *aṭyîr* (*aṭ+îr*, boiling water).

Kurukh : *ãc* (flame) ; *aõkh* (to be hot) ; *akhrna* (to warm oneself).

Brâhûî : *iragh* (bread ; cf. Southern *eri*, *gh* corresponding to the formative *-k, -g* of the South) ; *his* (ashes), where *h* is a characteristic Brâhûî prothetic aspirate (cf. Bray's Grammar, page 32).

An examination of these various forms would enable us to detach the final formatives[12] in most cases, which are *-r* or *-ḍ-* or *-g-*.

The common radical then would reveal itself as a vocalic root, the value of which may have been shifting from *a* to *i*.[13] As it would be risky to rest our conclusion on this alone, we shall see if we can derive support from other Dravidian forms as well.

The existence of a large number of forms (especially in Tamil) alternatively appearing with and without an initial *n*- is a remarkable phenomenon. Compare the following forms :

Tam. *aṅge, yâṅgu* (there).	Tam. *ñâṅgu* (there).
,, *aṟukku* (to cut -√*ar*).	,, *naṟukku* (to cut).
,, *amuṅgu* (to yield to pressure).	,, *ñamuṅgu*.
(Tam., Kann.—cf. Kûi *êju*) *îr* (wetness).	,, *nîr* (water).
Kann. *agi* (to smile).	,, *nagiḻu* (to smile).
Tamil base *iḻ*-.	,, *niḻal* (lengthening shade).
,, *ivaru, egaru* (to become high).	,, *nimuru* (to rise), Kann. *negaru*.
,, *iyaṅgu* (to move).	,, *nîṅgu* (to move).
Brâhûî *âyi*, Tam. *yây, âyi*.	,, *ñây* (mother).
Gôṇḍî *yeṇṭe*, Tel., Kann. *eṇḍi* (crab).[14]	,, *ñaṇḍu, naṇḍu*.

[12] Cf. footnote 5 above.

[13] An examination of the instances given above would show that *i* occurs freely in the central and northern dialects, while *a* and *e* predominate in the southern dialects. The original base was probably *a* with a front tonelity.

[14] Gôṇḍî has *yeṇṭe* (crab) and Tuḷu has *deñji* where *d*- goes back to *y* through *j* ; cf. Tuḷu *doṇḍu* (globular—cf. *suruṇḍ-, surulu*), *kâdi* (Mohammedan priest, from *kâji*), etc.

It will be seen that in all these and numerous similar instances, the forms without the initial *n-* are the originals, inasmuch as they are directly connected with the radical bases[15] which have given rise to these and other independent forms not only in Tamil, Kannaḍa, etc., of the South, but also in the central and north Dravidian dialects. The initial *n-* of the alternative forms, therefore, will have to be considered as a secondarily developed sound, whose origin has probably to be traced to the tendency of Dravidian to produce initial *n-* in words like *ân* (I), *yaman* (*yama*), etc., containing nasals in their radicals,[16] which tendency should have afterwards become generalized and affected words without included nasals also. Julien Vinson (p. 28 of his *Manuel de la langue Tamoule*) wrongly regards the *n-* forms as the originals. The untenability of this position will be apparent when we analyse the forms and find, as we have stated above, that it is those forms without the initial *n-* that are directly connected with the elementary radicals.

Let us now examine the following forms expressing meanings connected with 'heat,' 'fire,' 'light,' etc.

Tamil	*nîṟ* (ashes) ; *nerippu* (fire) ; *nâyiṟu* (sun) ; (?) *ñâṇḍru* (time).
Telugu	*nippu* (fire) ; (?) *nigarîntsu* (to shine) ; *nîṟu* (ashes).
Kannaḍa	*nesaru* (sun) ; *nerpu* (fire).
Kûi	*nâṟi* (sun) ; *neri* (to burn).
Gôṇḍî	*nir* (to burn) ; *nîṟ* (ashes).
Kurukh	*narî* (fever) ; *naunâ* (over-boiled) ; *nêrnâ* (to get dry).

Here, too, the formatives could be detached ; and if, further, initial *n-* is also detached as being an intrusive, what remains behind is the vocalic radical, the value of which appears to vary from *a* to *i*.

Yet additional confirmation of this fact may be available from a large group of forms with initial *v-*, which express ideas connected with 'heat,' 'fire,' 'light,' etc. :—

Tamil :	*vey* (to burn) ; *vêgu* (to boil) ; *vaṯṟu* (to become dry) ; *veṭṭai* (heat).
Kannaḍa :	*beṅki* (heat) ; *bis* (hot) ; *vaḍi* (heat).

15 The original character of the forms *without* the initial nasal is evident from

(*a*) the fact that, judged by the large number of cognates in numerous dialects, these should contain the radicals ; and

(*b*) the confirmatory proof afforded by the fact that *n-* forms have, comparatively speaking, far fewer independent cognates with initial *n-*, in the various dialects.

(1) If we examine the above instances, we find that the following forms have cognates in most dialects, all these being based upon radicals with initial vowels only :—
aṟ- (to cut) :—all Southern dialects ; Gôṇḍî *ask* (to cut) ; Kûi *aska* (to cut) ; Kurukh *aṟ-a* (saw) ; Brâhûî *arra* (saw) and *k-argh-iṅg* (to shear) ; cf. also the base *aṟi* (to cut) of the south.
naṟ-, on the other hand, has very few such diversified cognates.

(2) *aṅge* (there) is a directive word constituted of the remote demonstrative particle *a* (common to all Dravidian dialects except Brâhûî which has *e*) and *-g* (*-k*), the directive affix.
ñâṅgu, on the other hand, is peculiar to Tamil only.

(3) The Tamil base *il-* contains the proximate demonstrative particle *i-* occurring in a host of forms with basic meanings indicating direction, followed by the Tamil sound *l* or by its relatives in other dialects. The forms derived from the bare demonstrative particle are numerous in all Dravidian dialects.
nilal, on the other hand, is peculiar to the southern dialects only and occurs as an *isolated* form.

(4) The first personal pronoun base appears to be *an*, on a consideration of all Dravidian forms (see Dravidic Studies, vol. II).

(5) The use of demonstrative particles for forming words with basic meanings of *direction* is evident in *e-g-(a)r* (to become high) and *i-(a)-ṅgu* (to move). Cf. *êru* (to rise), *êgu* (to move), *edu* (to take), etc. Kannaḍa *negaru* (to rise) and Tam. *nimiru* are secondarily derived from *e-g-(a)ru* ; while Tam. *niṅgu*, Kann. *nûṅgu* (to move) are to be traced to *i-(a)-ṅgu*.
For a further discussion of this question, see my article on *Dravidian Initial n-* in *QJMS*, April 1930.

16 In *Dravidic Studies*, II, an intermediate stage *ñ* is postulated. *ñ-*, however, initially is only a unique development in Tam.-Mal.

Telugu *[illegible]* (to become hot) : *[illegible]* (to become dry) ; *[illegible]* (to cook).

Kûi *bis* (hot) : *vaja* (to cook) : *vasa* (to be dry) : *vehpa* (to be hot) ; *véva* (to be well cooked).

Gôndi *vahachánâ* (to come to boiling point) : *vare-dânâ* (to become dry) : *véânâ* (to cook) : *vattânâ* (to be dry).

Kurukh *basnâ* (to boil) ; *battnâ* (to be dry) ; *biʼinâ* (to cook) : *bir* (to be hot).

Brâhûî *beghing* (to knead) ; *baśing* (to bake) : *ba[illegible]r* (dry).

va or *væ* or *ve* appears to be common to all these. What, if any, is the connection between this group and the purely vocalic bases pointed out above ? To say that the latter might simply be the modified forms of the former (with the disappearance of initial *v-*) will be to deny to the ancient vocalic bases an independence and antiquity which are undoubtedly their own on account of their widespread occurrence and ramified developments. I venture to consider, on the basis of analogies given below, that *v-* here is either an attenuated vestige of an affix-word or the development of the on-glide *ŏ* which very characteristically appears (usually before initial dorsal vowels including dorsal *a* [cf. for glides in connection with *a*. internal Sandhi in Tamil compounds like *pala-(v)-a[illegible]*] in south Dravidian and central Dravidian dialects. [Cf. Kittel's Kannaḍa Dictionary, page 1369, Trench's Gôndi Grammar, page 5 ; and, further, compare the evaluation of Telugu forms like *oka* (one) as *vaka*, etc.]

Be the origin of this *v-* what it may, a comparison of the following forms of Dravidian would be instructive, as they show the probable secondary[17] character of the initial *v-* :—

	v- forms—		Forms without *v-* with more or less the same meanings—
Tam.	*vaṇaṅgu* (to obey)	Tam.	*aṇaṅgu* (to yield, submit).
,,	*var-ai* (mark).	.	*orai* (to rub).
South Dr.	*vari* (paddy, rice).	..	*ari*.
Telugu	*vāḍu* (to cook).	..	*aḍu* (to cook).
Tamil	*valay* (to wander, to be distressed).	..	*alay*.
Gôndi	*bór* (who).	.	*âr* (who).
Tuḷu	*vâ*, the Interrogative.	..	Interr. base *â*.

The introduction of this initial bilabial should have occurred at an ancient stage, having regard to the fact that these forms (semantically differentiated) appear in Tamil in the most ancient literary texts.

If, therefore, *v-* may be postulated as being of probable secondary origin in a number of words, the relationship of the bases *ve-*, *væ-*, *va-* (mentioned above) to *e-*, *æ-*, *a-* illustrates the original and ancient character of the vocalic bases.

When now we return to the main topic of our discussion, we have to examine how far the form *anal* may be related directly to the vocalic bases meaning 'fire,' 'heat,' 'light.'

-al of *anal* is a purely Dravidian formative. For *-n-*, compare the following Tamil forms :

vénal (heat, summer).

punal (stream of flowing water).[18]

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17 Here again the forms with initial vowels could be demonstrated to be original on grounds similar to those pointed out in footnote 15.

18 *ol* (to be fit, possible) is an ancient Dr. base (probably deictic) from which *val-e* (like), *val* (strong) may be derived. Cf. also Tam. *va[illegible]akkam* (custom) and *olukkam* (flow).

The existence of these forms (purely Dravidian) with exactly similar formative or derivative endings would be enough to indicate *-nal* of *anal* also as being Dravidian. The origin of this *-n-* will be evident when we analyse the structure [18a] of the analogical forms given above ; *-n-* in all these cases appears as a hiatus-filler between two vowels, as in Tamil *padi-n-âru* (sixteen). *naḍanda-n-an* (he walked). *ôḍi-n-a*. the past relative participle of *ôḍu* (to run), etc.

Anal (fire) may therefore be considered to be a native Dravidian form. It appears to be neither a *tatsama* (as suggested in the Madras Tamil Lexicon) nor necessarily a reduced form of *kanal*, with the loss of initial *k-*.

As for the *aḷal*-group mentioned at the beginning of this article, as being semantically related to the *anal*-group, the structural kinship also would be clear when we consider that *ḷ*, the peculiar retroflex continuative of Tamil expresses a definite set of associated connotations [19] like 'to be reduced to a low state,' 'to be mixed up,' etc. This sound appears to be of a secondary character in the Tamil-Kannaḍa group, employed as it is in a number of forms where the above said connotations are conspicuous. A comparison of these Tamil-Kannaḍa forms with *ḷ*, with their cognates (with other sounds) in Tamil-Kannaḍa itself and in other dialects would suggest (*vide IHQ.*, June 1929) that the introduction of this sound *ḷ* has conferred secondarily the particular connotations referred to above. In *aḷal*. the idea of 'reduction to a low state' is more or less apparent in the different special meanings which it has, in addition to the basic significance which it shares with *anal*.

We may now advert to the relationship, if any, of *kanal* to *anal*. In view of what we have discussed above regarding the ancient character of *anal*, *aḷal*, we cannot straightway explain the question by postulating that *anal* is secondarily derived from *kanal*, with the disappearance of the initial *k-*. The question, we admit, is not susceptible of any other easy solution, in view especially of the ancient character of Dravidian *kanal* and its cognates in Dravidian. The following are some of the forms signifying basically 'fire,' 'heat,' etc. :—

Tam. *kây* (to be hot) ; *kâ-* (to be ardently watchful) ; *kittu* (fire) ; *kari* (to be burnt out) : *kañji*, *kâyal*. etc.

Tel. *kicc-* (fire) ; *ciccu* (fire) ; *kâgu* (to be hot). etc.

Kann. *kitt* (fire) ; *kây* (to be hot).

Tulu *cicc-* (fire) ; *kây-uni* (to be hot) ; *katt-uni* (to burn).

Gôṇḍi *kâhle* (to feel heat, perspire) ; *karv* (to burn) ; *kâs* (to become hot) ; *kis* (fire).

Kûi *kâga* (to warm oneself) ; *kamba* (to be burned) ; *kânda*. *kaṛa* (to be hot) ; *kaṛsa* (to be dried up).

Kurukh *cicc* (fire) ; *kañji* (boiled rice-water) ; *kaṛ-* (to be heated) . *khaidnâ* (to make dry) ; *khaʼnd* (to cook).

Brâhûi *khakhar* (fire).

Now, an examination of these forms would show here again that we have to deal with a base with initial *k-* and a vowel whose character may have been somewhere near the value of *œ*. It is significant that, so far as we could see, the variations in the character of the vowel in the different forms are almost as large in these *k-* forms as in the forms derived from the vocalic bases mentioned above.

The basic form here does resemble the vocalic base mentioned above, except for the initial *k-*. We cannot, however, find out with our present materials the exact character of the relationship which, if it existed at all, should have arisen at a prehistoric stage.

18a *pu-n-al* (stream of flowing water) contains the base *pu* (to flow), *-al*, the suffix, and the hiatus-filler *-n-*.

vênal is constituted of *ve-* the base meaning 'to be hot,' etc., the hiatus-filler *-n-* and the suffix *-al*.

19 *Vide* my article in *IHQ*, June 1929, pages 336 *et seq.* ; cf. also A. Carnoy's observations on page 25 of his recent work *La Science du Mot*.

Be this as it may, the antiquity[20] of *anal* in Dravidian as a *native* form admits of little doubt, in view of our discussion. If then, as Prof Schrader has shown, the origin of Sanskrit *anala* could not be satisfactorily explained by being related to any Indo-Aryan bases, does not the remarkable structural and semantic resemblance of Sanskrit *anala* and Dravidian *anal* give rise to a fair amount of presumptive evidence for the postulate that Sanskrit has borrowed this word from Dravidian?

WHERE WAS TARKKÂRI?

BY JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

THERE has been a controversy over the location of a village named Tarkkâri mentioned in the Silimpur stone inscription found in the district of Bogra in Bengal. The passage containing the description of the village is quoted below.

Yêshâṁ tasya Hiraṇyagarv(b)bha-vapushaḥ svâṅgapraśut-Âṅgirô-vaṁśê janma samâna-gôtra-vachan[1]*-ôtkarshô-Bharadvâjataḥ | têshâm-ârya-jan-âbhipûjita-kulaṁ* **Tarkkârir**-*ity-âkhyayâ* **Śrâvasti**-*prativa(ba)ddham-asti viditaṁ sthânaṁ punar-jjanmanâṁ* [2] *Yasmin-vêda-smṛiti-parichay-ôdbhinna-vaitânagârhya-prâjy-âvṛitt-âhutishu charatâm kîrttibhir-vyômni śubhrê | vyabhrâjant-ô-pari-parisarad-dhôma-dhûmâ dvijânâṁ dugdh-âmbhôdhi-prasṛita-vilasach-chhaival-âlî-chay-âbhâḥ* [3] *Tat-prasûtaś-cha* **Puṇḍrêshu Sakaṭi**-*vyavadhânavân* | **Varêndrî** *maṇḍanaṁ grâmô* **Vâ(Bâ)lagrâma** *iti śrutaḥ* [4]

(*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIII. p. 290.)

Mr. Radha Govinda Basak, M.A., who edited the inscription, has translated the above as follows:—

"(V. 2.) Of those who had their birth in the family of Angiras, sprung from the body of Him (Vishṇu) in His Hiraṇya-garbha form, and who could excel in declaring a common lineage with Bharadvâja, the home in later births,[2] dwelt in by families held in high esteem by Âryas, was a place by the name Tarkkâri, within the limits of Śrâvasti.

"(V. 3.) Where the columns of smoke, rising up from the *hôma* of Brâhmaṇas practising oblations, frequently repeated in the sacrificial and domestic rites which had grown out of (their) acquaintance with the *Vêdas* and the *Smṛitis*, glittered (dark) in the sky, white with their fame, like massed lines of moss playfully floating on an ocean of milk.

"(V. 4.) The village known as Bâlagrâma, in the country of Puṇḍra, the ornament of Varêndrî, was derived from that (place) being separated (from it) by Sakaṭi."

Mr. Basak has shown that there were two Śrâvastis, one built by king Śrâvasta, the son of king Yuvanâśva of the solar race in Gauḍa-deśa, as described in the *Matsya* and *Kûrma Purâṇas*. The other, according to the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Vâyu Purâṇa*, was the capital of Lava, the son of king Râmacandra, who lived many generations after Yuvanâśva. In the *Brahma Purâṇa* also we find that Śrâvasti was founded by king Śrâvasta, the son of king Yuvanâśva.

[20] The following list would show that there are a number of ancient bases in Dravidian with initial vowels, side by side with others which possess an initial *k-* and which are related semantically and structurally to the bases with initial vowels. The ancient character of these latter, as proved by the existence of numerous derivatives and cognates in several dialects, precludes the view that they may have been derived from the *k-* forms. We are here, of course, envisaging the state of affairs represented in what we might conceive as *Common Dravidian*, as distinguished from *Ur-Dravidian*, of which indeed we at present do not know anything.

Tamil base *il-* (below); allied to base in other dialects formed from the demonstrative *i*	cf. *kil* (below).
Tam. *ol-ai*, *ul-ai* (to be moved, shaken) .	cf. *kul ai*, *kol-ai* (to be shaken, moved)
Southern *îru* (to scratch, tear) . .	cf. *kîṛ* (to tear, scratch).
.. *aṛugu* (kind of grass) . . .	cf. *kaṛugai*.
.. *aśa-kku* (to move)	cf. *kaś-akku* (to strew).
.. *ur-ai*, *or-ai* (to speak, to sound) . . .	cf. *kur-ai*, *kor-ai* (voice, sound, etc.)

Cf. also Comm. Dr. *uṇ* (to eat, drink), *ar-* (to cut) with Brahûi *kun-* (to eat) and *kargh* (to cut).

[1] *Charan* should perhaps be read in place of *vachan*.

[2] Perhaps used in the sense of *dvijanmanâṁ*, i.e. 'of twice-born.'

He has also shown from the context that Tarkkâri lay within the limits of Śrâvasti and that Bâlagrâma, described as being *prasûta* (derived) from this Tarkkâri of Śrâvasti, was also situated in the land of Varendrî in Puṇḍra (northern Bengal) : " The poet, perhaps, means to say that this newly-established village, as the name Bâlagrâma also suggests, was colonized by people coming from Tarkkâri of Śrâvasti, which seems to have been a neighbouring place. The locality intervening between these two places, *viz.*, Śrâvasti-Tarkkâri and Varendrî-Bâlagrâma, is named Sakaṭî, which sounds like the name of a river. From the meaning appropriately to be assigned to verse 4, one feels inclined to presume the existence of a town of the name of Śrâvasti in North Bengal (Gauḍa)." In this way he has come to the conclusion, disagreeing with Sir A. Cunningham, that the Śrâvasti mentioned in verse 2 of the Silimpur inscription was situated in Puṇḍra, and must be identified with the city of the same name mentioned in the *Matsya* and *Kûrma Purâṇas*.

Mr. N. G. Majumdar found certain grave difficulties in accepting Mr. Basak's views. (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 208-211.) At the outset he says that the very fact that there is recorded a Brâhmaṇ emigration from Śrâvasti, which he found in other inscriptions, too, would seem to indicate that it is identical with the Śrâvasti of the Madhyadeśa. This shows that Mr. Majumdar approached the subject with a pre-possessed mind that the Madhyadêśa Brâhmaṇas monopolized the emigration to other provinces.

We need not tell an antiquarian scholar like Mr. Majumdar that Indian epigraphy is not wanting in evidence to show that Brâhmaṇas from Puṇḍravardhana also migrated to other provinces.[3] What do the traditions of the Gauḍa Brâhmaṇas and the Gauḍa Tâgâs say ? Do they not say that these Brâhmaṇas went from Gauḍa in Bengal ? (*Suppt. to the Glossary of Indian Terms* by Sir H. M. Elliot, pp. 417-18, 420.) He argues :—" In the first place, if the two villages had been situated side by side (the distance between them being only a river), and if it be true that some Brâhmaṇ families, who had formerly been living on one bank of the stream, now came to settle on the other, it would have been quite out of place to describe their former home in the terms in which *Tarkkâri* has been described. Were the two places topographically so closely connected, no sensible writer would have ever thought of specifying their separate topographical details, *viz.*, that one of them—*Tarkkâri* is *Śrâvastî-prativaddha*, i.e., in *Śrâvasti*, and the other—*Bâlagrâma* is in *Puṇḍra* and *Varendrî*. Secondly, the expression '*Sakaṭivyavadhânavân*' is an adjective of *Bâlagrâma*. Therefore, it cannot have anything to do with *Tarkkâri*, which word is at a long distance : and the expression cannot be taken to mean that '*Sakaṭi*' was the *vyavadhâna* between *Bâlagrâma* and *Tarkkâri*. The very nature of the compound shows that the *vyavadhâna* is in reference to *Bâlagrâma* alone. I, therefore, suggest that the natural meaning would be, 'the village of Bâlagrâma, which had for its boundary, or was bounded by, the river Sakaṭi.' "

Here also Mr. Majumdar has shown his preconception that *Śrâvasti* was in *Madhyadêśa*. Otherwise he would not have found separate topographical details for *Tarkkâri* and *Bâlagrâma* in the expression quoted above. The writer's intention was evidently not so much to describe the topography as to lay stress on the fact that *Bâlagrâma* was known throughout the country of *Puṇḍra* as the ornament of *Varendrî*. There is nothing in the expression to mean that *Tarkkâri* and so *Śrâvasti* were not in Puṇḍra. For example, if one writes :—" Chowringhee in Calcutta is the finest quarter of the city. It is facing the *maidân* and is inhabited by the well-to-do Europeans. Alipur, well-known in Bengal as the headquarters of the district of the 24 Parganas, is derived or an offshoot from that, being separated by Bhowanipur," surely Mr. Majumdar will not charge the writer with giving two separate topographical details for two closely connected places, such as Chowringhee and Alipur, nor will he charge the writer with want of sense. Further, does the description convey the meaning that Calcutta is outside Bengal ?

[3] Sânglî plate of the Râshṭrakûṭa Gôvinda, *IV* (933 A.D.). (*Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 251).

His second objection is that *Sakaṭivyavadhânavân*, being an adjective qualifying *Bâlagrâma*, cannot have anything to do with Tarkkâri, which word is at a long distance. It is beyond our comprehension how a word by being a part of an adjective loses its inherent meaning. *Vyavadhâna* is a relative term, and must have relation with two things or places. Bâlagrâma is one—where is the other one? It cannot but be *Tarkkâri*, which is the only place mentioned immediately before it. The long distance referred to is a clause qualifying *Tarkkâri*, and nothing else. This long distance, therefore, did not stand in its way to refer to *Tarkkâri* by the word *tat* in *tatprasûta*. The natural meaning of the expression, suggested by Mr. Majumdar, seem to us rather unnatural. If by *vyavadhânavân* is meant 'bounded by,' the direction, i.e., east, west, south, north or on all sides would have been mentioned. Is there any such mention? Mr. Majumdar was surely conscious of the defect in the interpretation of the word *vyavadhânavân* given by him. He, therefore, added a footnote, saying: "As *vyavadhâna* means 'separation' or 'division' (see Monier Williams, *s.v.*). *Sakaṭivyavadhânavân* might as well mean 'having Sakaṭi as *vyavadhâna*,' i.e., 'separated' or 'divided' by *Sakaṭi*." But as soon as you say separated or divided, it must be understood that something has been separated or divided from something else. But what has Sakaṭi separated or divided? It certainly refers to Tarkkâri. If the family had migrated from a distant country, then we should expect some such expression as *Tarkkâri-vinirggata*, which we find in similar cases in many places; but in the present inscription no such expression has been used.

But after all 'Sakaṭi' is not a river as has been supposed. It is the name of a village. The Râḍhî and the Vârendra Brâhmaṇas are known by their *gâñis* or villages where their forefathers lived. Different *gotras* have got different *gâñis* to distinguish them. They are nowadays used as surnames. Sakaṭi, Bâlagrâma [4] and Siyamba (Simba) are among the several *gâñis* of the Vârendra Brâhmanas of the Bharadvâja *gotra*. Another village named Kuṭumbapalli (Kuḍumba or Kuddmudi) mentioned in this inscription is also a *gâñi* name of the Vâtsya *gotra* of the Vârendra Brâhmanas. The village of Silimpur, where the stone slab bearing the inscription has been found, is probably a corruption of the village name Siyamba or Siyambapura, where the author of this inscription lived.

Let us now see if we can meet the other objections raised by Mr. Majumdar. He names several plates in which Tarkkârikâ or Tarkâri occurs. In two of these occurs Madhyadêsa also. Mr. Majumdar, however, has not exhausted the list of inscriptions in which Tarkkâri is mentioned. We have found some more inscriptions in which the name of this village occurs, sometimes with a slight variation, which does not prevent us from recognizing it. From the Katak copperplate grant of the ninth year of Mahâśivagupta I. (*E.I.* vol. III, p. 353), he has quoted the following adjective-clause appended to the name of a Brâhmaṇa donee :— ***Madhyadêśiya-Śrîvallagrâma-ve(vi)nirggatâya Odradêśe Śrî-Śîlabhañjapâti-vâstavyâya Takkârapûrvva-Bharadvâjagotrâya.***

From this he has drawn the "natural" conclusion that Tarkkâra or Takkâra was in the Madhyadeśa. This does not, however, appear to us at all natural. To us the natural meaning of the passage is that the family of the donee originally lived in Takkâra and earned the epithet of *Takkâra-Bharadvâja-gotra*, thence it migrated to Śrîvallagrâma in Madhyadeśa, whence it went to Śrî-Śîlabhañjapâti in Odra-deśa. So at least this Takkâra was not in Madhyadeśa. He has quoted another passage from another plate (*E.I.*, vol. XVII, p. 118) :—

Śrî-Madhyadeś-ântaḥpâti-Takkârikâ-bhaṭṭagrâmavinirggata.

Here, of course, it is clearly stated that this Takkârikâ was in Madhyadeśa, but does that prove that every place named Takkârikâ, wherever it may be found, must belong to Madhyadeśa? We are afraid Mr. Majumdar has committed a blunder in thinking that all Takkârikâs were one and the same place. This we shall presently see is not the fact. Similarly, Madhyadeśa did not always indicate the Madhyadeśa of Manu (chap. II, *śloka* 21).[5] We have

[4] There is still a village named Bâlagrâma not far off from Silimpur. Ṭutturi is a gâñi name of the Vârendra Brâhmanas of the Sâvarṇa *gotra*. It approaches in sound to Tarkâri and may be a corruption of it.

[5] Magadha was sometimes called as Madhya-deśa (Introduction to Bauddhagâna ó Dohâ, p. 11). There was a Madhyadeśa in ancient Kambuja also (*Ind. Hist.* Quarterly, Jany. 1930, p. 100.)

seen before that there were two Śrâvastis, one in Gauḍa and the other in Kosala. According to Varâhamihira, neither Gauḍa nor Kosala were in Madhyadeśa. They were both outside and to the east of it. So Śrâvasti-Takkârikâ could not be in Madhyadeśa of the United Provinces.

Let us see what other country was called Madhyadeśa. In the Porumâmilla tank inscription, we find that king Harihara of Vijayanagara is described as the supreme lord of the Madhyadeśa extending from the eastern to the western ocean. The editor of the inscription, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, in a footnote remarks :—" As early Vijayanagara kings had no claim to sovereignty in any part north of the Vindhya, Madhyadeśa cannot have its usual significance, but must refer to the country lying between the eastern and the western ocean, namely the Deccan plateau." (*E.I.*, vol. XIV, p. 107.) So we see that the Deccan plateau was also sometimes called Madhyadeśa. It is interesting to note that a village named Ṭakkalikâ is mentioned in a copperplate grant of king Muñja found in Tiḍgundi, about twelve miles to the north of Bijâpur in the district of Kalâdgi. (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 82.) The editor, Shankar Pandurang Pandit, M.A., remarks :—" It is interesting to note that there is still a village called Ṭakalki in the Bâgevdi *tâluka* of the Kalâdgi, not far from the place where the copperplate was found." (*Ibid.*, p. 83.) This Ṭakkalikâ, no doubt, is another form of Takkârikâ.

If Śrâvasti-Takkâri was not in Madhyadeśa, then where was it? Śrâvasti must either have been in Gauḍa or in Kosala (modern Oudh). But where was Gauḍa ? Was it the district of Gonḍa, as was held by Cunningham, or northern Bengal ? We have already seen that both were outside Madhyadeśa, and to the east of it, in the time of Varâhamihira, *i.e.*, in the sixth century A.D. This does not, however, indicate the exact position of Gauḍa. In the Haṛâhâ inscription of the Maukhari king Îśânavarman of 611 V.S. (554 A.D.) we find that Îśânavarman caused the Gauḍas living on the seashore to remain within their realm. (*E.I.*, vol. XIV, p. 117.) This clearly indicates that Gauḍa in the middle of the sixth century extended to the seashore. Neither Kosala nor Gonḍa stretched as far as the sea at any time. So this Gauḍa must be the Gauḍa in Bengal. It is very interesting to find that this inscription was found in the Bârâ Banki district, the very heart of Oudh. It appears from this that Gauḍa was independent at this time and may have come into conflict with Îśânavarman in Magadha, which lay between the two contending powers. From the fifth plate of the Dâmodarapur copperplate grant we learn that Gauḍa or Puṇḍravardhana was under the Guptas till 214 G.S. (533 A.D.) (*E.I.*, vol. XV, pp. 123-24.) Gauḍa must have, therefore, asserted her independence sometime between 534 and 554 A.D. Mahârajâdhirâjas Dharmâditya, Gopachandra and Samâcâradeva, whose copperplate grants have been discovered at Ghughrâhâṭi in the Faridpur district, may have been of this time. (*JASB.*, 1911.) The words *bâraka-maṇḍala* (circle or district of embankments), *navyâvakâsikâ* (new intervening space between the sea and the mainland, i.e., *char* lands), *nâvâtâkṣeṇi* (shipyard), and *naudanḍaka* (harbour or port), found in these plates go to show that the country was on the seashore at the time.[6]

We shall now try to see if there is any truth in the traditions of the Gauḍa Brâhmaṇas and the Gauḍa Kâyasthas that they migrated to other provinces from Gauḍa in Bengal. The Chandella king Yaśovarman conquered Gauḍa (*E.I.*, vol. I, p. 126) and the earliest mention of a Gauḍa-Karaṇika or Kâyastha is found in his *praśasti* (eulogy) dated 1011 V.S. (954 A.D.). The eulogy was written by Gauḍa-karaṇika Jadda, the son of Jayaguṇa, who was well-versed in the Sanskrit language (*ibid.*, p. 129). The surname *Guṇa* is only to be met with among the Bengali Kâyasthas. Mention of families of poets from Gauḍa and Tarkkârikâ is found in the inscriptions of this Chandella dynasty of Kâlañjara (*ibid.*, pp. 146 and 211). A Vâstavya-Kâyastha family from Ṭakkârikâ held high posts, such as chief-minister, chamberlain, governor of a fort, general superintendent (*sarvâdhikârî*), etc. The founder of this family was one Jâjuka by name. He earned a village named Dugauḍa ('second

6 That Gauḍa was a separate country from Kosala is evident from Pâṇini (4-1-171 and 6-2-100). In the Kâma-Sûtra of Vâtsyâvyana (6-5-33) Gauḍa and Vaṅga have been mentioned together, having the same practice. From this we shall not be wrong to infer that this Gauḍa was contiguous to Vaṅga.

Gauda') from king Ganda, the grandson of king Yaśovarman (*E.I.*, vol. I, p. 333). The title 'Vâstavya' or 'Śrîvâstavya,' according to European antiquarians, is derived from Śrâvastî. Ṭakkârikâ is described in this inscription as the chief among the thirty-six villages which were rendered pure by the residence of people expert in the writers' profession (*karaṇa-karmma-nivâsa-pûtâ*). The village resounded with recitations of Vedas This description reminds us of the description of Tarkkâri given in the Silimpur inscription. The facts that this Kâyastha family migrated from Ṭakkârikâ, that their name, 'Vâstavya,' is connected with Śrâvastî, that the first village in Kâlañjara they received as *jâgîr* was named Dugauḍa, or 'second Gauḍa,' probably in memory of their former residence in Gauḍa, and that king Yaśovarman conquered Gauḍa, induce us to believe that this Vâstavya-Kâyastha family had its original home in Śrâvasti-Ṭakkârikâ in Gauḍa of Bengal.[7] This also shows that not only the Gauda Brâhmaṇas and Gauda Kâyasthas but the Śrîvâstavya Kâyasthas, too, went to other places from Gauda in Bengal. It is not unlikely that king Yaśovarman first took some of these Brâhmaṇas and Kâyasthas from Gauḍa and employed them in his court. Others may have followed in their train to seek their fortunes at this and other courts.

Thus we see that the traditions of the Gauda Brâhmaṇas and the Gauḍa Kâyasthas are not wholly unfounded. There is a substratum of truth in them. The earliest epigraphic mention of the name Kâyastha that we have been able to trace hitherto, is in the Dâmodarpur copperplate grants of the fifth and the sixth century A.D. There is, no doubt, mention of the word in some of the earliest *Dharma-saṃhitâs*, *Purâṇas* and Sanskrit dramas, such as the *Viṣṇu-saṃhitâ*, *Yâjnavalkya-saṃhitâ*, *Vṛhat-parâśara saṃhitâ*, *Brahma-purâṇa*, *Padma-purâṇa*, etc., *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Mudrâ-râkṣasa*, but nobody has yet been able to fix the dates of these texts with any precision. Anyhow. we believe. the word is not found earlier than the third century A.D. This leads us to think that the Kâyasthas had their original home in northern Bengal.

We may now conclude that—

(1) Mr. Radha Govinda Basak was right in thinking that the Śrâvasti mentioned in the Silimpur inscription was situated in Puṇḍra or Gauḍa and must be identified with the city of the same name mentioned in the *Matsya* and the *Kûrma Purâṇas*.

(2) Śrâvasti-Tarkkâri in Gauḍa of Bengal was not only the abode of learned Brâhmaṇas but of learned Kâyasthas as well.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF SIND, with Historical Outline, by H. COUSENS, M.R.A.S. Archæological Survey of India, vol. XLVI, Imperial Series. $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{3}{4}''$; pp. vii+184, with 103 plates (4 in colours). Calcutta, 1929.

We welcome the appearance of this richly illustrated monograph by the veteran archæologist, who was associated for so many years of his service with Western India and Sind. It is based primarily upon his own explorations and researches carried out many years ago, for Mr. Cousens retired in 1910, but it incorporates the results of further excavations carried out by his successors, as he has kept in close touch with subsequent developments; each section in fact bears witness to the personal interest that has inspired him in his work. Publication was first delayed by the outbreak of the great war. It seems to have been completed five years ago, as the preface is dated in January 1925. Consequently but brief allusion has been made (p. 168) to Mohenjo-daro (or Mohên-jo-dhaḍo, as Mr. Cousens writes the name), the site to which such outstanding importance now attaches. Though the work is not, therefore, altogether up-to-date, it contains much matter of permanent value, and will serve hereafter as an important adjunct to the detailed accounts now in preparation of the results of the many years' excavations at Mohenjo-daro and of Sir Aurel Stein's recent and most important exploration in Jhalawân, Khârân and Makrân, which, with the work already done by Mr. Hargreaves and others in Balûchistân, should throw a flood of light upon the old Indus valley civilization and its connexion with the ancient Iranian and Mesopotamian cultures.

7 Like Śrâvastî-Ṭakkârikâ, Śravastî-Siyamba was perhaps one of the thirty-six villages where the Kâyasthas resided. For we find in the Ratnapur Inscription of Pṛithîdeva, that a Vâstavya-Kâyastha named Devagaṇa erected a temple of Śiva at a village named Sâmbâ (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 46). This Sâmbâ might be a corruption of Siyamba, wherefrom this Vastavya-Kâyastha family might have migrated to Ratnapur and named their new residence after the old in Gauḍa.

To appreciate the antiquities of Sind, it is essential to visualize them in their geographical and historical settings, so Mr. Cousens has appropriately prefaced his descriptions by two chapters dealing with the ever-shifting rivers and the history of the province. His researches in these directions have enabled him to establish certain identifications which should help towards a correct conception of the configuration of the lower Indus valley in early times. The most interesting sections are those describing the Brahmanâbâd, Mîrpur-Khâs and Ṭhaṭhah sites. More than thirty years ago Mr. Cousens, after two or three seasons' work at the first-named site, confirmed the identification of the ancient city of Brâhmanâbâd or Bahmanâbâd made by Mr. Bellasis in 1854, and proved that the *ṭhul*, or 'tower' was the remains of a Buddhist *stûpa*. The Muhammadan city of Manṣûra had evidently been built upon the ruins of the old Hindu city, while the detached block of ruins to the south-east represent, in his opinion, the site of the fort called Maḥfûẓa. Depâr Ghângro, six miles to the north-east, where he discovered the remains of another Buddhist *stûpa*, he is inclined to identify with the Buddhist colony of Sâwandî, mentioned in the *Mujmal at-tawârîkh* as having been built by the king of Kashmîr, and he suggests that this king may have been the great Kanishka. These identifications appear somewhat conjectural. The *Mujmal at-tawârîkh* states that the name Sâwandî was derived from the Hindî word for 'ocean'; if that be so, we should expect it to have lain in the vicinity of the sea, but even in Kanishka's time the coast-line cannot have been anywhere near that site. It is possible that the name Sâwandî may have meant simply 'the village of the *śramaṇas* (or Buddhists).' The "chessmen" of Mr. Bellasis he has clearly shown to have been merely balusters or spindles for insertion between rails and knobs or finials to be let into top rails as an ornamental finish. Whether the original name of the ancient city was Bahmanâbâd or Brâhmanâbâd he leaves an open question. Different views have been expressed as to how the old city came to be abandoned and the site deserted. Mr. Bellasis favoured the theory of an earthquake. Mr. Cousens prefers to think that the city was sacked by an enemy, the inhabitants being put to the sword. He suggests that the silence of the Muhammadan historians might be due to the fact that this sack was carried out by the Hindus; but this would hardly explain the complete destruction of all the buildings or the total abandonment of the site, which had been a Hindu one previously. It seems more reasonable to suppose that some other cause had operated. An earthquake might not only have wrecked the buildings, but also diverted the course of the river, which we know from so many accounts flowed by Manṣûra on the east: in fact what happened at Alor may have happened at Manṣûra.

The existence of the *stûpa* at Mîrpur-Khâs has been known since 1859, when Mr. Gibbs made excavations at the site, but it remained for Mr. Cousens to reveal the details of the structure, which presents some features of special interest. He found that the whole *stûpa* had apparently sunk, owing to the weight of the superincumbent tower and defective foundations, at the time of its completion or very soon after, and had been buttressed up all round with deep and solid brickwork, to which was due the remarkable preservation of the seven half-life-size figures of the Buddha found in their original positions. The Mîr Rukân *stûpa*, on the other hand, which had also been explored by Mr. Gibbs in 1858, had not had any such protection, and little had escaped from plundering hands. The most interesting feature of the Sudheran-jo-dhado *stûpa*, when opened up by Mr. Bhandarkar, was the finding of a *dâgoba* made of sun-dried bricks covered with plaster, completely built in and imbedded in the tower. Mr. Bhandarkar came to the conclusion that this *stûpa* could not be of later date than the time of Kanishka. Having regard to the legend about the king of Kashmîr recorded in the *Mujmal at-tawârîkh*, Mr. Cousens suggests it as possible that Kanishka, whose dominions included Sind, may have had a line of *stûpas* down the valley of the Indus erected to commemorate a visit to that province; and he calls to mind in this connexion the remains at Sue Vihâr and Shorkoṭ.

In many ways the most interesting chapter is that on "Dewal-Ṭhaṭhah." More than 30 years ago Mr. Cousens pointed out that Dewal (the Debal of the Arab geographers) would seem to have been so called on account of a fine temple, which stood in or near the town, and that close by Ṭhaṭhah we have the remains of such a temple rebuilt by the Muhammadans into their old tombs. For instance, the tomb of Jâm Nizâmu'd-dîn (*circa* 1508) had been "built in great part of materials from an old Hindu temple, which, judging from the beautiful sculptured details, was of great magnificence," and around this tomb are "several other buildings supported upon Hindu columns from which all figure sculpture has been effaced, and which have Hindu domes and finials." His further researches would appear to have confirmed him in the view then formed, and he now definitely links "Dewal-Ṭhaṭhah" as one site. We may say that a recent study of the records of the old Muhammadan geographers and historians in another connexion leads to a very similar conclusion, *viz.*, that twelve hundred years ago the sea was close by the southern end of the Makli hills, and that the old town of Debal referred to in the *Chach-nâma* and by the early Arab geographers was either on, or in the immediate vicinity of, these hills. The question cannot be fully dealt with here; but two references may be cited perhaps, as these would seem to have been overlooked in previous discussions. In the *Chach-nâma* we are told that Nirûn was 25 *farsangs* from Debal, and the fort at, or close to, Sehwân captured by Muḥammad bin Qâsim was 30 *farsangs* from

Nirûn. Now the site of Nirûn is established, and is, therefore, a fixed point. The site of Sehwân has not varied since that time. If from Nirûn as centre a circle be drawn with radius equal to five-sixths of the distance from Nirûn to Sehwân, it will be found to pass through the southern end of the Makli hills. Then, Khwârizmî (*circa* 833) gives the latitude and longitude of Debal as 24°-20′ and 92°-0′, and of Nirûn as 23°-30′ and 92°-20′, respectively. These figures are of no particular value *in se*, but they afford an indication of the *comparative positions* of the two places, *viz.*, that Nirûn lay 50 minutes of latitude north, and 20 minutes of longitude east, of Debal. It will be evident from a reference to a large scale map how closely this fits in with the assumption that Debal lay near the present site of Thaṭhah. On p. 125 Mr. Cousens cites Ma'sûdî as stating that Debal was two days' journey from the junction of the Mihrân with the sea. In his *Murûj al-zahab* Ma'sûdî writes that the two branches of the Mihrân fall into the sea at Shâkara (or Shâgara), a town subordinate to Manṣûra, two days' journey from Debal. It is not quite clear what is meant by two branches entering the sea there. But in his later work, the *Kitâb at-tanbîh wa'l ishrâf*, he distinctly writes that the river falls into the sea about two *farsangs* from the town of Debal on the coast of Sind; and here he corroborates his predecessor, Ibn Khûrdâdba, whose work was held in high estimation by other Arab geographers.

The useful map prepared by the author (Plate CIII) shows the situation of all the *stûpas* and the other remains described in the monograph.

C. E. A. W. O.

FALAKÎ-I-SHÎRWÂNÎ. DIWÂN. Edited by HÂDÎ HASAN, PH.D. James G. Forlong Fund, vol. IX. The Royal Asiatic Society, 1929.

This book of only 83 pages constitutes the second part of the work of Dr. Hâdî Hasan, dealing with the extant poems of Falakî of Shîrwân. The introductory volume was dealt with by me in a review in 1929 and I came to the conclusion that it was a first-rate piece of scholarly work. The present volume contains the actual Persian text of the 1197 couplets, which a critical examination of the available sources by the editor has induced him to regard as the entire existing residuum of the poet's work, together with footnotes detailing the various readings and also in some cases explaining difficulties in the original text. References have also been given in the case of numerous quotations fom the Qurân in the poem.

It seems to me a great pity that it was decided to have Dr. Hâdi Hasan's manuscript copy of the text and his English notes reproduced by a photographic process. This Replika process is singularly ill-adapted to the reproduction of an Oriental text. A great many letters are continually left out, either wholly or in part. The letters ا, ر, ز, و, د, and the upper part of medial ک fare particularly badly. On the first page of the text there are ten such errors, and there are many lines which contain more than one mistake. For example, lines 328 and 333 each contain four mistakes, lines 69 and 271 each have four, line 86 is illegible in two places and line 337 contains a big gap, which makes the line meaningless.

The foreword to the volume refers to the exceptional beauty and accuracy of the manuscript as a reason for deciding to have it reproduced by this process. This is very high praise and may not meet with universal assent. Dr. Hâdî Hasan's penmanship is extremely neat, both in Persian and English, but I doubt whether it would meet with the approval of an Oriental calligraphist, and I do not personally consider his handwriting in English pleasing. As for accuracy, we find the word "switness" in footnote 20 of the very first page as a rendering of سرعت in the Persian.

The critical methods of the editor of the text do not always seem to be sound. In line 324 the word خلوت appears as follows

ز دوسدانِ تو خالی مباد خلوت و شادی
ز دشمنانِ تو غائب مباد شیون و ماتم

The footnote shows that other readings are to be found, *viz.*, عشرت and عزت, either of which gives a much better sense than خلوت, which is quite out of place. In line 306 the word عصمت, which is obviously right, has been substituted for the meaningless عطمت of the Munich MS., but it has not been stated in the footnote whether this is a conjecture or is supported by any authority. In line 347, the opening couplet of the eleventh Qaṣîda, the editor has expunged the ا at the end of دادگرا and تاجورا, though the metre of the poem (Munsarih) shows that the ا is necessary on metrical grounds, just as it is established by the sense. In line 361 a Qurânic phrase (حبل المتین) has been overlooked. An examination of the work of Falakî seems to justify the doubt expressed by Professor Nicholson whether the labour devoted to his poetical remains might not have been more usefully concentrated on some writer more interesting and meritorious. His best poems seem to be the four longest, the three Tarkib-bands (all in the Muẓâri' metre, the first Akhrab and acatalectic and the other two Akhrab and Makfûf and catalectic), and the tenth Qaṣîda, which is in the Mujtaṯṯ metre (Makhbûn and acatalectic). The first line of this Qaṣîda, line 271, contains three errors of the type mentioned before, an *alif* being completely omitted and و being twice mutilated beyond recognition. Falakî possessed a command over the stock artifices and technique of the verse-writer in Persian, but his verses show no signs of originality of style or of thought.

R. P. DEWHURST.

CHITOR AND ITS SIEGES.

BY R. R. HALDER.

(*Continued from page 5.*)

After Chitor was taken by Akbar and placed in charge of Abdul Majîd Âṣaf Khân, Mahârâṇâ Udayasiṁha with his few remaining nobles retired from the hills to his new capital Udaipur, the foundations of which had already been laid by him before Chitor was besieged by Akbar. He died at Gogundâ in 1572 A.D., and his valiant successor, the great Mahârâṇâ Pratâpasiṁha (1572-97 A.D.), waged a long and strenuous warfare with Akbar, and succeeded in recovering most of the places in Mewâṛ, except Chitor, Mâṇḍalgaṛh and a few others.[75] Pratâpa's successor, Amarasiṁha (1597-1620 A.D.), was also involved in operations against Akbar and against Jahângîr, who maintained his father's foreign policy. The latter, in the first year of his reign, despatched a large force against Mewâṛ under the command of Prince Parvez and Âṣaf Khân Ja'far Beg. While fighting was going on in Mewâṛ, Jahângîr fixed his headquarters at Ajmer and from there sent Prince Khurram to the front. Khurram conducted the campaign with extraordinary ability and pressed the Râjpûts very hard. After a strenuous struggle Mahârâṇâ Amarasiṁha opened negotiations with Khurram in 1615 A.D. and submitted proposals for peace. The emperor accepted the terms offered and authorized Khurram to conclude a treaty. By it the Mahârâṇâ agreed to recognize the Mughal supremacy and to send his son to the imperial court, being exempted from appearing at court himself, as well as from giving any territorial compensation or indemnity to the emperor. But one irksome condition of the treaty was that, though Chitor was to be restored to the Râṇâ, it was never to be fortified or repaired.[76] This treaty, however, was not adhered to by Amarasiṁha's posterity. Râṇâ Jagatsiṁha (1628-52 A.D.) and Mahârâṇâ Râjasiṁha (1652-80 A.D.), set about repairing and rebuilding the fortress. So, during the reign of Râjasiṁha, on 22nd *Zi'l-qa'da* of the Hijrî year 1064 (1653-54 A.D.), the emperor Shâh Jahân despatched 'Allâmî (Sâdullâh Khân) with a large force for the purpose of demolishing the fort of Chitor. On arrival within 12 *kos* of Chitor he began plundering and devastating the country. On the 5th of *Zi'l-hijja* of the same year, having reached Chitor, he directed his workmen to pull down the fortifications. In the course of a fortnight they laid the towers and battlements in ruins and levelled the whole with the ground. The Mahârâṇâ then sent off a letter of apology to the court, along with his eldest son and some of his principal men. A *farmân* was then issued by the emperor to 'Allâmî directing that, since the fort had been demolished and the Râṇâ had sent his son to the imperial court, he (the Râṇâ) should be forgiven and that 'Allâmî should return with his army to the royal presence.[77]

After this, Chitor enjoyed a respite for about 27 years, when it was visited by the emperor Aurangzeb in 1680 A.D., during the reign of Mahârâṇâ Râjasiṁha, against whom he had declared war in 1679 A.D. Among the causes of this war,[78] the following may be mentioned:—

Mahârâṇâ Râjasiṁha had offered protection to the infant son Ajit of the deceased Mahârâja Jasavantasiṁha of Jodhpur, whom Aurangzeb wanted to keep in his own custody. Besides, the Mahârâṇâ had sent men into Mârwâṛ to fight on the side of the Râṭhors against the emperor who had unjustly occupied Mârwâṛ. On the other hand, the revival of the *jaziya* tax on the Hindus and an order addressed to the Mahârâṇâ to enforce it in his territory, the policy of the emperor in destroying Hindu temples, as well as the annexation of Mârwâṛ to the Mughal empire after the death of its ruler Jasavantasiṁha, had already exasperated the Mahârâṇâ. The

[75] Smith's *Akbar*, p. 153; Burgess' *Chronology*, p. 53.

[76] *History of Jahângîr* by Beni Prasad, pp. 223-242.

[77] Elliot's *History of India*, vol. VII, pp. 103-4.

[78] J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, vol. III, pp. 382-83. The causes mentioned in *Storia do Mogor*, II, pp. 236-238, are interesting though not reliable.

marriage[79] in s. 1717 (1660 A.D.) of the Mahârâṇâ with Chârumatî, daughter of Râṭhor Rûpasiṁha of Kishangaṛh, already betrothed to the emperor, was a further cause of this outbreak of war.

On 30th November 1679, Aurangzeb left Ajmer for Udaipur. The Mahârâṇâ retired with his subjects to the hills. The pass of Deobârî was occupied by the emperor on 4th January 1680. The capital, Udaipur, being found evacuated, was occupied by the emperor. Chitor had already been occupied by the Mughals, and 63 temples were destroyed when the emperor visited it at the end of February 1680. The power of Mewâṛ being seemingly crushed, Aurangzeb returned to Ajmer on 22nd March 1680. But a strong force under Prince Akbar was kept in Mewâṛ, with Chitor and its vicinity as a base. Yet the Mughals did not succeed in suppressing the Râjpûts. Sometimes they suffered heavy reverses. For example, one of their divisions under Ḥasan 'Âlî Khân was lost among the hills. After strenuous fighting for sometime, the Râjpûts headed by Durgâdâsa Râṭhoṛ seduced Prince Akbar to rebel against his father and seize the throne. The prince fell into the trap, and on 1st January 1681 crowned himself emperor. He then marched with a large army of Râjpûts and Mughals combined towards Ajmer to try conclusions with his father, and encamped in the night at Deorai, about three miles from the emperor's camp, fixing the following morning for the final struggle. But during the night Aurangzeb turned the tables on him by writing a deceitful letter,[79a] which caused the Râjpûts to desert Prince Akbar, who, thus abandoned, fled in the morning towards Mârwâṛ, with a few Râjpût followers under Durgâdâsa Râṭhoṛ. From Mârwâṛ the prince fled to Mewâṛ and thence to the Deccan, finally reaching the Marâṭhâ Śambhâjî's court at Raigaṛh. This junction of Akbar with the Marâṭhâ king caused much alarm to the emperor at a time when fighting was already going on in northern India against the Râjpûts of Mârwâṛ and Mewâṛ. Consequently, Aurangzeb had hastily to patch up peace with Mahârâṇâ Râjasiṁha's successor, Jayasiṁha (1680-98 A.D.), in June 1681, and soon after he proceeded to the Deccan in person. By this peace, the Mughals withdrew from Chitor and other towns in Mewâṛ excepting Mâṇḍal, Pur and Badnor, which were ceded to the Mughal by the Mahârâṇâ in lieu of the *jaziya* demanded from his kingdom.[80]

After Aurangzeb's death his successor, Bahâdur Shâh, threatened Mewâṛ with attack, but the danger was wisely averted by Mahârâṇâ Amarasiṁha II (1698-1710 A.D.) by sending a letter of congratulation and some presents through his brother Bakhtsiṁha.[81]

The last attack on Chitor was made by the Marâṭhâs during the time of Râṇâ Bhîmasiṁha (1778-1828 A.D.). For a long time before this, a feud had been going on between the Śaktâvats (descendants of Śaktâ, the brother of Mahârâṇâ Pratâp I.) and the Chûṇḍâvats (descendants of Chûṇḍâ, brother of Mahârâṇâ Mokala) as to who should remain in the van of the army, a privilege that was greatly esteemed. Later on, this feud developed into a question of personal ambition to govern the country. About the time when Bhîmasiṁha came to the throne the Śaktâvats were becoming prominent and powerful owing to their numbers. Some years previously the Chûṇḍâvats had called in Zâlimsiṁha, the regent of Koṭāh, to assist them in the organization of the State. Zâlimsiṁha, however, spent his time in self-aggrandizement, and he found in the Chûṇḍâvats the chief obstacle to his designs. He, therefore, sided with the Śaktâvats and secured help from the Marâṭhâ Sindhia under Ambâjî, to assist him in taking Chitor, into which the Chûṇḍâvats were forced to throw themselves. The latter,

[79] Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 440-41.

शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे वर्षे सप्तदशे ततः ।
गत्वा कृष्णगढे दिव्यो महत्या सेनया युतः ॥
दिल्लीशार्थे रक्षिताया राजसिंहनरेश्वरः ।
राठोड़रूपसिंहस्य पुत्र्याः पाणिग्रहणं व्यधात ॥

Râjapraśasti Mahâkâvya, canto 8, *Ślokas* 29 and 30.

[79a] This letter was so contrived as to fall into the hands of the Râjputs. In it Aurangzeb praised Akbar for having won over the Râjputs as he had been instructed and now he should crown his service by bringing the Râjputs into a position, where they would be under the fire of both armies.

[80] J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, vol. III, pp. 384-422.

[81] W. Irvine, *The Later Moghuls*, vol. I, p. 45. The name of the Mahârâṇâ's brother was Takhtsiṁha.



Fig. 3.

VIJAYANAGARA.—The so-called Lotus Mahal, probably the residence of Rama Raya: to the right a watch-tower: to the left an artificial lake.

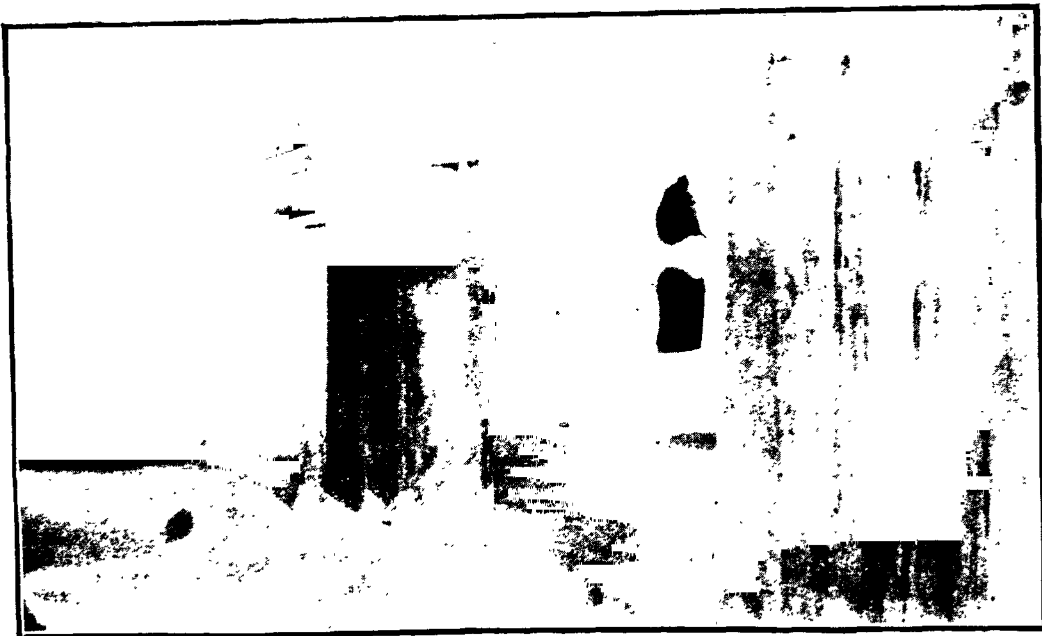


Fig. 4

VIJAYANAGARA.—Interior of the so-called Lotus Mahal, probably Rāma Rāya's palace called *Ratna-kūṭa*.



Fig. 1.

VIJAYANAGARA.—The so-called Zenana, probably the prison of Emperor Sadâśiva Raya: a watch-tower in one of the corners.



Fig. 2

VIJAYANAGARA.—A corner of the so called Zenana showing one of the watch-towers, and the elephant stables.

however, intrigued with Ambâjî, were reconciled to the Râṇâ and procured the dismissal of both Zâlimsiṁha and the army of Sindhia on payment to the latter of 20 lakhs levied on both clans.[82]

It will thus be seen that Chitor suffered from four great, and several minor, attacks from time to time. The fortress has played an important part, not only in the history of Râjpûtânâ but also in the history of India. Though we have no definite historical evidence in respect of it prior to the eighth century of the Christian era, nevertheless, its use as a stronghold probably goes back to a remote past. From the close of the mediæval period it became the cynosure of the rulers of India : hence its grievous sufferings. By the middle of the nineteenth century, it was practically reduced to a state of desolation, till the work of repairing it was begun by Mahârâṇâ Sajjansiṁha and continued by the deceased Mahârâṇâ.

In fine, those that had once raised their swords against this noble fortress have perished and their descendants have disappeared in the mist of obscurity, but Chitorgaṛh, though worn by vicissitude and stricken in years, proud to be still in the possession of its own lord, still rears its stately head above the plain, its honour untarnished and its fame imperishable.

THE PRISON OF EMPEROR SADÂŚIVA RÂYA.

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

IN the first volume of my history of *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I described at length the three stages by which the Prime Minister of Emperor Sadâśiva, the well-known Râma Râya, finally usurped the imperial authority. These three different phases of his usurpation are substantiated by foreign travellers and chroniclers, and confirmed by inscriptions and coins.[1]

He first posed as standing on the same level with, and practically enjoying the same authority as, the Emperor Sadâśiva. Then he proceeded to imprison the sovereign, whom he showed to his subjects once a year only. Finally even this ceremony was suppressed, while rumours were cunningly spread throughout the empire that the Emperor Sadâśiva had died. After this the enthronement of Râma Râya as Emperor of Vijayanagara came in the natural course of events.

While narrating the second of these stages, I wrote in the above-mentioned book as follows : " Couto [a Portuguese Chronicler who gives the most important details about Sadâśiva's imprisonment] does not say where this tower [or prison] was situated. Several inscriptions of the time affirm that Sadâśiva resided at Vijayanagara. But this is not a satisfactory proof ; because even supposing that he was imprisoned at Penukoṇḍa, his subjects could readily have been led to believe that he was still at Vijayanagara. Nevertheless we are inclined to think that he remained in his capital......"[2]

Indeed Emperor Sadâśiva was shown once every year to his subjects, and this ceremony would naturally take place in the capital itself.[3] Moreover, all the contemporary sources that speak of the battle of Rakśasatangaḍi (formerly called Talikota) state that Tirumala, Râma Râya's brother, after the battle ran to Vijayanagara to fetch the Emperor Sadâśiva, who was " kept prisoner " there, and then fled with him to their final refuge.

Now where was this prison of the Emperor Sadâśiva situated ? This question was always on my lips when I visited the ruins in 1926. But the great havoc caused by four centuries in the buildings of the old capital, and the boards placed without much historical accuracy by the Archæological Department, mislead the researchers so that I could not trace this building. But in my last visit to the ancient capital in the month of April 1929, I made a new search, taking as a guide the Portuguese chronicler Couto.

This writer is the only one who, to some extent, describes Sadâśiva's prison. He says that it was a strongly fortified tower with iron doors, and surrounded by sentries; nevertheless his treatment while there was such as befitted a king.[4] Now the Portuguese phrase,

[82] Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 518.

[1] Cf. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, pp. 28-39.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[3] Cæsar Frederick, in Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, X, p. 93.

[4] Couto, *Decadas*, VI, p. 383.

huma torre fortissima, which was literally translated "a strongly fortified tower," according to the terminology common in those days among Portuguese and Spanish writers alike, simply means "a well-equipped fortress." Accordingly it naturally supposes high, strong walls encircling the premises, with several sentry boxes on the top of the walls—these sentries are also mentioned by Couto—and a palace inside to serve as the dwelling of the emperor ; for, as the Portuguese writer expressly mentions, Sadâśiva was there treated as a king. Moreover the fact mentioned by Frederick, that the young emperor was shown to his subjects once a year while in prison, seems to suggest a high tower which would enable a great number of his subjects to see their unfortunate monarch. And since it was not the intention of Râma Râya to betray the fact that Sadâśiva was imprisoned, this place would have to be inside the royal enclosure. All this proves, moreover, that this so-called fortress would not be very extensive, but only sufficient for the king's palace and some gardens for his enjoyment.

After much examination I could not find any place agreeing with these details, except the so-called Zenana. Now it is evident that this enclosure would not be large enough to afford shelter and amusement to the hundreds of women that formed the harem of the emperors of Vijayanagara.[5] Hence most probably it is not the Zenana at all. Let us see what else it is likely to be.

The so-called Zenana is a quadrangular enclosure surrounded by very high walls, the construction of which is totally unlike that of the walls encircling the seven enclosures of Vijayanagara. This enclosure contains two main buildings and four secondary ones. Almost in the centre of these is the base of an edifice exactly like the bases of other buildings we come across within the royal enclosure. This building was apparently of the same style and belonged to the same period as the edifices of the royal enclosure. But the other five buildings, including that which we have classified as one of the main buildings of this enclosure, belong to an altogether different style of architecture. These five buildings are the Lotus Mahal or Council Hall ; three sentry towers in the north-eastern, south-eastern and south-western corners, and a small oblong house attached to the northern wall, apparently destined for the servants.

The fact that these five buildings are in a different architectural style naturally forces us to compare it with the style of the other civil buildings of Vijayanagara. This new style has been called "Indo-Muslim style,"[6] and has been explained as due to Musulman influence at the Vijayanagara court. In the book above referred to I advanced the theory that these buildings were put up by the Deccani Sultâns during their six months' stay at Vijayanagara, after the battle of Rakśasatagaḍi.[7] Yet a more careful examination of these buildings has forced me to change my view. In the Lotus Mahal itself, at the point of the arches of the ground floor, one discovers the *kîrtimukha*, which is a purely Hindu feature ; and what is still more decisive, inside the cupola of the same building there are several Hindu images placed in niches, that form part of the original design of the builder of that edifice. Moreover, there are three buildings in the Tamil country, built in the same style, which were not built by the Musulmans. These are the great and the small mahal at Chandragiri and the square tower in the inner enclosure of the Gingî fort.

Now the two mahals of Chandragiri were beyond doubt built by Veṅkaṭa II, who first became Viceroy of the Tamilakam there, and then established the capital of the empire in the same place. The Hindu-Muslim buildings of Vijayanagara were most likely built during the same period. They evidently disclose a marked Muslim influence in the capital of the Hindu empire. Such Muslim influence was evident during the regency of Râma Râya, when the capital itself gave shelter to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, then a fugitive prince of Golkoṇḍa[8] ; and received with great honours 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh II himself, the Sultân of Bijâpur, who went to pay a visit to Râma Râya.[9]

5 Cf. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 247-248, 370, 382.

6 Longhurst, *Ruins of Hampi*, p. 78 ff.

7 Heras, o.c., p. 227.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 81-83.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

During this period the buildings in the Zenana enclosure were undoubtedly put up, except one, the edifice on the central stone base. Accordingly, this style may properly be called the Âravîḍu style of South Indian architecture.

Now the precise period when the buildings were erected is not very difficult to determine. After the battle of Talikota, during the short stay of Tirumala Râya at Vijayanagara, the new regent's sole thought was to prepare the empire for future wars with the Deccani Musalmans, as his wish of buying horses from the Portuguese evidently shows. Moreover, the same fact, carefully recorded by Frederick, shows that Tirumala had not much money to spend uselessly on erecting new buildings in a deserted city, for he had not enough money even to pay the Portuguese merchants for the horses sold to him.[10] It is therefore evident that those buildings were built in the time of Râma Râya. His purpose in erecting such edifices was intimately connected with his ambitious project to usurp the throne. When he decided to imprison the young emperor, he did not intend to throw him into a dark dungeon, but to place him in one of the old palaces of the royal enclosure to serve as a residence befitting a king. He erected a wall round the plot—for, after all, that palace was to be a prison—but it was not necessary that this wall should be as thick and strong as the walls of the other enclosures of the city. This would explain the difference between the walls of the so-called Zenana and the other walls of the city. A prison, moreover, required guards, and on this account three watch towers were built in the corners (the fourth one being perhaps ruined). The small house attached to the northern wall was undoubtedly for the servants. The purpose of the Lotus Mahal is another proof of the cunning nature of that great politician.

The *Svaramelakalanidhi* informs us that Râma Râya constructed for himself a palace called *Ratna-kûṭa*, which was surrounded by gardens adorned with statues and tanks abounding with swans.[11] Now, we do not know of any other building in the so-called Hindu-Muslim style which could be the *Ratna-kûṭa*, the residence or palace of the great ruler. In all probability the so-called Lotus Mahal is the *Ratna-kûṭa*. It is surrounded by a pit or ditch, which could be filled up with water. Thus the building became like a small island in the centre of a small lake. Another small lake or tank is to be seen on the northern side of this mahal.

The smallness of this palace does not create any objection against this identification. For Râma Râya was not living there. It was a place for recreation and enjoyment. "Seated within this palace," again says the *Svaramelakalanidhi*, "he spent his time in the midst of scholars versed in literature, music and other arts."[12]

It was very convenient for Râma Râya's purposes to build this palace for enjoyment within the walls of the Emperor Sadâśiva's prison. It was necessary for the latter not to realize that he had wholly lost his freedom. Thus the regent could safely and steadily climb the steps to the throne. Had Sadâśiva realized his real state, he would perhaps have broken his chains, and the plans of Râma Râya would have suddenly failed. The fact that Sadâśiva's "treatment while there was such as befitted a king," as noted by Couto, proves the intention of the far-sighted regent. To build the *Ratna-kûṭa* within the walls of the emperor's prison was the wisest stroke of his ambitious policy. How could Sadâśiva imagine that he was in prison, when his regent, the real master of the whole empire, came to spend the hours of his recreation within the walls of his own garden?

The above reflexions will show how probable it is that the so-called Zenana was the prison of Emperor Sadâśiva Râya: and though this theory does not reach certainty, it is nevertheless better founded than that which assumes the enclosure to be the harem of the emperors of Vijayanagara. It would therefore be prudent for the Archæological Department to remove the board stating that the enclosure is the Zenana, and substitute another suggesting that the enclosure was probably the prison of Emperor Sadâśiva Râya between 1550 and 1565.

10 Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, X, p. 94.

11 Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 190.

12 *Ibid.*

SIDI ALI SHELEBI IN INDIA, 1554-1556 A.D.

BY C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

(*Continued from page 8.*)

The identification of these two rivers is important from a geographical point of view, as illustrating the courses of the Panjâb rivers at a definite date. The first may be identified without any hesitation with the Sutlej, because in this case Sîdî 'Alî calls the river by the name by which the Sutlej is still known to the local people, the Ghâra, a name under which (in a variety of spellings) it appears in its lower course on nearly all old maps. We know also that the Sutlej had at a much earlier date abandoned its ancient Ghaggar-Hakṛâ channel, joining the Trinâb near Ucch. But the question of the identity of the second river is a more difficult one. There is evidence to show that the Chenâb flowed to the east of Mûltân as late as 1245 A.D., and that by 1397 it had shifted its channel farther north and west, flowing to the west of that town.[55] We also know that up till the end of the fourteenth century at least the Râvî flowed to the east and south of Mûltân, but we do not know exactly as yet when it shifted its course to the north and west, to join the Chenâb to the north of Mûltân, as it does at present.[56] We also know that the Biâs until comparatively recent historical times flowed through the middle of the Mûltân district from east to west, joining the Chenâb, or rather the Trinâb, near Theh Kalân, some 20 miles south of Shujâbâd. To judge from what Abû'l-fazl writes in his *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, it would seem to have been flowing in this channel in Akbar's time. If this be so, it would appear reasonable to conclude that it took that course in Sîdî 'Alî's time also, and that this was the second big river he had to cross between Ucch and Mûltân. A difficulty, however, arises in this connexion if we read Ibn Baṭûṭa's account of his journey from Sind to Delhi (*c.* 1334). He tells us that, when on the way from Ucch to Mûltân at a distance of ten " miles " from the latter city, he crossed the river called Khusrûâbâd,[57] which was one of the big rivers and could only be crossed by boat. There the merchandise of travellers was examined in the strictest fashion and their baggage was ransacked. As he mentions only one river as having to be crossed between the two towns, the question arises, was it the Biâs or the Sutlej ? If by " miles " he meant *farsangs* (as I suspect he did elsewhere), the distance from Mûltân would correspond with the known old channel of the Biâs. In any case the Sutlej must have been much farther from Mûltân ; and possibly in Ibn Baṭûṭa's day the Sutlej had not yet adopted the channel that joins the Trinâb to the north of Ucch, which it evidently had before Sîdî 'Alî crossed it. We may conclude, therefore, that the two rivers crossed by our author were the Sutlej and the Biâs.

In the middle of the month of *Ramaẓân* (on the 15th *Ramaẓân*, i.e., the 3rd August, according to Vambéry's translation) Sîdî 'Alî arrived in Mûltân. Here, he tells us, he visited the tombs of Bahâu'd-dîn Zakarîya and Ruknu'd-dîn ; and thus we find further corroboration of the accuracy of his record. The shrines of Bahâu'd-dîn (*c.* 565 to 665 A.H.) and his grandson Ruknu'd-dîn are still centres of attraction at Mûltân for Muhammadan pilgrims and travellers. From Mûltân he moved on to a place which Vambéry transcribes as Sadkere, and Diez as Sadkereh (صدکره). There can be little doubt that this should read Shorkoṭ. Thence he went on to Lahore, where he arrived in the beginning of *Shauwâl*,[58] or, say, between the 19th and 25th August, when fighting was still going on in the northern

[55] *I.G.*, X, 190. Albîrûnî, however, says the Chenâb passed to the west of Mûltân, which seems to conflict with the views expressed by Major Raverty.

[56] From what Abû'l-fazl writes in his *Âîn-i-Akbarî* it would appear to have shifted to its more north channel by his time, and we may perhaps presume that it had taken that course before Sîdî 'Alî's day.

[57] See Defrémery and Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, III, 117. The name Khusrûâbâd is a puzzle ; I can find no place of this name in the region concerned. It may of course have been the name of a town or village on the bank of the river near a ferry, that has since disappeared. It is just possible that a mistake has occurred in the text, and that Kahrûr may have been intended, as this place lay by the side of an old channel of the Biâs.

[58] *Shauwâl* 962 A.H. corresponding with 19th August to 17th September 1555.

Panjâb between Humâyûn and the last of the Sûr dynasty claimants to the crown. Humâyûn had started from Kâbul in the previous November to regain his throne; he had occupied Lahore in February; he had won a decisive victory near Sirhind on the 22nd June over Sikandar Khân Sûr, the nephew of the great Sher Shâh; and had established himself in Delhi in July, only a month before Sîdî 'Alî reached Lahore. In accordance with his usual practice, our author breaks off from the narrative of his itinerary to give a brief, but fairly accurate, summary of the political situation, which may be quoted here (as translated by Vambéry)[59] as a fair sample of his notes on local political affairs :—

"After the death of Selim Shah, a son of Shir Khan, the former sovereign of Hindustan, Iskender Khan had come to the throne. When the Padishah Humayun heard this, he immediately left Kabul and marched his army to India, took Lahore, and fought Iskender Khan near Sahrand. He won the battle and took 400 elephants, besides several cannon and 400 chariots. Iskender Khan escaped to the fortress of Mankut, and Humayun sent Shah Abul-Maali with a detachment of soldiers after him. Humayun himself proceeded to his residence at Delhi and despatched his officers to different places. The Osbeg, Iskender Khan, he sent to Agra, and others to Firuzshah, Senbel,[60] Bayana and Karwitch.[61] War raged on all sides, and when I arrived at Lahore the Governor, Mirza Shah,[62] would not let me continue my journey until I had seen the Padishah (Humayun). After sending the latter word of my arrival, he received orders to send me forthwith to Delhi. Meanwhile a whole month had been wasted, but finally we were sent off with an escort."

Crossing "the river of Sultanpur,"[63] by which is here meant the Biâs (in its old channel), and marching via Fîrûzshâh, Sîdî 'Alî reached Delhi in twenty days towards the end of *Zû'l-qa'da*,[64] that is to say about the middle of the month of October 1555. He tells us that out of respect for his monarch, the Sulṭân of Turkey, he was accorded a brilliant reception, the Khân-khânân[65] and other high officers with several thousand troops being deputed to meet him. The same evening the Khân-khânân gave a banquet for him and his party, and then he was granted an audience by the emperor. After being presented to Humâyûn, Sîdî 'Alî offered some gift, accompanied by a chronogram upon the conquest of India and two *ghazals*, "all of which pleased the Padishah greatly." But when he begged permission to proceed on his journey, Humâyûn refused to grant this, wishing to retain him, and offered him an assignment of revenue amounting (as would appear from the translations at least) to a crore of rupees! Declining this, Sîdî 'Alî expressed his anxiety to continue his journey, but Humâyûn replied that he should stay at least for a year. The emperor even suggested that he might send an envoy to Constantinople, carrying an explanation from the admiral of his inability to return; but Sîdî 'Alî wisely foresaw the light in which this would be regarded by his monarch. Ultimately Humâyûn consented to his leaving, provided he waited till the roads, then impracticable owing to the recent rains,[66] became passable, and meanwhile taught him how to calculate solar and lunar eclipses and instructed him in other astronomical matters. As we know from other sources that Humâyûn was interested in the heavenly bodies, this

59 *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis*, p. 46.

60 *I.e.*, Sambhal, now in the Morâdâbâd district, U. P.

61 *Scil.* Kanauj; Diez writes Kenouidjeh.

62 This appears to have been Mahmûd Sultân Mîrzâ, son of Ulugh Mîrzâ, to whom, according to Blochmann, Humâyûn gave the name of Shâh Mîrzâ.—*Âîn-i-Akbarî*, trans. Blochmann, I, 461-62.

63 So called from the then important place, Sulṭânpur, which lay on the high road from the north-west frontier to Delhi, and past which the Biâs flowed. Sulṭânpur is now in the Kapurtala State, between the Biâs and the Sutlej, a few miles above their present junction. See also *Bâbur-nâma*, trans. Mrs. Beveridge, II, 465, from which it appears that the Sutlej then took a more southernly course.

64 *Zû'l-qa'da* 962 A.H., corresponding with 17th September to 16th October 1555.

65 The famous Bairâm Khân was the Khân-khânân at the time. He may have been at headquarters.

66 The translations seem to be defective, as the rainy season was over, though the roads would still be in bad condition. Vambéry translates: "We are now close upon the three months of continuous (Birshegal)." In a note he gives the word used in his MS. as برشکال adding: "birshegal, probably a Hindustani word"! The word used by Humâyûn, of course, was the Hindî *barsha-kâl* (Sans. वर्षकाल) a term in general use, and employed by so early a writer as Albîrûnî.

story need not be regarded as fanciful. Sîdî 'Alî accepted the inevitable, and settled down to please the emperor. It was probably his remarkable aptitude for making up verses and his *savoir faire*, of which we have abundant evidence, that ingratiated him most at court, where he seems to have been in constant attendance. He tells us that one day he accompanied Humâyûn on horseback to visit the tombs of the celebrated Shaikhs, Quṭbu'd-dîn Pîr Dihlivî, Niẓâmu'd-dîn and Farîd Shakarganj,[67] as well as that of Mîr Khusrau, the poet,[68] and Mîr Ḥasan Dihlivî.[69] The inclusion of Farîd Shakarganj in this list seems to be due to some error on our author's part, as the shrine of Shakarganj is at Pâkpattan in the Montgomery district, and could not have been visited on the same day as the others. Niẓâmu'd-dîn Auliyâ was the successor of Farîdu'd-dîn: and possibly their names were coupled together in Sîdî 'Alî's hearing.

Several anecdotes are told of conversations with Humâyûn and his courtiers and of poetical discussions, in which latter the emperor took special interest, commending Sîdî 'Alî's efforts in this respect. We can read between the lines that the admiral had no small opinion of his own verses. Among others with whom Sîdî 'Alî became acquainted at Delhi, he names the *âftâbchi*, Abdu'r-rahmân Beg, as "a courtier who also rejoiced in the confidence and affection of the monarch, and was his constant companion in private life." (Vambéry.) Could this possibly have been our old friend Jauhar, his *âftâbchi* and, later, his historian ?

At last, with the aid of some of the court favourites, Sîdî 'Alî managed to secure permission to depart. Passports were prepared ; a letter was written by Humâyûn to the Sulṭân of Turkey ; all was ready for the start, when suddenly everything was thrown into confusion by Humâyûn's fatal accident. As the evidence of an impartial witness, present at Delhi at the time and in close touch with Humâyûn and his entourage, the description which Sîdî 'Alî gives of this accident and of the action taken to conceal the emperor's death till the heir-apparent could be communicated with, is of much importance. The late Mr. H. Beveridge had recognized this when translating the relevant passage in the *Akbarnâma*, and he accepted the record as confirming the correctness of the day of the week and month assigned for the event, *viz.*, Friday, 24th Jan. 1556. Vambéry thus translates the passage[70] :—

"Humayun had given audience on Friday evening, when, upon leaving his castle of pleasure, the Muezzin announced the Ezan just as he was descending the staircase. It was his wont, wherever he heard the summons, to bow the knee in holy reverence. He did so now, but unfortunately fell down several steps, and received great injuries to his head and arm . . . . .

"Everything was confusion in the palace, but for two days they kept the matter secret. It was announced to the outer world that the sovereign was in good health, and alms were distributed amongst the poor. On the third day, however, that was on the Monday, he died of his wounds . . . . .

"His son Djelaleddin Ekber was at the time away on a journey to visit Shah Ebul Maali, accompanied by the Khanikhanan. He was immediately informed of the sad event. Meanwhile the Khans and Sultans were in the greatest consternation ; they did not know how to act. I tried to encourage them and told them how at the death of Sultan Selim the situation was saved by the wisdom of Piri Pasha, who managed to prevent the news of his death from being noised abroad. I suggested that by taking similar measures, they might keep the sovereign's death a secret until the prince should return. This advise (*sic*) was followed. The divan (council of state) met as usual, the nobles were summoned, and a public announcement was made that the emperor intended to visit his country seat, and would go there on horseback. Soon after, however, it was announced that on account of the unfavourable weather, the trip had to be abandoned. On the next day a public audience was announced, but as the astrologers did not prophesy favourably for it, this also had to be given up. All this, however, somewhat alarmed the army, and on

67 It will be noticed that Sîdî 'Alî gives first place to Quṭbu'd-dîn. This was Khwâja Quṭbu'd-dîn Bakhtyâr Kâkî, whose tomb is at Mahraulî, not far from the Quṭb Minâr, and was once the most famous shrine at Delhi, but now ranks second to that of Niẓâmu'd-dîn Auliyâ. See H. C. Fanshawe, *Delhi, Past and Present*, p. 280.

68 The tomb of the famous poet Mîr Khusrau (" Ṭûṭî-i-shakar-maqâl ") is near that of Niẓâmu'd-dîn Auliyâ.

69 I am not aware who Mîr Ḥasan Dihlivî was, but local Muhammadans would doubtless know.

70 *Loc. cit.*, p. 55 f.

the Tuesday it was thought advisable to give them sight of their monarch. A man called Molla Bi,[71] who bore a striking resemblance to the late Emperor, only somewhat slighter of stature, was arrayed in the imperial robes and placed on a throne specially erected for the purpose in the large entrance hall. His face and eyes were veiled. The Chamberlain Khoshhal[72] Bey stood behind, and the first Secretary in front of him, while many officers and dignitaries as well as the people from the riverside, on seeing their sovereign made joyful obeisance to the sound of festive music. The physicians were handsomely rewarded and the recovery of the monarch was universally credited.

"I took leave of all the grandees, and with the news of the Emperor's recovery I reached Lahore about the middle of the month of Rebiul Evvel. This was on a Thursday. . . . ."

According to the translation by Diez (which is probably the more correct), it was on the day following the mock audience, that is to say, on Wednesday, that Sîdî 'Alî took leave of the grandees, and next day, Thursday, in the middle of *Rabî* I,[73] he started on his way to Lahore.

Travelling via Sonpat, Pânipat, Karnâl, Thânesvar, Samâna, Sirhind, Macchiwâra and Bajwâra,[74] and crossing the "river of Sultânpur" by boat, he reached Lahore at the beginning of *Rabi* II, i.e., about the middle of February 1556. A day or two earlier Akbar had formally ascended the throne at Kalânaur (on the 2nd *Rabi* II,[75] corresponding with 14th February).

Mîrzâ Shâh,[76] the governor of Lahore (who was there in the preceding August also) now refused to allow the travellers to proceed farther on the pretext that Akbar had issued orders that no one was to be allowed to go to Kâbul or to Kandahâr : so they had to turn back and go to Kalânaur, to obtain the young emperor's sanction. They came up with Akbar near the fortress of Mânkot, where he had been watching the movements of Sikandar Khân. Akbar readily gave the required permission, as well as a guide and a lakh of rupees (perhaps an assignment on certain revenues, as seems likely from what Sîdî 'Alî says later on), and told them to travel in the company of four Begs, whom he was sending with an escort to Kâbul. Here Sîdî 'Alî mentions that Shâh Abû'l-ma'âlî, who had got into disgrace and had been placed under arrest,[77] was put in charge of these Begs and taken to Lahore, where he was cast into jail.

In the middle of *Rabi* II Sîdî 'Alî and his companions quitted Lahore *en route* for Kâbul, crossing the Râvî, which he calls the river of Lahore, in boats. Another big river was then crossed on rafts (Vambéry says "of barrels and chairs"! Diez says "of planks and water pots": they were probably *gharnâîs*) as there were no boats at hand. This was doubtless the Chenâb. The river of Bharah (بهره) was next crossed in boats. This must, I think, be intended for the Jhelum, as Bharah seems clearly to represent the modern Bhera on the side of that river, an old and once important site lying on the main route usually followed in early times between Afghânistân and Hindûstân. Bâbur, who crossed the Jhelum near Bhera[78] in 1519, writes in his *Memoirs* of the Bharah country and the Bharah people. He tells us that the Koh-i-Jûd (the Salt Range) marched with their country for 14 miles.

71 Diez writes Menla Bikessi (Maula Bakhsh ?).

72 Diez does not call him Chamberlain. Here again Vambéry has evidently mistranslated the text. Khûshhâl Beg was one of Humâyûn's body-guard, his bow-bender, as appears from an earlier passage in Diez. He was in Akbar's body-guard afterwards, but later on was executed for sedition by being trampled under foot by an elephant. See Elliot, *History of India*, V, 322.

73 *Rabi* I, 963, corresponds with 14th January to 12th February 1556. The Thursday nearest the middle of *Rabi* I was the 17th, corresponding to the 30th January.

74 Two miles SE. of Hoshiârpur ; now a village, but once a very important place and chief town of the district. Vambéry can only suggest a place in Oudh (Bachhrâwân in the Rae Bareli district !)

75 *Rabi* II, 963 A.H., corresponding with 13th February to 12th March 1556.

76 This Mîrzâ Shâh, or Shâh Mîrzâ, is also mentioned by Abû'l-fazl in his *Akbarnâma*—see trans. by Beveridge, *Bibl. Indica*, II, 30. See also above, note[62].

77 See *Akbarnâma*, trans. Beveridge, II, 27-29, for the reasons leading up to this action.

78 Mrs. Beveridge, in her *Bâbur-nâma*, I, 379-387, transcribes the name as Bhîra, but Raverty (Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî, pp. 1131-32, note), writes Bharah, after comparing two Persian versions with the original Turkî.

There follows a passage in which the translations of Vambéry and Diez differ materially, ending with the statement that the Khushâb and Nilâb rivers were both crossed by boat. By the Khushâb can only be meant the Jhelum,[79] Khushâb being a town on its bank some 40 miles below Bhera: but why the passage of this river should be mentioned twice is not understood. By the Nîlâb is meant the Indus.[80]

In the beginning of *Jumâda* I, or in the middle of March, 1556, Sîdî 'Alî and his companions moved on westwards through the Khaibar Pass towards Kâbul: and here we must leave them to continue their extraordinary journey and win through even greater difficulties and dangers before they reached the Bosphorus more than a year later. Enough has been written perhaps to show the great interest that attaches to this early travel story, and how well it merits study and efficient editing from a reliable text, illustrated by full historical and geographical notes.

SCRAPS OF TIBETO-BURMAN FOLKLORE.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT

(*Continued from vol. LIX, page 187.*)

5. Rebirth.

"We were overtaken by one or two of our village friends who were on the way (p. 106) to the monastery, which lay in the direction of Kampa Dzong. . . . . We learned that they were carrying a new flag to present to the monastery on behalf of a poor man, who was dying of pneumonia. He was hoping that the present might enable him to acquire enough merit to secure a longer span of life, or if fate was against him and he was destined for death, that he might have a felicitous rebirth, for it seemed he had led a somewhat gay and merry life and had dreamed that as a punishment he was to be reborn as a louse."

In Shway Yoe [Sir George Scott], *The Burman*, we read: "It is written that more hardly will a needle cast from the summit of Mt. Myinmo [Meru] across the wide Thamoddaya [Samudra] Sea—more hardly will it touch with its point, as it falls, another needle, standing point upwards in the great Southern Island—than will any given creature become a human being," at the next birth.

The doctrine of rebirth was introduced into Tibet with Buddhism and is typical of Hindu philosophy generally. It is a very early fundamental belief of Hinduism, including Buddhism and Jainism. The doctrines set up by the early Brahmanic Schools of Philosophy (see my *Word of Lalla the Prophetess*) "were based on the Aryan instinct of the godhead and were dominated by contact with the ideas of totemistic aborigines, believing man's spirit-soul to be a separate entity, able to leave the body at will and after death to live in other human bodies and even in animate things thought to be capable of harbouring a soul." The idea arose that there was a repetition of death and rebirth for ever as the fate of mankind, and "this led eventually to seeking after release from such a prospect. . . . . The general argument ran thus: 'this world is an illusion: the one reality is the Absolute, unchanging, inert, unknowable.' The varying fortunes, characteristics and experiences of individual human beings were explained by transmigration and reincarnation of personal souls expiating the action of former lives, with a final release at last by reabsorption into the universal soul, of which they were held to be but emanations. So the merit of actionless, introspective, ascetic life, in this life, became the passport to release from rebirth. The necessity of a recurring rebirth before sufficient merit can be accumulated to obtain release led to the idea of cyclic destruction and recreation of the whole earth." At p. 29 of the same work we read: "The dread of rebirth in a humbler sphere than the present is the bugbear of a guilty conscience in all countries dominated by Hinduism."

[79] It will have been noticed how many of the rivers were called after places on their banks. Cf. also the case of the Chenâb, which was called the Sodhara or Sûdhara from a town of that name on its left bank.

[80] This name (Nîlâb) seems originally to have been the name of a ferry across the Indus, some 15 miles below Attock, but it came to be applied to the river itself.

6. Incarnation.

"Not only is Svong-Tsang-gampo [the Constantine of Tibetan Buddhism] regarded (p. 299) as an incarnation of divinity (deification is the common lot of every great hero in Tibet), but his spirit is supposed to be reincarnate in every succeeding Dalai Lama."

In *The Word of Lalla* (50, 53 f.) the theory of reincarnation is explained thus : "It was propounded by the Vaishnava Hindus out of the theory of the transmigration of souls from body to body and from the Buddhist 'legends of the mythical predecessors of Buddha and the equally mythical *tirthakaras* (apostles) of the Jains,' from which they created the many incarnations or *avatâras* of Vishnu, viewed as the Supernatural Self. The Vaishnavas were followed by the Shaivas and all other Hindus, till incarnations of the Deity became a general Hindu belief."

7. Supernatural Powers.

"We saw (p. 90) a snow leopard prowling about. . . . . It is extraordinary how these animals can walk over the snow without sinking into it. The natives explain this peculiarity by giving the snow leopards supernatural powers. . . . . We had a curious bit of luck that morning (pp. 92, 93). Our friend the snow leopard had passed us in the night and seemed to be heading for the pass, for we could see his footprints in the snow. There seemed to be a striking regularity about his path, and it occurrred to me that he might be travelling over the line of the road. Investigation proved that the idea was correct. By following his footsteps we saved ourselves a good deal of road seeking. It was amazing to me how the leopard knew the road, buried as it was beneath several feet of snow and, of course, level with the wide expanse on every side. I could only suppose that it was by means of a sense of smell effective through the deep snow, though why he should have kept the road with all its zigzags, when he could easily have made cross-cuts impossible for us, was a mystery which I did not attempt to solve. The servants looked upon the footprints as a very auspicious omen or even as a miraculous intervention on the part of the blessed Buddha or a Bodhisattva."

8. Miracles.

"The river (p. 220) itself [Brahmaputra] being no longer hidden in a gorge was exposed to the devastating rays of the sun, which had melted the ice covering, so that we could see water flowing in the middle, but so strong was the wind in the opposite direction that its blasts on the river made it seem as if the water was flowing backwards and uphill. In fact so strong was the illusion that the syce and Lhaten [a servant] thought it to be real and bowed down in worship of the supposed miracle."

9. Magical Powers.

(a) Lama's.

"The servants (p. 82) . . . . after some persuasion consented to go forward though they tried to insist that I make a substantial money offering to the Lachen Lama and solicit his indulgence to keep back the snow. All the natives of this part of the world firmly believe that a life of ascetic contemplation brings with it magical powers, including the ability to control the elements. The Lachen Lama is particularly famous all over Sikkim for his regulation of rain and snow. Even villages in the South dominated by other temples send petitions to him with huge gifts, asking that rain be stopped or made to fall as desired."

The question of magical power is discussed in *The Word of Lalla*, p. 23, thus : "The object of magical formulæ is to compel the unseen powers, that are held to govern man and his wants, to abstain or cease from doing him harm, or on the other hand to do him good. In this way they are a protection of mankind against evil or a method of benefiting him." The applicability of this observation to the above quoted story is obvious. As regards the probable origin of the belief, it is remarked in *The Word of Lalla*, p. 65, that "the Shaktic Buddhism that has long prevailed in Tibet largely consists of gross mysticism borrowed from the magic of aboriginal tribes."

As regards Burma, it is remarked in *E.R.E.*, III, 30-31, that the object of Burmese magic is to secure hallucination in respect of the five senses and to confer temporary invulnerability. This is achieved by potent mixtures. . . . . Certain specific kinds of magic have no doubt come from India—which accounts for the otherwise puzzling fact that Buddhist monks [of the Hinayana type] are themselves much addicted to it. That they have drawn on native Animistic sources to enlarge their knowledge is but natural. . . . . Articles subjected to magic are chiefly boats, stones and charms."

More specifically Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, p. 413, says: "Wizards and witches are very common in Burma. The thing runs in families, and on the Chindwin river in Upper Burma there is a village called Kalè Thaungtbut—'the small town at the top of the sand bank'—where the entire population is credited with power of this kind. They have 'a king' there."

Again, *loc. cit.*, Shway Yoe says: "There are the *sôns*, who delight in nothing so much as killing people, afflicting them with epilepsy, fits and divers other ailments, and there are the *wêzâs*, who are good people and strive to overthrow the machinations of the *sôns* against the welfare of mankind, while themselves learned in all the knowledge of the mystic arts. *Wêzâ* (Sanskrit, *vidyâ*) simply means wisdom or knowledge, and the sorcery studied by both classes is the same."

(*b*) *The Dalai Lama's*.

[In Pede Dzong the landlady, pp. 239, 240] "said she would like to see the foreign devil [*i.e.*, Dr. McGovern, then rumoured to be trying to get to Lhasa] and give him a good piece of her mind, but she was sure that so great was the vigilance of the officials and so powerful was the spiritual force of the Dalai Lama, the intruder would certainly be detected and sent back to his own village. I was interested in the latter statement as showing the implicit faith which the Tibetans have in the divinity and power of its suzerain. In spite of the many vicissitudes which have marked the reign of the previous holder of the office, most Tibetans really believe that the Dalai Lama is omnipotent and nearly all have faith in his omniscience. The fact that the present ruler was twice forced to flee the country at the peril of his life is glossed over and forgotten and sometimes explained away. Our hostess was firmly convinced that by means of his spiritual powers the Dalai Lama could have told at any moment where I was and what I was doing. The only class of Tibetan who are sceptical on these matters are the monks, particularly the Lhasa monks and those in immediate contact with the Court."

10. Cures.

Toby became seriously ill (p. 47) "and there was nothing we could do except to feed him with cod-liver oil and malt and wait for the crisis. One afternoon, a couple of days later, while Toby was asleep, I got out some of my Tibetan books—all books in Tibet are of a religious character—and began chanting from them, as I thought it was the best way to continue with my Tibetan studies. This continued some two hours, and by a curious coincidence, when Toby awoke, we found the crisis was passed and that he was much better. By the natives the benefit of the cod-liver oil was forgotten and the 'cure' was attributed to my religious incantations, and I was put down as a 'holy man,' a reputation that was later on to stand me in good stead."

11. Callousness.

"I thought (p. 272) at first that a bomb had been placed beneath my window [at Lhasa] but on looking forth I saw that by accident the whole firework stall had exploded, stunning every one in the vicinity. Four persons were killed and five more seriously injured. A large crowd gathered round the heap of victims. . . . . But no one seemed inclined to lend a helping hand, and every one was left to look after himself. This meant that the dead and seriously wounded were left to lie on the ground for really an extraordinary time until friends or relatives could learn of the mishap, and come and drag the bodies of the victims away. . . . . When the victims were eventually taken away they were carried back to their own houses and some monk—possibly, but not necessarily, a monk from the Medical College—was

invited to perform his ritual, either for the recovery of the patient, or if he were dead, for the safe passage of his soul into a favourable reincarnation."

"All the way (pp. 234, 235) we could see that the lake [Yamdro] was covered with a thick coat of ice, though with occasional seams indicating flow. Several times during the day we saw men walking across the frozen lake from the mainland to the peninsula or island in the middle. . . . . On one occasion, late in the afternoon, we were the spectators of a tragedy. Two men, who were walking nearly in the centre, came to a point where there was a bad flaw in the ice. We could see they had to jump a seam. The ice on either side was obviously weak, for it crashed under them and they were precipitated into the freezing water below. They attempted to crawl out, but they could not find a block of ice capable of supporting their weight, and soon they were so numbed by the cold that they fell back helpless and sank beneath the water. We could see their heads appear once or twice and then they sank again and disappeared for ever. I was astonished at the phlegm with which my companions looked at a catastrophe happening before their eyes. We passed one of the caravans just at the time and its members paused for a few moments to look at the tragedy taking place a few hundred yards away, but they continued their amiable chatter and no one made any move to save the unfortunates."

The above stories might have been told of almost any place one might mention in Burma. They so exactly illustrate the Burmese attitude towards an accident. Edwardes, *Crime in India*, p. 37, writes: "In Burma, if one may judge from a case in the Maûbin District, the vagaries of a man, who 'runs amok,' are regarded in much the same light as a cinema entertainment is by Western villagers. The culprit, in this case, after severely assaulting several persons with a *dah*, murdered a friend and his wife in very brutal fashion. A crowd of about seven hundred people watched the 'dance of death,' apparently unmoved and made no effort to seize the murderer. He would probably have accounted for several more victims, had not an inspector of police rushed up and shot him dead in his tracks."

Many years ago at Bassein I saw a man accidentally fall out of a rice boat in the middle of that very dangerous river, and though there were many boats on it with expert swimmers in them, all they did was to watch his struggles in an interested manner and say 'he will certainly drown.' In the end a young Englishman went out and saved him.

Edwardes, *op. cit.*, p. 49, also says: "The tendency of villagers to accept the attacks of dacoits as merely an uncomfortable feature of the daily routine is well illustrated by a case reported in 1921 in which the whole village turned out and calmly watched five dacoits armed with a home-made gun, which was fired by means of a lighted cheroot, help themselves to 10,000 rupees' worth of property and make a leisurely departure."

II. DEITIES.

1. Maitreya.

"Another image [at Gyangtse] showing fine craftsmanship [p. 54] was that of the Bodhisattva Maitreya. . . . . Maitreya, the Compassionate, is the next Buddha destined to be born in the world, and is adored by nearly every sort of [Mahayanist] Buddhist. He is frequently portrayed almost as a European. I have sometimes seen representatives of him with white skin and blue eyes, and in nearly all cases his image is sitting on a chair in European style as opposed to the Oriental cross-legged attitude assumed by other Tibetan deities."

2. Peden Llamo (Goddess).

"The floor above [in the Chokang at Lhasa] is largely devoted to the worship (p. 298) of the fierce female demon who acts as the dread guardian of Buddhism. . . . . The lady represented here, Peden (or Paldan) Llamo, is the most terrible of the fairies. She has many forms, some mild, representing her as a gracious lady, the hearer of prayers: others which portray her as a goddess of black magic, of disease and death. In the upper room of the Chokang or Cathedral there are images, representing her in both aspects. . . . . In her more horrible phase the colour is black, representing mystery and death. She is riding

on a fawn-coloured mule, but she is clad in the skins of dead men and is eating brains from a human skull. Offerings of *chang* or beer—a substitute for food—are made to her in other human skulls. While as the goddess of battle, she is surrounded by all sorts of weapons. . . . . Considering the terrible and blood-thirsty nature of the lady, it is curious and amusing to find that the Tibetans believed she was recently incarnate in the world as the late Queen Victoria."

Peden Llamo most probably represents a primitive Tibetan goddess, from whom arose, according to Hirananda Shastri, *Origin and Cult of Tara* (*Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 20) the Mahâyâna Buddhist Shaktic Târâ in her twenty-one forms, represented in one or two varieties—pacific and terrible. The Cult of Târâ dates back to the fifth century A.D., on the Tibetan borderland, or perhaps in Indian Tibet, and spread downwards into India, right down to the very South, in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Another view of the Tibetan Târâ has been expressed thus. "She is a principal goddess, who has twenty-one recognised forms in five colours—white, green, yellow, blue and red—and appears in two principal forms—gracious and terrible. In her terrible form she is represented as destroying a human being (like the Indian Durgâ). In her gracious form she was recently held by many Tibetans to be incarnated in Queen Victoria. The Tibetan view of Tara probably arose out of an indigenous goddess Paldan (or Peden) Llamo, who also appears in both forms and whose colour, in terrible form is black, representing mystery and death."

It is possible, however, that she represents the Hindu goddess Durgâ introduced into Tibet with Shaktic Buddhism. Shaktism was "the cult of female energy in life (Shakti), an extension of that primeval recognition of the mystery of the reproduction of life, which led to the use of the Shaiva emblem of the phallus (*linga*) as the representation of the godhead. So that the phallus emblem became both male and female (*linga* and *yoni*). . . . . Except as to their cult of Kali or Durgâ, Devi, Chandi, Kumari and other subsidiary names, as the female form of Shiva, with bloody sacrifices and much gross superstition borrowed from the magic of aboriginal tribes, the Shaktis were in all other respects essentially Shaivas." Eventually they permeated all Buddhism, and the cult "in Tibet became the form in which Buddhism has chiefly survived, causing it there to revert practically to the primitive Animism of the people with much degradation infused into it." (*The Word of Lalla*, p. 65.)

"The idea of the male and female god is visible as far as one can go back into the belief of the Aryans and has been consistently preserved in all branches of their descendants. It is visible also in all primitive religions and in all Animistic beliefs that have been studied. The concept of the god, his wife, his sons, his daughters and his messengers may be taken to be therefore a natural product of primitive human thought, which is necessarily anthropomorphic. . . . . In Vedic times and later, the goddess had no special qualifications separating her from the gods, and attributes peculiar to goddesses do not appear until the rise, still in early times, of the cult of Durgâ the chaste virgin huntress, the Diana of the Vindhya mountains of Central India, the lover of wine, flesh and bloody sacrifice. . . . She is clearly a Central Indian aboriginal goddess brought into Hinduism in connection with the Krishna cult. . . . *i.e.*, with Vaishnava Hinduism. In the next phase of her cult the Shaivas have captured her, and she has ceased to be regarded as a virgin, being identified with Umâ of the Himâlayas, the wife of Shiva. She is next found in the *Purânas* as Chandi, with a daily worship and an autumn festival, still the Durgâ Pújâ so well-known in Calcutta, the home of Kali, another name for her, or for an ancient goddess identified with her. And at the same time arose a sect worshipping her as Devi (*The Goddess*), identified with Brahman, the Absolute, the One Reality, and so above all divinities. Here then in the blood-and-wine-drinking expression of limitless power is the earliest appearance of Shakti, the female energy, representing the living productive form of the inactive, unknowable, unapproachable Absolute." (*The Word of Lalla*, 65-66.)

(*To be continued.*)

WHY KEWAT WOMEN ARE BLACK.

(A Chhattisgarhi Folk-song.)

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL.

THE town of Bilâspur, the headquarters of the district of the same name in the Central Provinces, derives its name from Bilâsa, a Kevaṭa woman, who is said to have burnt herself at that place under circumstances which form the subject of a popular Chhattîsgaṛhî song known as *Kevaṭina-gîta*, usually sung by Dewârs, a tribe of wandering mendicants found in that country. Bilâsa was a very beautiful woman and was so rich that she used to expose her fish on a silver tray, while she herself sat on a golden chair. The Râjâ of Ratanpur, so the story goes, once went to Bilâspur and visited the bâzâr, where this Kevaṭina at once attracted his attention. Her beauty captivating him, he opened conversation with her by asking the price of various kinds of fish she had for sale. Clever as she was, she gave the prices in equivocal terms ; for instance, she said that the price of the *aîchhâ* fish was equal to that of a Telî (oilman), and the price of a crab equal to that of a barber, thus subtly alluding to the qualities of the fish she vended, the *aîchhâ* being an oily fish, and the crab being noted for its tight grip, which she compared with that of a barber, who holds a man's head firmly while shaving him. The Râjâ's servants, observing that their master was no match for the woman in a battle of wits, suggested that she might be caught hold of and taken along, whereupon the Kevaṭina fled from her shop. As she was pursued, she held up her garment to the sun (Sûrya), praying that he would save her honour, and thereupon her dress took fire and she was consumed to ashes. Seeing what had happened, the Râjâ went on his way, and the village children ran to the river, where her husband was busy catching fish, and told him that his wife had committed *satî*, under the belief that he had been eaten by crocodiles. In order to ascertain the true cause of her death he engaged some sorcerers, by whose power of witchcraft the Kevaṭina descended into the flame of a lamp, and intimated that owing to her fair complexion and beauty the Râjâ had desired to outrage her modesty, and therefore she had burnt herself. She stated, further, that she had asked a boon from God that all Kevaṭinas should henceforth be born black, so that they should run no risk of being dishonoured, and also that in commemoration of her immolation (a sanctifying act) her caste should be considered purified. That is the reason why Kevaṭinas are black and why persons of all castes eat *chanâ* and *murrâ* (gram and rice) parched by them without any objection.

The Chhattîsgaṛhî songs are a curious mixture of jingling rhymes and prose—a sort of compromise between the two, with a view perhaps to avoid monotony—of which a fair specimen is afforded by the *Kevaṭina-gîta* reproduced below. The song also furnishes some points of linguistic and ethnographic interest :—

Chhitakî kuriyâ[1] *mukuta*[2] *duâra,*
Bhitarî Kevaṭina kase singâra[3] *:*
Khõpa[4] *pâre ringî chingî,*[5]
Okara[6] *bhîtara sonâ ke singî.*[7]

1 *Kuriyâ* is a peculiar Chhattisgaṛhî word for a 'hut.' It seems to be derived from *kurai*, or branches of the *kurru* tree (*Gard.nia lucida*), with which the hut is made. The word *kurai* has now become generalized, and is not restricted to the branches of the *kurru* alone, but is applied to the branches of any tree used for roofing a hut.

2 *Mukuta* or *mukata* = 'many' or 'much.' It is also used in this sense in Baghelkhaṇḍî Hindî.

3 *Singâra kasnâ* is a peculiar idiom in Chhattîsgaṛhî, equivalent to *singâra karnâ*. *Kasnâ* otherwise implies a sort of contempt, and is used of animals, e.g., *ghoḍâ kaso*, 'get the horse ready.'

4 *Khõpā* means a corner, as, for instance, of a house or room. The lower castes in Chhattîsgaṛh tie their hair in a knot, not on the back of the head, as the Marâṭhi women do, but at a corner in front.

5 *Ringî chingî* is the same as *rangâ changâ*, 'gaudy.'

6 *Okara* = *uskâ* or *uske* : *kara*, or *kar*, is generally used for *kâ* with demonstrative or interrogative pronouns, e.g., *kâkar*, 'whose'?

7 *Singî* is a comb, deriving its name from *singa*, or 'horn,' of which it used to be made. The word has become more generalized, and a wooden comb may also be called *singî*.

Mârai pânî bichhalai bâṭa,
Ṭhamakata Kevaṭina chalai bajâra.
Âna[8] *baiṭhe chheva*[9] *chhakâra,*
Kevaṭina baiṭhe bîcha bajâra,
Sonâ ke mâchî rûpa ke parâ.[10]
Râjâ âisa Kevaṭina karâ :[11]
Mola bisâha [Kevaṭina] saba koi khâya,
Phokaṭâ[12] *machharî koî nahî̃ khâya ;*
Kahu[13] *[Kevaṭina] âpana machharî ke*[14] *mola.*
Kâ kahihaũ [Râjâ] machharî ke mola ?
Ḍanḍawâ[15] *machharî Gaṇḍawâ*[16] *mola ;*
Ghasarâ[17] *machharî Kalarâ mola ;*
Aĩchhâ[18] *machharî Telî mola ;*
Soḍihâ[19] *machharî Sunarâ mola ;*
Lûdû[20] *machharî Dhurwâ mola ;*
Bañjû[21] *machharî Baniâ mola ;*
Bhâkura[22] *machharî Ṭhâkura mola ;*
Paḍhinâ[23] *machharî Pâṇḍe mola ;*
Jâṭâ chingrâ[24] *Sanâsî mola ;*
Bhedo[25] *machharî Gaḍariâ mola ;*

Âna, or *ân,* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *anya,* 'another.'

[9] *Chheva* means a 'corner' ; and *chhakâra* is a jingling expletive, which would mean nothing without *chheva.* Cf. *kenâ menâ,* where *menâ* has no independent meaning of its own.

[10] A *parâ* is a circular, flat tray, usually made of split bamboo, upon which fish or parched gram, etc., is exposed for sale ; but this Kevaṭina, being very rich, had one made of silver.

[11] *Karâ* is a preposition meaning 'near,' or 'to.'

[12] *Phokaṭ,* in Hindî, means 'for nothing,' 'gratis.'

[13] Mark the termination *u* in the imperative, which is peculiar to the roots ending in *h.* Its use, however, is not confined to such verbs alone, especially in poetry. For instance, in the *Râmâyaṇa* (*Laṅkâ kaṇḍa,* 29) we have : *Sunu matimanda dehi aba pârâ,* where *sunu* is used for the ordinary *suno.*

[14] A peculiar form of Chhattîsgaṛhî, where, for the genitive case, instead of the singular form *kâ,* the plural form *ke* is used. It does not change with the gender of the following word ; for example, see further on, where *Râjâ ke bâta chîta* occurs, instead of *Râjâ kî bâta chîta.*

[15] This variety of fish jumps about in shallow water, and is compared to a Gâṇḍâ, a man of low caste much given to dancing and jumping about.

[16] Gaṇḍawâ is a contemptuous form of Gaṇḍâ, as Kalarâ is of Kalâra, and Ahurâ of Ahîra further on. They have been used in these forms so as to rhyme with the names of the fishes mentioned.

[17] The *ghasarâ* fish is also known as *bodâ,* which means 'sluggish,' and is compared to a Kalâr, or distiller, supposed to be a drunkard.

[18] The *aĩchhâ* is also called *rechhâ.* It has an oily appearance, and has small eyes, which look as if covered. Its price is given as equivalent to a Teli, or oilman, who covers the eyes of his bullocks when yoked to the oil-press.

[19] The *soḍihâ,* a name apparently derived from *sûṇḍa,* an elephant's 'trunk,' has a long trunk-like snout, resembling the tongs of a Sunâr. It swallows other fish as the Sunâr consumes others' gold.

[20] The *lûdû,* or *rûdû,* is tenacious of life and takes a long time to kill, just as rice fried by a Dhurî or Dhurwâ is hard and takes long to crush.

[21] The *bañjû,* or *bijahiwâ,* is slippery, like a Baniyâ, and is believed to increase the quantity of blood in the body, as does wealth in the case of the Baniyâ.

[22] The *bhâkura,* known also as *bhundâ,* is a powerful fish and sometimes breaks the earthen vessel in which it is kept, like a powerful Ṭhâkur or Râjpût.

[23] This is a delicate fish, which dies if the water is made muddy, so it is likened to a Pâṇḍe, who is regarded as delicate.

[24] This variety of fish is hairy, like a *sannyâsî,* or ascetic, who wears his hair matted and twisted in a tuft (*jaṭâ*).

[25] The *bhedo* is covered with thick scales, as the sheep of a Gaḍariyâ, or Gaṛeriyâ (shepherd), are covered with wool.

Salgata bâmî[26] *Bamhanâ mola ;*
Kârâ jîyî[27] *Ahirâ mola ;*
Khokhasî[28] *machharî Goṇḍ ke mola ;*
Jhorî[29] *machharî Binjhwâra mola :*
Salâgî[30] *machharî Dewâra mola ;*
Kakrâ[31] *Mardaniâ*[32] *ke mola.*

Here the jingling verses break off, and the story is continued in prose, as below :—

Yetakâ[33] *sunake Râjâ Kevaṭina lâ*[34] *goṭâ karâ mâ*[35] *mâris. Taba ôlâ bhajiâ*[36] *kê bhâra lâgis. Jaba Kevaṭina au Râjâ ke bâta chîta bhais,*[37] *taba nokara mana*[38] *kihin*[39] *ki Kevaṭina hara*[40] *bâta bâta mâ jîtat hai, jâ ekara hâtha bẫha lâ dhara leve. Taba Kevaṭina dara ke mâre bhâge hai. Abaka tabaka Râjâ Kevaṭina ke bẫha lâ dharlîs titake juâra,*[41] *Kevaṭina hara suruja dahara acharâ lavâis aur jara bara ke râkha bhaigais. Taḅ Râjâ ghara lahuṭâ âis. Puna gẫva ke laikâ-mana Kevaṭâ se kihin, tolâ to suisa ghariyâra dhara dâris, tikara khâtara Kevaṭina hara satî gais. Taba Kevaṭâ kahis, kaun lag satî gai hai ? Taba laikâ-mana batâin ki ohicha,*[42] *lag satî gais hai, jauna râkha pare hai. Taba Kevaṭâ hara sâta lugarâ ke bolavâra dîhis aur sâta dina jagarahî dekhis, ta diyâ ke ṭema me Kevaṭina hara utaris aur Kevaṭâ sudhâ*[43] *bolis ki maĩ aneka sundara raheñ, to Râjâ molâ dharata rahis hai ; taba maĩ satî gayeñ au Bhagavân se apana rûpa mẫjeñ ki molâ kârî jhunakî*[44] *kâ janama de. Kevaṭina bhûñje chanâ murrâ*[45] *lâ saba koî khâya, âna ke bhûñje lâ koî na khâya.*

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26 The *bâmî* is an eel-like fish, and wriggles and twists like the sacred thread of a Brâhmaṇ. The word *salgata*, which qualifies it here, is a vernacular corruption of *sarkat*, i.e., *sarakti hûî*, from *sarakanâ*, to 'move,' or 'slip,' which also conveys the idea of wriggling, snake-like motion.

27 This fish is supposed to be stupid like an Ahîra (cowherd). There are many proverbs in the vernaculars of northern India referring to the stupidity of the Ahîras.

28 This fish is unshapely, and is compared with the figure of a Goṇḍ.

29 The *jhorî* fish keep together in shoals, just as the Binjhwâr tribe go about in parties. *Jhorî* is a form of *jholî*, from *jhol* (Hindî), a 'batch' (of eggs), a 'litter' (of pigs), and so, metaphorically, a 'number.'

30 The *salâgî*, *salâṅgî* or *saraṅgî*, is compared with the musical instrument of the latter name used by Dewârs, who are very fond of catching this fish.

31 A crab grips tightly with its claws, as a barber does with his hand.

32 A barber is called *mardaniyâ* because he shampoos (*mardan karnâ*).

33 *Yetakâ* = *itanâ* (Hindî, *itnâ*).

34 *Lâ* = *ko*, a preposition borrowed from Marâṭhî.

35 *Goṭâ karâ mâ* is a peculiar idiom, meaning literally 'in the pebble.' Here *mâ* is used for *se* or *ko* of Chhattîsgaṛhî.

36 *Bhajiâ* is a preparation of gram, and is, of course, light.

37 *Bhais* would be *hûî* in modern Hindî, or *bhai* in the Baghelkhaṇḍi dialect. This form is usually found in the past tense. Tulasî Dâsa often uses it, e.g., *Bhâ pramoda mana miṭi galânî* (*Ayodhya k.* 220).

38 *Mana* is a plural affix, borrowed from the Oriya *mâne* or *mâna* ; but, while in Oriya the form changes according as it is used of animate or inanimate things, in Chhattîsgaṛhî no change is made on this account.

39 *Kihin* is a peculiar form of *kahin*, that is, *kahâ*, 'said.'

40 *Hara* is a definite article peculiar to Chhattîsgaṛhî.

41 *Titake juâra* means 'at that time.' *Titake* represents the Hindî *titne*. *Juâra* originally means midday, but is used in Chhattîsgaṛhî in the sense of 'time,' 'moment.'

42 *Ohicha* is equivalent to the Hindî *usî* : the particle *cha* is added for emphasis.

43 *Sudhâ*, or *suddhâ*, is generally used in place of *sahita*, 'with.' Here it is equivalent to the preposition *se*.

44 *Jhunakî* is a woman whose anklets make *jhunjhun* noise, hence a young woman, Cf. *Aruna tarani nakha jyoti Jagamagita jhunjhun karata pâya paijaniyẫ.* (Sûradâsa.)

45 *Murrâ* is fried rice which is used as breakfast in Chhattîsgarh and adjoining Oṛiya States. It is derived from *murânâ* to chew. *Murrâ* is always chewed like *pân* or betel leaves.

TRANSLATION.

(There was) a Kevaṭina who used to live in a small cottage with many doors, inside which she used to adorn herself, tying her hair in beautiful knots and fixing a golden comb therein. Even on rainy days, when the road was slippery, the Kevaṭina would stroll with mincing gait to the bâzâr. While others sat in nooks and corners, the Kevaṭina used to sit in the middle of the bâzâr on a golden chair, with a silver tray (before her). (Once) the Râjâ came up to the Kevaṭina (and said): "All eat fish after paying for it; nobody eats fish without payment: so tell me, Kevaṭina, the price of thy fish." "What price may I tell of my fish, oh Râjâ? The *daṇḍawâ* fish is the same price as a Gaṇḍawâ: the *ghasarâ* fish is the price of a Kalâra; the *aichhâ* fish, that of a Telî; the *soḍihâ* fish, that of a Sunâra; the *lûdû* fish, that of a Dhurwâ; the *bañjâ* fish, that of a Baniyâ; the *bhâkura* fish, that of a Ṭhâkura; the *paḍhinâ* fish, that of a Pâṇḍe; the *jâṭî chiṅgrâ* fish, that of a Sannyâsî; the *bhedo* fish, that of a Gaḍariâ: the wriggling *bâmî*, that of a Brâhmaṇ.: the *kârâ jogû*, that of an Ahîra: the *khokhasî* fish, that of a Goṇḍ; the *jhorî* fish, that of a Binjhwâr; the *salâgî* fish, that of a Dewâr; (and) the crab that of a barber. The Râjâ, having listened so far, threw a stone at the Kevaṭina, but she (only) felt as if a ball of gram had been thrown at her. The Kevaṭina, however, made a suitable reply in words. The Râjâ's servants thereupon said: "This Kevaṭina is winning every point. Go and seize her by the hands and arms." The Kevaṭina then fled through fear. The Râjâ would have secured the Kevaṭina by some means, but at that moment she held out the skirt of her dress to the sun, whereupon she was completely burnt and turned into ashes. The Râjâ then returned home. After this the village boys said to the Kevaṭâ (her husband): "The Kevaṭina has committed *satî*, thinking that thou hadst been eaten up by alligators and crocodiles. The Kevaṭâ asked: "Where did she commit *satî*?" "There, where the ashes are" (they replied). Then the Kevaṭâ made a vow to offer up seven pieces of cloth, and for seven days kept awake, looking at a lamp, in the flame of which the Kevaṭina appeared and said to the Kevaṭâ: "I was very beautiful and therefore the Râjâ was trying to catch me, so I burnt myself and asked God to give me birth in the form of a black woman: Let everybody eat rice and gram parched by a Kevaṭina, and not (that parched) by others.

MISCELLANEA.

CORRUPTIONS OF URDU IN THE PENAL SETTLEMENT OF PORT BLAIR.

The following note is taken out of the *Census Report* of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 1901, and is useful to show how new forms and words creep into Urdu owing to local conditions in different parts of India. At Port Blair the conditions are of course most unusual, as a large number of convicts from every part of the Indian Empire are there collected, and it was naturally essential to select a *lingua franca*, which all would have to learn to a certain extent. It was equally natural to select Urdu for that purpose, and it is accordingly now found to be spoken there in every possible variety of corruption and with every variety of accent. All the convicts learn it to an extent sufficient for their daily wants and the understanding of orders and directions. It is also the vernacular of the local born, whatever their descent. The small extent to which many absolute strangers to it, such as the Burmese, inhabitants of Madras, and so on, master it is one of the safeguards of the Settlement, as it makes it impossible for any general plot to be hatched. In barracks, in boats, and on works where men have to be congregated, every care is taken to split up nationalities, with the result that, except on matters of daily common concern, the convicts are unable to converse confidentially together.

The Urdu of Port Blair is thus not only exceedingly corrupt from natural causes, but it is filled with technicalities arising out of local conditions and the special requirements of convict life. Even the vernacular of the local born is loaded with them. These technicalities are partly derived from English and are partly specialised applications to new uses of pure or corrupted Urdu words.

The most prominent grammatical characteristic of this dialect of Urdu appears in the numerals, which are everywhere Urdu, but are not spoken according to correct Urdu custom. Thus, the convicts and all dealing with them count up to 20 regularly, and then between the tens simply add the units, instead of using special terms, *e.g.*, a convict, whatever his nationality or mother-tongue, will give his number, say, 12,536, as *bârâ hazâr pânch sau tîs chha*, twelve thousand five hundred thirty six. He would never say, even if born and bred in Hindustani proper, *bârâ hazâr pânch sau*

chhattis. The convict must be addressed in the same manner, or he will most probably misapprehend what is said. There is an analogy to this custom in French Switzerland, where it is common to hear *septante* for seventy, and *nonnante* for ninety.

The following words have been heard even in the mouths of Burmans unable to make themselves understood in Urdu :—

Bijan.—This means now a barrack for convicts as distinguished from a barrack for troops or police, though various corruptions of "barrack" are also used for that purpose. It is really English in origin, and represents the word "division," the corruption having taken place on vulgar Urdu lines. Thus "*di*" has dropped out, *v* has become *b* and the *zh* sound of *si* has become *j*, quite according to custom. Originally the convicts were divided into "divisions," each of which slept in a barrack. Hence the present application of the term.

Tâpû.—This means a convict "station." It is really good Urdu for an "island." Originally all the convict stations were situated on small islands in Port Blair Harbour. Hence its present application to any convict station, inland or on an island.

Sikshan.—This means now either the "sick list," or the Female Jail. It is the English word "section." Originally the major division of the convicts was into sections, of which No. XVII was the convalescent gang, the sick and unable to do any or full work. The women were of course all in the Female Section. Hence the present double application of the word, kept in existence no doubt in the first case owing to the likeness of "*sikshan*" to the familiar "*sik-mân*" of the Native Army Hospitals. *Sattrâ Bijan, i.e.*, XVIIth Division, is also in common use for "convalescent gang."

Waipar.—The first jail constructed in the Settlement was on Viper Island, so named after Blair's ship. It is now dwarfed by the great Cellular Jail on Atalanta Point, so named after a man-of-war of Blair's day, which is the Jail *par excellence*, much to be avoided in the eyes of the convicts, the other is simply *waipar*. Another mighty jail was in 1901 being constructed at Minnie Bay (named after another by-gone gunboat), and it would have been interesting to see what popular term would be applied to it, had it ever been completed. By the way, Goplakabang is already Gobang in common parlance and script, and the name is likely to have "no derivation" in days to come.

Dhôbî.—A washerman, and *talâsh*, search, are pure Urdu, but they are two of the first words picked by Burmans and non-Indians, and it is curious to hear them in the midst of an otherwise purely Burmese sentence.

Pêtî Afsar, for "petty officer," is unquestionably referred by Native speakers to the *pêtî*, belt, they all wear, and not to the English word. I have heard them spoken of simply as *pêtîwâlê*, the men who wear belts, though in ordinary Anglo-Indian slang *pêtîwâlâ*, translated into "boxwallah," is the hawker who sells articles of female attire and familiar wants, and *pattîwâlâ* exists for those familiar with the language for the belt-wearer, *i.e.*, the messenger or peon.

Tôtal.—In common use among the convicts, who are being constantly counted for all sorts of reasons. Petty Officers are told off to count them in batches, and as each finishes his batch he brings up his "total." *Tótal karnâ*, to compare the totals.

Dipâtmant for Department : means the Forest Department, that being the first separate department created at Port Blair.

Dipâtmant Sâhib.—Forest Officer. *Dipâtmant-wâlâ*, a convict told off to work in the Forest Department.

Shîr Sâhib.—*Shîr* shortened from "overseer" for its likeness to the common Indian word *shêr*, a tiger. An European overseer of convicts.

Signal.—For signal = a semagram. There was in 1901 an elaborate system of semagraph signals at Port Blair worked by the Military Police.

Tikat, tikatliv.—A ticket-of-leave, also its holder. *Tikat wâlâ*, a man with a ticket-of-leave, a self-supporter. *Tikat* is also used for the wooden "neck-ticket" worn by labouring convicts.

Parmôsh.—Promotion. This is in common use amongst the Military Police, and also amongst the convicts, who are constantly being transferred from class to class on "promotion."

Kilas, class.—The convicts are arranged in classes.

Sikmân, Sikmân.—Sick man, used for a convict when in hospital : hence for any human being on the "sick-list" : hence, again, for any Government animal on the "sick-list," *e.g.*, an elephant, pony, bullock.

Rêl, rail, originally a railing, now any kind of hedge or fence.

Râshan, ration.—The labouring convicts are all rationed. *Râshan-mêt*, ration mate ; *i.e.*, the convict told off to help the cooks to keep and distribute the rations.

Dûdh-lâin, lit, the Milk-lines, *i.e.*, a place where milch-cattle have once been kept. Two or more places are so named.

Lambî lâin (the Long Line), well known long straggling village in the Northern District.

Namûnaghar, lit. Pattern-house. The name of a village, a convict station and some quarries, because a sample (*namûna*) house (*ghar*) for convicts, according to which men on ticket-of-leave must build their huts, were here set up by the Government.

Nimak-bhattâ, salt-pans.—More than one place is so called because of a former salt factory on the spot from sea water.

"Portland Cement" becomes *simin, simint,* and *simnt.*

"Mess, mess-house" becomes *messcott* in petitions, being a mixture of Eng. "mess" and Hind. *kôt*, house.

Kwangtung, the name of a local ship, becomes *Kultîn*.

Bîs, the Hindustani word for "twenty" is used by some of the convicts in giving their numbers; thus, when asked his name and *number*, a man will reply: "Bîs 172." By this he means "No. 172B." A good many years ago the numbering of the convicts was recommenced from the beginning and the second series were distinguished by the English letter B.

Among building terms the following are commonly in use: *Hâlpilêt* for wall plate; *batan* for batten; *kinpôsh* for kingpost; *kirnis* for screen.

Hangling.—My kitchen lately required some repairs to the roof, and as these were being delayed I made some enquiries from the cook, and received the following reply: "*kuchh nahîn huâ; hangling abhî nahîn âyâ*": nothing has been done; the angle iron has not yet come. I have also heard *hingain* used, which has a much more Urdu sound.

Motarpha.—This now practically obsolete term still appears in the annual budget for the Andaman Islands. *E.g.*, in the Revenue items of the Estimate for the year 1900-01 is :—"*Moturpa* (house tax) collections." The old *moturpha, moturfa* of the Madras Revenue was not a tax on houses, but on professions and trades. It was abolished finally quite thirty years before 1901. The vernacular word is *muḥtarafa* : Ar. *ḥirfa*, a handicraft.

Many of the existing place names about Port Blair are English, and the corruptions thereof by the convicts and their native guards are interesting, showing that striving after a meaning, which is so prolific of verbal corruptions all over the world. *E.g.*—

Mount Harriett becomes Môhan Rêt.
Perseverance Point ,, Parasu Pêt & Parson Pêt.
Shore Point becomes Sûwar Pêt.
Navy Bay ,, Nabbî Bêg.
Phœnix Bay ,, Pinik Bêg.
Barwell Ghat ,, Bâlû Ghât.

Harriett was the name of the wife of Colonel Tytler, a former Superintendent. Perseverance and Phœnix were the names of Royal Ships in Blair's day. Shore Point is named after Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), Governor-General. General Barwell was a former Chief Commissioner. There is also a large village called Anîkhêt (now often converted into Rânîkhêt), a conscious pun on the name of a daughter of a former Chief Commissioner, who was named Annie Kate. The largest steam launch in the harbour is named *The Belle*, after a daughter of another former Chief Commissioner, which has proved an unfortunate name, for the vessel is invariably called by the Natives "*Bellî i Jahâz.*"

The station of Elephant Point has been translated into *Hâthî Tâpû* and *Hâthî Ghât*. The stations of Navy Bay, Dundas Point, South Point, and Phœnix Bay are all also frequently indiscriminately called *Chûnâ Bhattâ*, because there is now, or has been at some former time, a lime-kiln at these spots. Convicts never forget a place at which there has been a lime-kiln: they hate the work so. So, also, there is a village called Chauldârî (for *chholdârî*) in the Southern District after a former convict camp at the spot; but the station of Middle Point, a long way off in the Northern District, is also commonly known to the convicts as Chauldârî for the same reason.

Sometimes the native names for places are merely corruptions of the English words, without any effort at a meaning; *e.g.*, *Ubtên* for Hope Town where Lord Mayo was murdered, and *Hârdô* for Haddo. Port Blair itself is always *Pôt Bilêr* and Port Mouat always *Pôtmôt*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

JAINA INSCRIPTIONS, collected and compiled by PURAN CHAND NAHAR. In three parts, with plates, etc.

We have received two parts of this valuable collection of Jaina inscriptions, *viz.*, parts 2 and 3. The plan of the work is to give the text of all the known inscriptions relating to the Jainas and Jainism, together with an index of places where the inscriptions were found, a glossary of the names of the *Âchâryas*, together with illustrative plates. The total number of inscriptions comes to 2,592. Of these, the first 1,000 go into Part 1; from 1,001 to 2,111 go into Part 2; and the remainder, which are included in Part 3, are inscriptions collected in Jaisalmîr. These inscriptions are all more or less of a modern character, and in the arrangement adopted, the texts are given correctly, with typical plates in illustration of the more important inscriptions. The volumes are provided with some useful indexes, with special indexes of a geographical character and a list of the *Âchâryas*. There are also some very useful and interesting illustrations. The labours of Mr. Nahar have thus provided in a handy form a fairly complete list of these inscriptions for ready reference.

In regard to the matter of these inscriptions, they relate to the establishment of Jain temples and all matters connected therewith, the provision of funds and arrangements for other appurtenances of these temples. Now and again we come upon matters of interest like the Paṭṭâvali lists, general information like that relating to Panchakalyâṇaka, which means the asterism under which the Jain *Âchâryas* were conceived, were born, were initiated, attained to wisdom, and finally to emancipation. The work is bound to prove very useful in the reconstruction of Jaina history and will have its own value even to the student of the general history and culture of India. We congratulate the collector and publisher on the interest and enterprise which the volumes exhibit.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

A NOTE ON THE TEN PLAYS OF BHÂSA.

(*Published by T. Gaṇapati Śâstri.*)

BY R. V. JAHAGIRDAR, M.A. (LOND.), LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, KARNATAK COLLEGE, DHARWAR.

IN his Introduction to the thirteen plays ascribed to Bhâsa, Mahâmahopâdhyâya T. Gaṇapati Śâstri, who has edited all of them in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, attempts to show certain peculiar features common to all these plays. In the first place, all begin with the remark *nândyante tataḥ praviśati sûtradhâraḥ*, while in plays like those of Kâlidâsa or Śûdraka, a *nândî* verse is actually written at the opening. All the plays in this list (except K. B.) use the word *sthâpanâ* instead of *prastâvanâ*. Nor is any mention in the *sthâpanâ* made of the author's name or fame, as is to be found in works like *Śâkuntalam* or *Mṛccha-kaṭikam*. Moreover, in the *bharatavâkya*, or the closing, or benedictory, verse of every one of these plays, invariably occurs the prayer :—" May our greatest of kings, or may our king, rule the land."

Such striking similarity has led the Mahâmahopâdhyâya to conclude that all these plays must have been written by one and the same author. Who is the author ? To answer this question, writers like Râjaśekhara and Bâṇa have been called as witnesses. Thus the editor quotes from Râjaśekhara's *Sûkti-muktâvali* :—

Bhâsa-nâṭaka-cakre picchêkaiḥ kṣipte parîkṣitum,
Svapna-vâsavadattasya dâhakô bhûn na pâvakaḥ.

The above verse mentions by name one of the plays under discussion, viz., S. V., and ascribes the same to a poet called Bhâsa. That there was a Bhâsa who had established himself as an accomplished playwright can be asserted on the authority of Kâlidâsa. In the opening portion of his *Mâlavikâgnimitram*, Kâlidâsa asks :—

Prathita-yaśusâm Bhâsa-Saumilla-kavi. putrâdînâm prabandhân. atikramya vartamâna-kavêḥ Kâlidâsasya kriyâyâm katham bahumânaḥ.

Kâlidâsa, however, has justified his writing plays even under such conditions. But that is beside the point. That there was a poet called Bhâsa cannot be denied. Bâṇa, too, in the seventh century A.D. mentions, in his *Harṣacaritam*, the peculiarities of the plays of one Bhâsa. He says :—

Sûtradhâra-kṛtârambhair nâṭakair bahubhûmikaiḥ,
Sapatâkair yaśô lêbhê Bhâso dêvakulair iva.

These features, says M.M. T. Gaṇapati Śâstri, are to be found in the plays he has published.

The whole thesis of the editor can be thus summarised. There was a poet called Bhâsa, says Kâlidâsa ; one Bhâsa began his plays with *sûtradhâra*, etc., says Bâṇa ; a Bhâsa was the

NOTE.—The following abbreviations have been used in the article :—

S. V.=*Svapnavâsavadattam.*	Bâl. =*Bâlacaritam.*	D. G.=*Dûta-ghaṭôtkacam.*
P. Y.=*Pratijñâyaugandharâyaṇam.*	M. V.=*Madhyamavyâyôgaḥ.*	K. B.=*Karṇabhâram.*
P. R.=*Pañca-râtram.*	D. V.=*Dûtavâkyam.*	U. B.=*Ûru-bhaṅgam.*
Avi. = *Avimârakam.*		

author of a play called *Svapnavâsavadatta*, adds Râjaśekhara ; and the *Svapnavâsavadattam* of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is very similar (according to the editor) to the other plays published in the same series in style and structure. Therefore, the editor has arrived at the conclusion that the person referred to by Kâlidâsa, Bâṇa and Râjaśekhara is one and the same and. further, that he is the author of all the plays under discussion.

No one, however, would say after a second thought that this conclusion was rendered inevitable by the logic of the data. No one, too, should be surprised if the same data were to lead to an opposite conclusion. For, even such close resemblances could be due to imitation. This assumption would be supported by the quotations which MM. T. Gaṇapati Śâstri cites side by side from *Daridra-Câruḍatta* and *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. Verses are to be found in the latter which follow or resemble those in the former, word by word and phrase by phrase. Could it justifiably be suggested that both are by one and the same author ? He may be Śûdraka ; he may be Bhâsa ; or he may be that lucky Dhâvaka, who is ready to own up to any unclaimed work. Or, on the other hand, *Daridra-Câruḍatta* and *Mṛcchakaṭikam* may be two different provincial recensions of one and the same play. This suggestion is not really as fantastic as it looks. A glance at the Southern and the Northern recensions of the *Mahâbhârata* would reveal the ingenious and independent tendency, as well as the pedantic and solemn irresponsibility, of some of our old editors.

But is it at all necessary to look only to the similarities between any two works under such circumstances ? Would not the conclusion arrived at in such a manner appear premature, if not presumptive ? To mistake chalk for cheese betrays a hasty judgment or a tendency to avoid an undesirable, though inevitable, conclusion. Why should we not place the dissimilarities as well side by side with the similarities—at the least as a background to the picture ? Elimination, too, is as logical an argument as analogy.

The object of this note, therefore, is to marshal all possible data in array for the moment of decision. If no conclusion be possible at this stage, reasonable suggestions may at least be put forward.

With all respect to the critical acumen of MM. T. G Śâstri, a casual reader like myself regrets to note that one simple, striking internal feature of the plays has been missed by the learned editor. That piece of evidence may help one, not only in discussing the age of the author or authors, but also in settling the authorship of the plays. That evidence, in my opinion, seems to be provided by the number and the characteristics of the *ślokas* (*i.e.*, verses in *anuṣṭup* metre). To enable my readers to follow the discussion below, the *ślokas* may be thus tabulated :

Title of the Play.	No. of the *ślokas*.	Total no. of verses.
1. S. V.	27	57
2. P. Y.	28	66
3. P. R.	73	152
4. Avi.	15	97
5. Bâl.	37	103
6. M. V.	32	51
7. D. V.	22	56
8. D. G.	21	52
9. K. B.	4	25
10. U. B.	12	66

From the above table it will be seen that in some plays the proportion of *ślokas* to the total number of verses is strikingly greater than in others. If, for a moment, we divide the plays from this point of view into two groups, the division, of course, would be artificial, if not somewhat arbitrary. Still there is no harm in classifying S. V., P. Y.. P. R., M. V., D. V., and D. G. as one group, Avi., Bâl., K. B. and U. B. constituting the other.

It is interesting to note that in no play belonging to the second group does the first verse suggest the *dramatis personæ*, as happens, for example, in S. V., P. Y. or P. R. As regards the *bharatavâkya*, the usual form seems either to be a later interpolation, or is missing entirely, or is to be found in quite a different form in these four plays. (See the quotations at the end.) In Avi.(a) it repeats the sense of the previous verse. In Bâl.(b) it is probably a later addition. [Cf. D. V. (e) and see below.] As for K. B.(d), it may be mentioned that one MS. does not give the *bharatavâkya* at all. In U. B. (c) it is not to be found in the usual form. (The editor, however, writes a footnote in such cases to the effect, *itaḥ prâk bharatavâkyam iti apêkṣitam bhâti.*) Even as regards the *sthâpanâ*, which is supposed to be a common characteristic of the whole group of plays under discussion, the four plays belonging to our second class have something interesting to say. In Bâl., for example, there is no *iti sthâpanâ* after the exit of the *sûtradhâra*, while K. B. has *prastâvanâ* instead of *sthâpanâ*. Lastly, mention may be made of the fact that in all these four plays Kṛṣṇa, in some form or other, is praised not only in the opening verse but also in the last. Any reference to "Râjasiṁha, the lion of kings" comes so abruptly as to leave no doubt about its being a later interpolation.

In our first group itself, M. V., D. V. and D. G. could be distinguished from S. V., P. Y. and P. R. (For the sake of convenience we would refer to the last three as Group A^1, the first three as Group A^2, the other four discussed above forming Group B.) In the first place, the opening verse in Group A^2 does not, like that in Group A^1, suggest the characters of the play. Nor does the *bharatvâkya* in A^2 appear as the usual prayer in the *śloka* form. D. V. ( ) and Bâl. have an ending identical word by word. As for the *sthâpanâ*, though we find it in Group A^2, we are tempted to regard it as an imitation, if not a later addition in imitation, of the three plays in Group A^1. Is there not evidence for this supposition in the plays themselves in verses like the opening one of D. G., viz.:—

Nârâyaṇas tribhuvanaika-parâyaṇô vaḥ
Pâyâd upâya-gata-yukti-karaḥ surâṇâm,
Lôka-trayâvirata-nâṭaka-tantra-vastu—
Prastâvanâ-pratisamâpana-sûtradhâraḥ.

In the last two lines the *sûtradhâra* is mentioned in connection with the *prastâvanâ* of a *nâṭaka*: nay, he is said to arrange the *prastâvanâ* business in a *nâṭaka*. Could we suppose for a moment that after writing plays like S. V., P. Y. and P. R., Bhâsa or whoever their author was, learnt, or attempted to put into practice his knowledge of, the *nâṭyaśâstra*? In all the later plays the *prastâvanâ* is the scene in which *sûtradhâra* figures.* No, this would be an unnecessarily severe judgment on the poor poet. It should be noted, in passing, that the *bharatavâkya* in Group A^2 is consistently laudatory of Śrî-Kṛṣṇa.

Now we are in a position to classify these plays into more logical groups. The first group consists of S. V., P. Y., and P. R., which resemble each other closely and agree in differing from the remainder. These latter form the second group by the fact that all of them are clearly spurious imitations of the first group; they have certain features as, *e.g.*, the *bharatavâkya*, which, though different from the first group, are mutually common. If they do differ among themselves these differences seem to be due to the attempts of the imitators to stick to the norm as accurately as possible. One thing, however, stands clear from the discussion above. The two groups are not, and cannot be, the products of one and the same poet. As regards the first group the touches of one and the same hand are most striking. If, in these circumstances, Râjaśekhara can be shown to have referred to the same *Svapnavâsavadatta* as we have now, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that Bhâsa was the author of S. V., P. Y. and P. R. only. Is it possible that Râjaśekhara, too, challenged

* Cf. *Naṭî vidûṣako vâpi pâripârśvaka êva vâ sûtradhâreṇa sahitâḥ saṃlâpaṃ yatra kurvate citrair vâkyaiḥ svakâryotthaiḥ prastutâkṣepibhir mithaḥ âmukham tat tu vijñêyaṃ nâmnâ prastâvanâ, pi sâ*
—*Sâhitya-darpaṇa*, VI, 31-32.

the claim of Bhâsa to the authorship of all these plays and cast his vote only in favour of *Svapnavâsavadattam* ? In any case S. V., P. Y. and P. R. have so much in common that one would not hesitate to say that the author of the S. V. was also the author of P. R. and P. Y. Even the grammatical peculiarities which the editor has shown on p. 42 of his Introduction are mostly from (and probably occur only in) the plays belonging to our first group, viz., S. V., P. Y. and P. R.

Before finishing this note, it may be better to adduce one or two instances in support of our view that the second group is only an imitative effort, and later than the first. Imitations are, as a rule, failures. Here is one. In the second Act of P. Y. the parents, viz., the king and the queen, discuss the question of their daughter's marriage. The discussion is carried on in a homely way and the author has utilized the opportunity to give utterance to some homely truths. The anxieties of both the father and the mother are vividly and separately depicted. After opening the topic before his *kañcukin* the king says :—

Duhituḥ pradâna-kâlê duḥkhaśîlâḥ hi mâtaraḥ | Tasmâd Dêvî tâvad âhûyatâm.

This natural introduction of the queen to the discussion may be compared with a similar scene in Avi., Act I. The king on entering makes the following remarks :—

iṣṭâ makhâ dvija-varâś ca mayi prasannâḥ
prajñâpitâ bhayarasaṃ samadâ narêndrâḥ,
evaṃ vidhasya ca na me sti manaḥ-praharṣaḥ
Kanyâpitur hi satatam bahu cintanîyam.
Kêtumati, gaccha Dêvîm ânaya.

What is a natural affair and has been brought about in a simple way in P. Y. has been artificially introduced in Avi. Even then the queen in P. Y. is very different from that in Avi. It could not be otherwise, when the authors themselves belonged to different periods.

The former freely carries on a domestic discussion, while her prototype in Avi. has to enter only to be lectured by the king !—

Dêvi, vivâhâ nâma bahuśaḥ parîkṣya kartavyâ bhavanti....

and so on. Though disturbed in the middle of the discussion by the glad news of Vatsarâja's capture, the queen in P. Y. sits down and discourses till the end of the act, while in Avi., after the king's lecture she has to sit silently till the end of the act. Features like these suggest that not only the authors who wrote, but even the periods in which the plays were written were different and separate.

REFERENCES TO THE *BHARATAVÂKYA* OR CONCLUDING VERSES.

Avimârakam.

([a]) NÂRADAḤ :—

Kuntibhôja, kim anyat te priyam upaharâmi ?

KUNTIBHÔJAḤ :—

Bhagavân yadi mê prasannaḥ kimataḥ param aham icchâmi.
Gôbrâhmaṇânâm hitam astu nityam sarva-prajânâm sukham astu lôkê.

NÂRADAḤ :—

Sauvîrarâja, kim tê bhûyaḥ priyam upaharâmi ?

SAUVÎRARÂJAḤ :—

yadi mê Bhagavân prasannaḥ kim ataḥ param aham icchâmi
Imâm udîrṇârṇava-nîla-vastrâm narêśvarô naḥ pṛthivîm praśâstu. (*Bharatavâkyam.*)
Bhavantv arajaso gâvaḥ paracakram praśâmyatu imâm api mahîm Kṛtsnâm Râjasimhaḥ praśâstu naḥ.

Bála-caritam.

([b]) DÂMÔDARAḤ :—

Dêvarṣê, paritciṣṭô smi kim te bhûyaḥ priyam upaharâmi ?

NÂRADAḤ :—

Prahṛṣṭô yadi me viṣṇuḥ saphalô mê pariśramaḥ gamiṣyê vibudhâvâsaiḥ saha sarvaiḥ surôttamaiḥ.

DÂMÔDARAḤ :—

gacchatu Bhavân punardarśanâyâ.

NÂRADAḤ :—

Yathâjñâpayati Bhagavân Nârâyaṇaḥ (niṣkrântaḥ). (Bharatavâkyam.)

Imâm sâgar-paryantâm Himavad-Vindhya-Kuṇḍalâm mahîm êkâtapatrânkâm Râjasimhaḥ praśâstu naḥ.

Ûru-bhangam.

(c) DHṚTARÂṢṬRAḤ :—

yâmy êṣa sajjana-dhanâni tapôvanâni putra-praṇâśa-viphalaṃ hi dhig astu râjyaṃ.

AŚVATTHÂMÂ :—

yâtôdya sauptikavadhôdyata-bâṇa-pâṇiḥ

x gâm pâtu nô nara-patiḥ śamitâripakṣaḥ (niṣkrântâḥ sarve)

x itaḥ prâk bharata-vâkyam ity apêkṣitaṃ.

Karṇa-bhâram.

(d) KARṆAḤ :—

śalyarâja, yatra asâv Arjunas tatraiva cô-dyatâm mama rathaḥ.

ŚALYAḤ :—

bâḍham. (Bharatavâkyam.)

Sarvatra sampadaḥ santu naśyantu vipadaḥ sadâ,
Râjâ râja-guṇôpêtô bhûmim êkaḥ praśâstu naḥ.

Dûta-vâkyam.

(e) DHṚTARÂṢṬRAḤ :—

anugṛhîtô smi. Bhagavan, idam arghyam pâdyam ca gṛhyatâm.

VÂSUDÊVAḤ :—

Sarvam gṛhṇâmi. kim tê bhûyaḥ priyam upaharâmi.

DHṚTARÂṢṬRAḤ :—

yadi mê Bhagavân prasannaḥ kim ataḥ param aham icchâmi.

VÂSUDÊVAḤ :—

gacchatu bhavân punar darśanâya.

DHṚTARÂṢṬRAḤ :—

yad âjñâpayati Bhagavân Nârâyaṇaḥ (niṣkrântaḥ).

(*N.B.*—It seems a pity that Nârâyaṇa should send away a *blind, old* king like that.)

Cf. BÂL.

DÂMÔDARAḤ :—

ayê dêvarṣir Nâradaḥ. Dêvarṣe svâgatam-idam arghyam pâdyam ca.

NÂRADAḤ :—

sarvam gṛhṇâmi. Gandharvâpsarasô gâyanti ;

Nârâyaṇa namas tê stu praṇamanti ca dêvatâḥ anêna-asura-nâśena mahî ca parirakṣitâ.

NATURE STUDY IN THE SANSKRIT DRAMA ŚAKUNTALÂ.

BY LILY DEXTER GREENE, PH D.

Now let us consider one of the dramas of Kâlidâsa, called *Śakuntalâ*. Here we will find the same wonderful descriptions of nature as in the poem previously studied (*Meghadûta*),[1] and also a deep appreciation of the beauty of the world and of the use that a poetic mind can make of such splendid scenery as India affords. His nature descriptions are almost always in delightful verse.

This drama has been greatly appreciated by the western world ever since its appearance in English in 1789 from the pen of Sir William Jones. No less a poet than Goethe gives it the following praise :

" Wouldst thou the blossoms of spring ?
Wouldst thou what satisfies and feeds ?
Wouldst thou the heaven, the earth, in one sole word compress ?
I name Shakuntalâ, and so have said it all."

In the opening act of *Śakuntalâ*, we have a fine bit of word-painting, when the charioteer speaks of the fleeing deer as Śiva with his *pinâka*, or bow. By this description he recalls the story of the slight of Śiva at the time of Dakṣa's great horse sacrifice. Śiva, being uninvited, is enraged and with his wife appears on the scene, just in time to destroy the sacrifice and to wound and disperse the gods. Yajna, the 'lord of the sacrifice,' hastily assumes the shape of a deer and flees, but is finally overtaken and beheaded. Another suggestion is that the charioteer here refers to the story in the *Vâyu Purâṇa*, which says that Śiva, as a monster called Vîrabhadra, pursued Yajna in the form of a fleet deer. Whatever the fact referred to may have been, the description of the fleeing deer shows a wonderful appreciation of the niceties of detail. He notes the graceful curve of the neck, the shrinking body to escape the expected arrow, the frightened attitude as the half-chewed food drops from his panting, partially opened mouth, and the long, graceful leaps as he soon disappears from sight.

His picture of the excited horses—

" Their necks with eager vying stretched
Their crested plumelets flowing stiff,
Their ears erect and motionless,"

also shows wonderfully accuracy of observation and rare ability in portraying all the details of any scene.

King Duṣyanta is praised by the hermit for protecting the hermitage, and the scar on his arm made by the bowstrings snapping back, is a sign to these hermits that he belongs to the warrior caste. In this connection the *mûrvâ* plant, which Sir G. Watt would identify with the *Sansevieria zeylanica*, may be called the bowstring hemp, since the fibres were extensively used for that purpose by the ancient Hindûs. Manu, II. 42, says that the girdle of the military class must be made of *mûrvâ* fibres. The plant grows wild under the shade of bushes in the forest. When cultivated in a rich, sandy soil, and watered regularly, the plants are much larger, and the leaves, when full-grown, are three to four feet long. The fine, white fibres run through the entire length of the leaf. They are prepared by steeping the leaves in water until the pulpy part decays, then rubbing off this pulp, leaving the fibres clean and bare. However, the objection to this process, is that it discolours the fibres and hence depreciates their value. The ordinary way is to scrape away the pulp with a hard piece of wood, while the leaf is held on a thin board. Thus prepared, these fibres are very valuable for fishing lines, fiddle strings, bowstrings, and many other purposes. It is interesting to know that the plant readily starts from slips, which issue in great numbers from the roots, and since these roots are perennial, the plant requires little care. One of the peculiarities of this plant is that it has fibrous, jointed roots, and another is that its flowers are night-bloomers only. Every evening, fresh blossoms appear and all fall off before the

[1] *Supra*, vol. LIX, p. 131 f.

sunrise. They are of a very delicate, pale pea-green colour, with a sweet perfume. They are said to resemble the Peruvian heliotrope, particularly as to the sweet nectar of the flowers.

In portraying the scene, which plainly indicated that the grove was a sacred place, the king says—

" Why, just observe ;
From hollow trunks that parrots fill,
The rice is strewn below the trees,
There lie the oily stones that serve
To bruise the fruit of Ingudi."

The tree which bears the fruit here called *ingudî* is probably *Balanites Roxburghii.* The *Raghuvaṃśa*, XIV, 81, refers to the use of its fruit to supply oil for lamps, and in the first act of the drama *Śakuntalâ*, we have a similar reference. The *Amarakoṣa* gives as its synonym *tapasataru*, which means the ' anchorite's tree ' ; and Sâyaṇa calls it *Munipâdapa.*

The king waxes eloquent as he sees Śakuntalâ and indignantly says that to train the delicate form and matchless grace of such a body to penance, is like an effort to cut the stem of a *śamî* (which is the hard-wooded *Acacia Suma*, already noted) with the tender leaves of the blue lotus. The lotus is the flower *par excellence* of the poet. This flower is to the Hindu poet what the rose is to the Persian. ' Lotus face,' ' lotus hands,' ' lotus feet,' are very common expressions in Sanskrit literature, used in a figurative sense to mean beauty. There are many kinds of lotus plants, but the blue lotus seems to be one of the most delicate, hence its use here.

Referring to the coarse bark of the hermit maiden's garment, he says that this but serves as an embellishment to her delicate body.

" E'en with the *shaivala* entwined
The water lily shows her charms,
The dusky spot upon the moon
Her splendour only elevates."

The *śaivala* (*Vallisneria spiralis,* Linn.) is an aquatic plant which spreads over, and intertwines its tendrils around, the lotus, but, as the poet says, does not conceal its beauty, but rather enhances it. A peculiarity of this plant is that the male flowers, when ready to expand, detach themselves from the plant, and, resting on their detached petals, are borne on the surface of the water until they finally reach the female plants.

Śakuntalâ speaks of the *kesara* tree, waving its shoots, like fingers, to beckon her toward it. The *kesara*, called *bakula* or *vakuda*, is the tree known to botanists as *Mimusops Elengi*, Linn. It is frequently mentioned in the *Purâṇas*, and in the *Ratnâvalî*, Act III. Sir William Jones says it is one of the flowering trees of very strong scent, which is placed in the Hindu heaven. Owing to its peculiar scent, the perfume is so pungent as to be stifling indoors, but it is pleasantly fragrant in the gardens. Its fruit is a small, oval-shaped, yellow berry, quite edible when ripe.

The king says of Śakuntalâ :

" Her lip is purple, like the bud,
Her arms appear like tender shoots,
And charming youth is like a bloom
Attached unto her graceful form."

Her friends say she has forgotten to water the fresh-blown jasmine flower as the bride of the mango tree. The word, *sakara,* used here, is a kind of mango, probably *Mangifera indica,* which is one of the common varieties seen so frequently in large groves. The fresh open jasmine blossoms, as the vine twines about this great tree, are likened to fruits of the marriage of the tree and vine, while the new shoots of the mango are said to be the expression of its great joy. The idea of marriage between plants and trees seems to be an old Persian

motif, as one recalls that of Lailá and Majnûn. The mango is the common fruit of India, as common as the apple in our own country. The tree grows to be very large with dense, wide-spreading branches and, even after it is too old to bear fruit, is valued for its dense shade. The fruit is at its best in June and July, and, for the poor people of India, is at that time an important article of food. The fruit, when green and about half-grown, is made into pickles, jam and jelly. When ripe, it is one of the best fruits in the world. Its blossoms are exceedingly fragrant and are the favourite flowers of Kâma, the god of love.

When king Duṣyanta appears to Śakuntalâ and the two hermit maids in the forest, their very first thought is to offer the customary rites of hospitality. The *argha*, an offering of fruit, flowers, water, etc., is first mentioned, and the next act of hospitality is to give him a place to rest. A raised seat under the cool shade of the *saptaparṇa* tree was offered, where he might rest and recover from the fatigue of his hunt and long journey. This tree is so-called from its seven-leaved stalks, and its botanical name is *Alstonia scholaris*, R. Br. (*Echites scholaris* of Linnaeus). This is a large evergreen tree, from forty to sixty feet high. Its leaves are in whorls, and elliptic-oblong in shape, with white-coloured under-surfaces. The flowers are greenish white, in numerous small clusters. The wood is hard and white, and much used to make *takhtîs*, which are used instead of slates in the primary schools.

Near the close of Act I is a beautiful description of the way the peaceful grove is disturbed by the king's chariot. As the horses speed along, the dust is likened to a swarm of locusts, glittering in the glow of the sunset and settling up on the bark—garments, recently washed, suspended on the branches to dry. In the midst of all this, a wild elephant, frightened at the king's chariot, rushes through the grove, frightening the gentle-eyed deer and the hermit maidens as well, while the tangled creepers caught in the hedge cling to his great feet, and becoming more and more frightened he strikes his great tusks against a huge tree, and one tusk suddenly breaks off.

As Śakuntalâ moves away from this scene, she glances back at the king in fright, and in doing so, her garment is caught by the *kuruvaka* bush. This is probably *Barleria ciliata*, Roxb., which has purple-tinted flowers and thorny branches; but Sir George Watt equates it with *Lawsonia alba*, Lam.

In the speech of the *vidûṣaka*, or jester, he asks the king if the *vetasa* imitates the action of the *kubja* plant of its own free will, or by the force of the water of the river. The *vetasa* is the rattan cane, *Calamus Rotang*, Linn. Kâlidâsa likens it to the *kubja* plant, a peculiar, crooked water plant (*Trapa bispinosa*), usually known as *singhâṛâ*, which grows on the surface of the water of tanks in the rainy season. Its flowers are white, opening only in the afternoon. The fruit is a sort of water-nut, of an irregular triangular shape with peculiar sharp spine-like projections. The fruit, or nut, comes to maturity under the water. It is sold in the market and commonly eaten raw, but is sometimes roasted. The word *kubja* also means, in Sanskrit, humpbacked; and this jester is supposed to be a hunchback, so there seems to be a play on the word *kubja*.

In his anxiety to be near Śakuntalâ, Duṣyanta decides to stop here and rest from the hunt. The description given is another evidence of the poet's close observation. He describes the buffaloes as sporting in the ponds and tossing the water about with their horns, and refers to the herding deer in scattered groups, ruminating in the cool shade of the great trees, while the wild boars dig *musta* roots in marshy pools near-by. The *musta* is a kind of grass (*Cyperus rotundus*), which swine eat, and from which they are called *mustâda*. This grass grows easily in any soil, but is most abundant in marshy places. The roots are tuberous, about the size of acorns, and cattle also eat them. When ground to powder, they are very fragrant and are much used at weddings as perfume. Every little piece of root grows readily, so it is very difficult to exterminate.

(*To be continued.*)

POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

BY BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

ONE of the corner stones of the civilization of India, the civilization which is as ancient as that of Egypt, is the institution of caste. As caste holds such a prominent place in the economy of Indian life, and as it has been the distinguishing mark of the civilization of India since the dawn of history,—a period of some three thousand years, if not more—it is not surprising that a large number of hypotheses have been put forward to explain its origin. But the origin of caste is admittedly lost, perhaps never to be found ; and all the well-reasoned explanations of some of the greatest Indian scholars have remained till today no more than plausible conjectures.

The Hindus themselves, trying to explain the origin of caste, give more prominence to the occupational side of the system. A Brâhman writer, Mr. Ramaswami Sastri, speaking of the institution of caste, says : " According to us (*i.e.*, the Hindus) it is the result of a divine grouping according to actions and tendencies * * * which can be augmented or lessened by social or individual well-doing or ill-doing."[1] As Rice points out,[2] Sastri is speaking not as a scholar but as a propagandist ; " his aim is not to show how caste arose but to defend it as 'the main atmosphere of cultural resistance' and the most unifying element in Hindu society. It is clear, however, that he leans towards the occupational theory, as is proved by his contention that the 'Hindu race is one and entire and Aryan' " ; and that caste is " not based on ethnic separateness."[3] Scientific investigators look elsewhere than to occupation for the true explanation of the origin of caste. And several other theories have been brought forward to explain it.

One of these would have it that the system owes its origin to racial differences, and that it is based on the supposed superiority of the Indo-Aryan races to the autochthones of India, the dark-skinned population of whom very little is known. This opinion, erroneous though it is, as we shall see, has lasted for decades, but modern investigations lend little or no support to it. The error arose from the fact that the oldest Sanskrit word used to describe the system of caste is *varṇa*, 'colour.' European writers on India, and, following in their footsteps, the native writers themselves have interpreted the word *varṇa* as referring to the colour of the skin of the people of India, and then, as 'caste,' but we shall see that the word *varṇa* was not originally used in the sense of 'caste' as we understand it today.

The word 'caste' itself or any exact equivalent for it is unknown to the Indian, and in the principal languages of India no expression is to be found which clearly describes the idea of caste. The word '*caste*' comes from the Portuguese *casta*, which means 'race,' 'family.' Duarte Barbosa, writing of the king of Calicut, says : " This king keeps one thousand women, to whom he gives regular maintenance, and they always go to his court to act as the sweepers of his palaces * * * These are ladies and of good family [*estas saom fidalgas e de boa casta*]."[4] And Castanheda, one of the first European writers on India, uses the word 'caste' in a similar sense. He writes : " There fled a knight who was called Fernão Lopez, a man of good caste (family) [*homem de boa casta*].[5] Originally, therefore, caste referred to family rather than to racial differences. The nearest Sanskrit equivalent of the word is *jâti* which means 'race,' 'people,' 'caste' ; but *jâti* was not originally used to describe the system.

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1 Quoted by Stanley Rice, "The Origin of Caste," *The Asiatic Review*, xxv (1929), p. 147.

2 S. Rice, *loc. cit.*

3 S. Rice, *loc. cit.*

4 *Livro de Duarte Barbosa* (No. VII, Colleccao de Noticias para a Historia e Geografia, etc., Academia Real das Sciencias, tomo ii [Lisbon, 1812]), p. 316, quoted by Col. (Sir) H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases* (London, 1886), p. 131, *s.v.* "Caste."

5 F. L. de Castanheda, *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India* (Lisbon, 1833), iii, 239, quoted by H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *loc. cit.*

A third important suggestion as to the origin of caste has recently been propounded by Rice.[6] According to him the origin is to be looked for in the Tamil word *kulam* (Skt. *kulaṁ*), which would probably result in proving that totemism is at the bottom of it. He is also of opinion that caste is a Dravidian institution. He says that "the Aryans found a system resembling caste already in force amongst the Dravidian inhabitants and that they adopted and modified it to suit their own purpose."[7] He argues at great length to prove that the Tamil word mentioned above, meaning 'clan' or 'family,' must have referred to totemic families, and is the clue to the solution of the mystery.

Thus, we see that the three principal suggestions as to the origin of caste are :

i. Occupational ;
ii. Somatological ;
iii. Totemic.

In the present paper it is intended to examine the evidences as to their validity, and to reject or accept any or all of them.

Before we can do so, it is necessary to understand what exactly is meant by Caste, and how it is constituted. "Caste may roughly be described as a system whereby an individual is born into a well-defined section of society, the mere fact of which obliges him to follow a certain traditional path thenceforward. A man's caste determines for him nine-tenths of his existence ; it prescribes rules regarding whom he shall marry and when ; his avocation, his choice of friends, what he shall eat and—more stringent than this—what he shall refrain from eating."[8] Sénart, speaking of marriage restrictions, says "*La loi de la caste est une loi d'endogamie par rapport à la caste, d'exogamie par rapport à la famille.*"[9] And Westermarck, one of our greatest authorities on the question of marriages, says that endogamy is the essence of the caste system.[10]

Taking the first of these hypotheses, we at once see that the division by divine will of the population of India into four principal castes is, to least of it, puerile in the extreme, and cannot for a moment be taken into serious consideration. The justification for this belief in divine interference is found in the *Puruṣa-Sûkta*, one of the latest hymns found in the Vedic collection.[11] Caste, we are told, did not exist in the primitive society of Vedic times, though the conditions out of which it in all probability arose were already present. In the ***Puruṣa-sûkta*** we read that when the Puruṣa was created, the Brâhmaṇa issued from his mouth, the Kṣatriya from his arms, the Vaiśya from his thighs, and the Śûdra from his feet.[12] The first three—the priests, the warriors and the farmers—were believed to be the Âryans and were twice-born ; whereas the Śûdras alone were once-born, liable to various disabilities, and were the slaves of the other three.[13] Moreover, Manu, the ancient Hindu lawgiver, adds that when these four castes were created, special duties were laid to each and all of them. The Brâhmaṇa's duty was to teach, study, sacrifice for himself and for others, and to receive and give alms. To the Kṣatriyas the duties of protecting their fellow beings, of studying, of giving alms, of sacrificing, and of keeping away from sins were allotted. The Vaiśyas

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6 Stanley Rice, "The Origin of Caste," *The Asiatic Review*, xxv (1929), Nos. 81, 82.

7 Stanley Rice, *loc. cit.*, p. 151.

8 B. Bonnerjea, "Caste and Democracy," *Orion* [Journal of the International University Club], vol. i, No. 1 (Washington, D.C., June 1929), p. 2.

9 Émile Sénart, *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, p. 27, quoted by B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Paris, 1927, p. 12. Compare other authorities cited in the latter work.

10 E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*,[5] (New York, 1922), vol. ii, p. 59.

11 J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India*, London, 1868-1884, vol. i, pp. 156, 157.

12 Cf. A. A. Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology* [*Grundriss der Indo-arischen* ***Philologie***, Strassburg, 1897, pp. 12 f.

13 Cf. ***Institutes of Manu***, viii, 270, 272, 279, 280, 414 ; xi, 13, 64, 65, 66, 67, 127, 131 ; *Ṛgveda*, tr. by H. H. Wilson, vi, Sûkta XC, p. 12.

had to look after the cattle, give alms, sacrifice, study, and employ themselves in trade and business. Lastly, the Śûdras had only one duty allotted to them, *viz.*, to serve the other three without complaint.

That occupation or, as some would have it, integrity of life had some part in the determination of an individual's caste seems also to be a reasonable supposition in the light of certain texts in the ancient books. Nahuṣa, who had been condemned to take the form of a serpent, asks Yudhiṣṭhira the question: "Who is a Brâhmaṇa, and what is the object of worship?" Yudhiṣṭhira replies: "The man in whom are seen truth, liberality, patience, virtue, innocence, devotion and compassion—he is a Brâhmaṇa according to religious traditions." The serpent answers: "But in Śûdras also we meet with truth, liberality, calmness, innocence, harmlessness, and compassion, O Yudhiṣṭhira." The sage replies: "Whenever a Śûdra has any virtuous characteristics and a Brâhmaṇa lacks it, that Śûdra will not really be a Śûdra, nor that Brâhmaṇa a Brâhmaṇa. The man in whom this virtuous character is seen is a Brâhmaṇa, and the man in whom it is not seen is a Śûdra." The serpent proceeds: "If you regard him only as a Brâhmaṇa, whom his conduct makes such, then castè is of no avail until deeds are superadded to it." Thus pressed, Yudhiṣṭhira admits the confusion[14] of castes in the actual world, and concludes that good conduct and fulfilment of prescribed ceremonies are alike necessary.[15] In another place Muir says: "There is no difference of castes. The world having been at first created by Brahma, entirely Brâhmanic, became separated into castes in consequence of works."[16] Again, Bhrgu, being asked what constitutes caste, replies: "He who is pure, consecrated by the nature and other initiatory ceremonies, who duly studies the Veda, practises the six kinds of work, and the rites of purification, who eats of offerings, is attached to his religious teacher, is constant in austerities, and is devoted to truth, is called a Brâhmaṇa. He who is unclean, is addicted constantly to all kinds of food, performs all kinds of work, has abandoned the Veda, and is destitute of pure observances is called a Śûdra."[17] At the present day, however, the occupational theory has very little of support. Brâhmaṇas, for instance, are found following all kinds of professions, as also trade and even the sale of liquor and leather goods which are theoretically restricted to the Śuṅrî and Čamâr castes respectively. "But there are exceptions, *e.g.*, on the Malabar coast, where the Namputiri Brâhmaṇa is still very particular as to the way in which he earns his living, and proscribes numerous occupations, of which teaching is one. In some parts a man is brought to book if he neglects certain socio-religious observances, such as giving his daughter in marriage before she attains the age of puberty, investing his son with the sacred thread, or performing the *śrâddha* ceremony. But in others these matters are not regarded as concerning any one but himself."[18]

The second hypothesis of the somatological basis of the division into caste arose, as we have seen, from a wrong interpretation of the use of the Sanskrit word *varṇa* meaning 'colour.' In the ancient books of the Hindus society was divided into Brâhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śûdras. The priesthood and its duties, legal and educational authority are reserved to the Brâhmaṇas; military service to the Kṣatriyas; cattle-breeding, agriculture and trade to the Vaiśyas; and all kinds of menial work to the Śûdras. Of the four, the first-named are described as white, the second red, the third yellow, and the fourth black. Partisans of the Âryan theory have seized upon this description to prove their origin, and have interpreted the epithet 'white' of the Brâhmaṇas as referring to their Caucasian affinities.

14 The word *confusion* is significant for it shows that even in those days the caste system was misunderstood.

15 Summarized from J. Muir, *Original Şanskrit Texts*, vol. i, pp. 133-138.

16 J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 140.

17 Summarized from J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 142.

18 E. A. Gait, in *General Report of the Census of India*, 1911 (London, 1914), p. 388 § 496. The Brâhmans of Bengal perform any except the meanest trades; generally speaking, they are cooks.

But they are at a loss to explain the epithet ' red ' of the Kṣatriyas. Although such is the description of the four castes, there is no passage in the Sanskrit books which expressly says that the ' black ' people were non-Âryans ; neither are we told that the former three *were* Âryans. This interpretation of the word ' white ' has caused great amusement to one recent author, who writes : " *Wenn man behauptet, dass die weisse Farbe der Brahmanen seine europäische Affinität verrate, und die dunkle Farbe des Sudra seinen autochthonen Ursprung, dann fragt es sich, wie die rote Farbe des Ksatriya und die gelbe Farbe des Vaisya zu erklären ist. Ist bei den rotfarbigen Ksatriyas vielleicht an die Rothäute Amerikas und bei den gelben Vaisyas an die Mongolen zu denken ? Oder sind die Hindus ein Konglomerat der bekannten* BLUMENBACH' *schen Menschenrassen ? Diejenigen also, die behaupten, dass das indische Kastenwesen auf einen Rassenunterschied sich gründet, vermögen für die Existenz der beiden anderen Farben (rot und gelb) keinerlei Erklärung beizubringen.*"[19] As to the Mongoloid element among the Hindus, proofs have been adduced to show that it undoubtedly exists ;[20] and this is especially the case in the eastern provinces, where for centuries the people have come into contact with the Burmese and the Chinese.

The colour differences ascribed to the four castes are better explained in this manner. The Brâhmaṇas were regarded as white because of the superiority of their avocations and the supposed purity of their lives ;[21] the Kṣatriyas as red because being warriors they shed blood and because of their fiery nature ; the Vaiśyas as yellow because they handled yellow gold in the pursuit of trade and also because agriculture in which they extensively engaged suggested the vision of ripe, golden corn. The Śûdras were painted black on account of their occupations ; as the servitors of the other castes they performed dirty and menial work. The differences of colour, according to this explanation, became merely symbolic of the respective occupations of the castes.

In the dawn of Hindu civilization there were but two castes, the conquerors and the conquered. In the opinion of Muir and other authorities the Âryans found themselves a conquering white minority among the subject dark-skinned population, whom they graciously considered as the personification of all the vices. In the sacred books of the Hindus frequent mention is made of the black skins. In the *Ṛg Veda*, Indra, the sky god, is constantly invoked by warriors, and as a great god of battle he is more often called upon than any other deity as the helper of the Âryan races in their conflict with earthly enemies, and in subjugating the black-skins.[22] But, as we have said before, the Śûdras, in spite of their black colour, are never mentioned as non-Âryans. If their black skins alone were sufficient to class them as non-Âryans, then it would also be evidence of the non-Âryan origin of the Vaiśyas and the Kṣatriyas, who are described respectively as yellow and red. The only distinction made in the ancient books was that the learned were called *Ârya* and the savage aborigines and the illiterate were designated *Dasyu*.

(*To be continued.*)

[19] Bhupendranath Datta, "Das indische Kastensystem," *Anthropos*, xxii (1927), p. 147. "If it is affirmed that the white colour of the Brâhmaṇa reveals his European affinity, and the dark colour of the Sûdra his aboriginal origin, then the question arises as to how the red colour of the Kṣattriyas is to be explained. With regard to the red-complexioned Kṣattriyas are we to think of the red-skins of America, and with regard to the yellow Vaisyas, of the Mongolians ? Or, are the Hindus a mixture of the well-known races of men of Blumenbach ? Those, therefore, who assert that the Indian caste system is based on a racial difference are unable to find any explanation for the existence of the other two colours (red and yellow)."

[20] Cf. B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Paris, 1927, p. XII ; Appendix B, No. 2.

[21] In Oldenburg white is the colour of innocence (L. Strackerjan referred to by B. Bonnerjea, *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology* [London, 1928], p. 288, *s.v.* " White ").

[22] *Ṛg Veda*, III, 39-ix ; I, 130-viii ; A. A. Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 62.

IS S. THOME IN CIVITATE IOTHABIS ?

BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

MR. T. K. Joseph asks (*Catholic Register*, S. Thome, April 1930, p. 23) what we have to think of Iothabis, which in the *Codex Fuldensis* of the famous MS. of the Latin *Diatessaron*, written for, and corrected by Victor, Bishop of Capua, in 546 A.D., is given in the entry of St. Thomas' death. The words cited are : *Thomas in India Civitate Iothabis.* Is Iothabis, he asks, at Mylapore or at some place in North India ?

We answer that the presumption is in favour of Mylapore, whatever the spelling of the *Codex* may be. As we cannot twist the tradition away from the tomb at Mylapore, we have rather to twist the unknown name Iothabis in such a way as to satisfy Mylapore.

But, first of all, we should like to know where Mr. T. K. Joseph gets his information from. *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, New York, *s.v.* Tatian, says that the *Codex Fuldensis* of the *Diatessaron* is of about 545 A.D. Satisfied with the date 546, we should like to know who was responsible for deciphering the name from the *Codex*, as even the slightest difference of reading might greatly operate in favour of Mylapore. If the reading were possibly Solhabis or Kolhabis, Soshabis, Koshabis, we would at once think of Shola, Kolha, Sosha, Kosha (Coromandel). If it were Molhabis, we would think of Molhabur, Molepoor (1330), Mylapore. We have still to account for the name Lapis applied by a Flemish sailor to Mylapore about 1502 A.D. Could that have come from the ending of some name like Iothabis, Iolhabis, Iolhapis ? Or have we in it only the ending *lapur* of Mayilapur ? If the name were legible as Calhabis, Kalhabis, Colhabis, Kolhabis, we could compare it with the forms of Calamina, i.e., Kalamene, Karamene (Pseudo-Hippolytus), Kalamite (Pseudo-Dorotheus), Calamina (Pseudo-Jerome or Pseudo-Sophronius), Calamina (St. Isidore of Seville, born about 560, died 636), Calamina (Brit. Mus. Syr. Add. Cod. 17193, fol. 80, of the year 874), Calamina (Barhebraeus, thirteenth century), Kalamina (Anonymous Greek writer, published with the writings of Oecumenius), Calamia (Bede, the Venerable ?).

In case Iothabis has been correctly read from the *Codex Fuldensis,* there remains the possibility that the name was misspelt on the part of the scribe of that *Codex* or on the part of some earlier scribe.

Why does Mr. T. K. Joseph tell us that Iothabis is earlier even than the Greek writings of the seventh century which mention Calamina ? " No writer that we can name or date before the seventh century, if so early, makes mention of Calamina." (W. R. Philipps, *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 148.) This appears to be Mr. Joseph's authority. He assumes it proved that Pseudo-Hippolytus, Pseudo-Dorotheus, Pseudo-Jerome or Pseudo-Sophronius, are of the seventh century, i.e., neither later nor earlier. Philipps does not mean that. We can say that these writings might be of the seventh century, or earlier or later. We find Calamina in a Latin writer, St. Isidore of Seville, before 636. We find it in several Greek writers whose dates are not fixed. We find it in two Syrian writers, one of the ninth century, the other of the thirteenth. Shall we imagine that the Syrian writers took it from the unidentified Greek writers or the Latins ? The presumption is that the Greek and Latin writers had it from the Syrians, who were nearer India. That being so, and the tradition being what it is, the presumption is that Calamina refers to Mylapore ; also that the spelling is nearer to Calamina or Mylapore than Iothabis, unless all are names for the same place ; also, that it must be possible to fix Calamina and Iothabis on the ancient toponomy for Mylapore or its district. ' Coromandel,' or ' Karumanal ' (' black sand,' a village on the coast north of Madras), has a fair chance of satisfying the requirements of Calamina. Mr. Joseph prefers to explain Calamina as meaning Chinnamalai (the Little Mount) of Mylapore. I shall not here discuss the merits of Coromandel or Karumanal in preference to Chinnamalai. Barhebraeus, who

speaks of Calamina, connects St. Thomas' martyrdom on a mountain of India, at Calamina, very much in the same way as the Malabar tradition relates it now in connection with Chinnamalai. Barhebraeus' mountain of India, at Calamina, has therefore every chance of being the Little Mount at Mylapore, in Coromandel. In fact, a Syrian writer, Mar Solomon of Perath-Maishan (Basra ?), writes, c. 1222 A.D. (and therefore an appreciable time before Marco Polo and Barhebraeus), that, according to some, St. Thomas was buried at Mahluph, a city in the land of the Indians, while, according to others, Habban the merchant brought his body and laid it in Edessa. Granting that Habban brought the body to Edessa, we should think that even those who in Mesopotamia agreed about Habban and Edessa made Habban bring the body of St. Thomas from Mahluph, while the others held it was still at Mahluph. But for the first letter, Iothabis might be compared with Mahluph, Malhuph. Now, we ask, whether the presumption for the Calamina of the Syrian writer Barhebraeus be not that it is the same place as the Mahluph of the earlier Syrian writer, Mar Solomon. And, on phonetic grounds only, could Mahluph, be other than Mylapore ? It cannot be other, considering that in 1222 the Malabar tradition, i.e., that St. Thomas was buried at Mylapore, could not be different from what it was in Marco Polo's time (1293), and therefore in Barhebraeus' time. Sir John de Maundeville (fourteenth century) calls Calamye, the place of St. Thomas' tomb, a place in Mabaron (i.e., on the Coromandel Coast), that is, Mylapore. How long before 1222 had it been said in Mesopotamia that Thomas was at first buried at Mahluph (Mylapore) ? And how long before Barhebraeus had the Syrians of Mesopotamia, seeking Thomas at Calamina, been directed to Mylapore by the Christians in Malabar ? Was it different for the pilgrims from Mesopotamia who, about 874, seeking St. Thomas in India, asked where was the Calamina of their Syriac books ? Could it have been different for the embassy of Alfred the Great (893 A.D.), which came to India, to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, and returned successful ?

If Calamina and Mahluph can both refer to Mylapore, are we asking too much by seeking to identify both Calamina and Iothabis with Mylapore ?

We need not use in our discussions the name Bethumah of the Arab travellers (ninth century). Their Bethumah was apparently not "the house of Thomas" at Mylapore. Personally, I have never argued from that name in my disquisitions. It is different when we find Dair Thuma (Thomas' Monastery) applied by the Syrians to a place in India, along the sea, "in the black island" and near to Milon, whose inhabitants fished pearls.

I have argued that the Hulf or Hulfa, which we find in mediæval German accounts of St. Thomas' *Passio*, is to be compared with Mahluph, which by metathesis gives Mahulph, and that the name Hulf, Hulfa, goes back to the account of the Indian Bishop who, coming from the town where was St. Thomas' tomb, appeared at Rome, about 1122 A.D., or a century earlier than Mar Solomon. Let it not be said that Hulf, Hulfa represents Urfa (Edessa). That Indian Bishop said of the place where St. Thomas was buried that the king had given St. Thomas possession of the town. Now, that same tradition turns up at Mylapore in connection with Mylapore in 1348 (John de Marignolli), and in 1523, when the Portuguese settled at Mylapore, i.e., after a break of several decades in the Christian occupation of Mylapore. The persistence of such a tradition at Mylapore, whatever the value or meaning of the statement it contains, is not accidental. That tradition must have been an old one at Mylapore even in 1122, say a centuries-old tradition, since it could remain the same from 1122 to 1523, or during four centuries. In that case, the tradition at Mylapore in 1122, that St. Thomas had died there and that his tomb was there, was also centuries old here in India. This would easily bring us to the ninth century, in which Mr. Joseph is ready to place the church and cross of St. Thomas' Mount, Mylapore. That church was but the second church at Mylapore : for in 1348 de Marignolli mentions as built by St. Thomas, at Mylapore, a second church

other than the one of the tomb, which itself was also said to have been built by St. Thomas. The second church mentioned by de Marignolli was evidently the church on St. Thomas' Mount. We have no allusion to a third church, at Little Mount, before or at the Portuguese advent. Having gone so far, we ask where was the church and monastery of wonderful size and beauty, with the tomb where St. Thomas first rested here in India, of which Gregory of Tours heard from the pilgrim Theodore (before 592). Can it have been elsewhere than at Mylapore ? Let Mr. Joseph, running away from Calamina, by him placed in the seventh century, and from his Chinnamalai, place it in Mazdai's territory, and let him place Mazdai's territory near Gondophares', somewhere in North India. Between the seventh century (600-700), or between the ninth century (800-900), and 565-592 A.D., he must destroy the church, monastery and tomb in that Mazdai territory of his, construct at Mylapore a false tomb of St. Thomas, and erect near it a church, traditionally said to have been built by St. Thomas ; also a monastery ; also, on St. Thomas' Mount, a second church, likewise supposed traditionally to have been built by St. Thomas ; within the same period (565-592 A.D.—ninth century), nay from the seventh century, he must attach to Chinnamalai the name of Calamina and the tradition that St. Thomas was killed on it. How far is the seventh century (600-700) removed from the tomb, the monastery and church of great size and beauty of which Gregory of Tours wrote before 592 ? Moreover, Mr. Joseph must shift to Mylapore from his Mazdai territory between the seventh century, or between the ninth century, and 565-592, the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas which existed in 565-592. Could that have been done ? Did Malabar not protest ? Did not Syria and Mesopotamia ? Did not the Christians of Ceylon ? Did not the Christians of China ? If anyone protested, a pilgrimage ought to have continued to a Mazdai territory in the North of India between 565-592 A.D. and the seventh or ninth century. There is no trace of that. We take it then that there were no protests, because there was no shifting of a pilgrimage, tomb, church and monastery from North India to Mylapore, and that Mazdai's territory was not in North India, but at Mylapore. Mylapore was in possession even in 565-592. Therefore, its church and monastery of great size near the tomb in 565-592 went back several centuries again ; also its pilgrimage. We come to the Indian monastery of St. Thomas with about 200 monks in the time of Zadoe (fourth century, say, between 350-390 A.D.). It was near Milon, the inhabitants of which fished pearls. We take it that Milon is Mylapore, as Meilan was in 1340. Where will Mr. T. K. Joseph reasonably try to place Zadoe's monastery ? And what more do we want, even if we had never heard of Zadoe's monastery of St. Thomas ? Mr. Joseph has himself shown, satisfactorily enough, that there were Christians in South India and in Malabar about 290-315. When the *Passio* was written (before 600 A.D.) there was still in India, at Andranopolis where had taken place the marriage-feast, i.e., at Cranganore, according to the Malabar tradition, the see of St. Thomas the Apostle and the Catholic faith. I am satisfied that Andranopolis was Cranganore, and that, as the *Passio* says, a great people had been there gained over to Christ. With these many Christians in Malabar and the see of a Bishop at Cranganore from the time of the Apostle, can any one seriously contend that the Malabar tradition about Mylapore went wrong during the first six centuries ? Or that, having been right for a Mazdai territory in the North during the first six centuries, it went wrong during the next six ?

The old texts (*Acts, de Miraculis, Passio*), far from forbidding us to place Mazdai's territory at Mylapore, invite us to place it there in preference. In fact, once we have understood that Andranopolis is Cranganore, and that the Malabar tradition is a sufficiently safe guide in this matter and in others, we cannot seek Mazdai's territory elsewhere than at Mylapore, as we are then forced to admit from the earliest literature that St. Thomas' last journey was from Cranganore to Mazdai's court. We do not understand how Mr. Joseph, who is prepared to identify Calamina with Chinnamalai from the seventh century, and therefore to place a tomb of St. Thomas at Mylapore from the first mention of Calamina, should seek to place Mazdai's territory, Iothabis, and Zadoe's monastery of St. Thomas near Milon, elsewhere

than at Mylapore. Let us not forget that the agreement between Latin, Greek and Syrian writers for Calamina postulates a Calamina much earlier than the first dated or discovered mention of the name, and that therefore some of the undated references to it may be greatly older than the seventh century. Be Calamina ever so much older than the seventh century, there is Mr. Joseph's identification of Calamina with Chinnamalai and ours with Coromandel, or Karumanal. If Mr. Joseph is not satisfied that Iothabis should be Mylapore, he must find it somewhere near the sea in North India : for the Syriac Breviary, a respectable authority of undoubted antiquity, places St. Thomas' tent and resting-place near the sea. Mylapore satisfies that condition, and Mr. Joseph looks in vain for a Iothabis along the sea in North India. The *Codex Fuldensis* does not say that Mazdai's territory was in North India or that it touched on the sea.

Let us now see whether we cannot make an advance with the St. Thomas question in other directions.

Could people in Malabar throw light on a purse of St. Thomas, which was always full of money, a bowl always full of food, a staff with which he had nothing to fear, and a sandal with which he could transport himself in a moment to whatever place he liked ? I believe I have found a reference to these four magical articles and to St. Thomas in a Hindu book studied at Bettiah, Champaran District, by a Capuchin missionary in 1769. The staff of St. Thomas is known in the Mylapore and Malabar Christian folklore. With it he struck the rock at Chinnamalai and caused the perennial spring to flow. I do not know of any Malabar legends about St. Thomas' sandals. From the *Passio* we understand that, like his pallium and colobium, they would not be worn out before his death. Those of St. Bartholomew had lasted 26 years, as had his cloak and colobium ; they did not grow old. In China a certain Tamo is represented as crossing a river or the sea on a stalk of wheat ; he has a staff over his shoulder, and a sandal hanging from the staff. In 1613, the China Christians of Tenduc [more correctly Iendo, i.e., India (?), according to the old Syriac books then in Malabar] were said to be still in possession of a shoe or slippers (*sic*) of St. Thomas. I understand that they represented St. Thomas with a shoe. That shoe or slipper (in the singular) helps us to identify Tamo with Thomas. Others had identified him heretofore with Thomas without the help of the text about the shoe. Tamo also wears a rosary. Also known in China is a certain Bodhi-Tamo, the son of a South Indian king, who came to China with nothing but his *patra* (begging-bowl) and his flabellum ; also, a foreigner from Syria, whence had come the Luminous Religion, who brought to China only his rice-bowl and his vestments. Tamo, Bodhi-Tamo and the foreigner appear to be St. Thomas. Now for the magical purse of St. Thomas. In Central India, i.e., about Malwa and Bundelkhand, people who are not now Christians have tattoo-marks of many kinds of crosses, some indubitably Christian in shape, one of which is called a purse ; another name for such a cross is 'the flower of the lac-insect,' where the lac-insect points to Jesus. Another tattoo-mark, showing a cross within a circle, which is worshipped by two peacocks, and is called a sweetmeat, must be compared with the Bread of Tuma (Thomas), known in Manchuria, where it is formed and baked like a head or a hand, "because Tuma had been martyred whilst preaching, and as an atonement for sin."

Why should we not gradually bring China into line with India and Malabar ? Chinese still came on pilgrimage to the tomb at Mylapore in 1500. The Tartars who did the same in 1348 must have been Chinese. And now we learn from Godinho de Eredia (1613) that the Chinese of Chincheo (Fukhien), of whom there was a colony at Malacca, were descended from the Tochari or Chorii of Pliny, people settled between the Caspian and Turkestan, among whom there must have been Christians in the first centuries.

Why is there a hare in the sun or moon, as I saw in the paintings or carvings of some churches in Malabar ? I do not now recollect whether the hare was in the sun or in the

moon. I recollect he was in one of the two. Is a hare supposed to be in the sun and a dove in the moon, as is the case for North Asia ? What does the hare and the dove symbolize in Malabar ? In Egypt we find both as Christian symbols in the first centuries. The dove would naturally symbolize everywhere among Christians the Holy Spirit. Why should the hare not symbolize Christ ? In the West the Easter hare lays the Easter eggs, and on Easter Day the sun is believed to take three leaps on rising. We read of a hare guiding Kanishka to the Shepherd's tower, and of Krishna, incarnated as a beggar, which event was commemorated on the moon, where Oriental eyes still see the hare stirring the elixir of immortality. The story of the hare in connection with Krishna only adds to the likelihood that the Krishna story is mostly copied from the story of Christ. One of the Bettiah books says that Krishna was born in the kingdom of Kans, and that the capital of Kans was at Mylapore. Replace Kamsa by Kaisar (Augustus), and you have a confusion between Thomas at Mylapore and Christ. The death of Krishna by a hunter shooting him with an arrow in mistake for a deer is the death of Thomas, shot by a hunter with an arrow in mistake for a peacock.

Does Malabar know the symbol of the anchor and the Twin Fish ? What do the Twin Fish represent in Malabar, if the symbol is known there, say as a tattoo-mark ? I believe that the Twin Fish, widely known in China, Japan and Korea, appears in tattoo-marks in Central India. It would not be difficult to connect with it St. Thomas, Christ's Twin.

Does Malabar know any legend representing St. Thomas as the conqueror of a dragon near the sea, as a Nâgârjuna ? Or a legend in which St. Thomas or some other saint is locked up in an iron tower in the sea ? Or a legend in which St. Thomas or some other saint opens the iron tower in the sea by casting against the door grains of mustard-seed ? In the West there is a story of the boy Joseph locked up by his father Braudyn in a room or prison of stone and mortar ; Jesus, coming to his help, found a little hole, and, bidding the boy to take hold of his finger, he drew the boy out, " ever to be with Jesus."

We have also in the Bettiah books the story of Vikramâditya, in whose reign Sahabani was born of a virgin. Sahabani's story is modelled on that of the Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus, and it is said that Vikramâditya offered to yield his empire to Sahabani. A contest arose between them. They agreed that of the two, he would reign who would issue alive from a stone room after six months. At the end of six months, during which each was shut up in a stone room, Sahabani was alone found alive, and he began to reign. Sahabani is Jesus, and the Vikramâditya of this legend can be no other than Emperor Augustus.

There is also a legend from the Coromandel Coast about a tree which rose from the ground with the sun in the morning, reached up to heaven at noon, and was again flush with the ground at sunset. Vikramâditya (this time not Augustus, but Jesus) resolved to take his seat on it one morning. At noon, having reached the sun, he asked as his boon a thousand years of reign, and obtained his request. When back on the ground at sunset, his brother Betti (other texts have Bali) advised him to sit on his throne only six months every year, so as to reign two thousand years. This story appears to come from the *Vikramâditya-charitra*, but it is a Christian legend, well known in the days of Marco Polo, who says that what in the West was the Dry Tree (Arbre Sec) was in the East the Tree of the Sun (Arbre Sol). Marco Polo does not, however, tell us the story or legend connected with the tree of the Sun, but we find that the legend of the Arbre Sec and the legend of Vikramâditya about the tree of the Sun are both based on texts of the Old and the New Testament. What does Malabar know in this connection, and about the brother of Vikramâditya ? I have some idea that he is St. Thomas, and that the Tree of the Sun with Vikramâditya is figured on undated coinage said to come from Avanti or Ujjain.

Let the Christian folklore of Malabar be questioned on these points. We may find in it the corroboration of our suspicions, that much which is regarded as Hinduism and Buddhism is embedded Christianity.

Our nomad Gujars are supposed to be responsible for the Christian traces in the story of Krishna, or for having spread the story over India. Why not, and why might the Krishna story not be regarded as a perversion of the Gospel of the Infancy of Christ ? It is not, anyhow, more remarkable that Christos should have become Krishna than that Krishna should be pronounced and written in the form Kristo in Bengal.

The Gujars were not all nomads. They were a settled community in Gujarât, Gujrat and Gujranwala, and, if they are the Guzr or Gurz of Persia, i.e., the Georgians, a most warlike race scattered in many parts in the North-East of Asia from early times, we expect them to have had a smattering of Christianity from the first centuries. In fact, they must have been among the White Huns or Ephthalite Huns who invaded India in the sixth century. Else, how did they give their name to various parts of India ? The Bollandists postulate a Georgian original for the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat. Now, scholars will be surprised to hear that in 1713 Fr. Ippolyto Desideri, S.J., reports that at Ahmadabad, the ancient capital of Gujarât, the tomb of Barlaam and Josaphat was visited in pilgrimage by Christians and non-Christians. Fr. Manoel de Figueiredo, S.J., says the same about 1735. Both Fathers had passed through Ahmadabad on their way to Agra. They do not connect the tomb with any Christian Church ; and, though we know there was an Armenian and an Abyssinian Church at Ahmadabad in the time of Tavernier, we cannot be sure that the tomb of Barlaam and Josaphat was shown in one of those two churches. The tomb may very well have been in the possession of people once Christians, but no longer Christians in 1713. We are told by Friar Jordanus (before 1330) that in Lesser India (which comprised Gujarât) there were to be found here and there people calling themselves Christians, but not baptized, and knowing nothing of Christianity, who said that Thomas the Great was Christ. Were they perhaps Krishnaites ? Or people who attributed to Christ (Krishna) one of the many versions of the death of Thomas, and instead placed Christ's (Krishna's) birthplace at Mylapore ?

It is said that the story of Josaphat is a Christianized version of the legends of Buddha, as even the name Josaphat (Joasaph, Budasif, Budsaif, Boddhi-sattva) would show. On the other hand, previous scholars did not know of the tomb of Barlaam and Josaphat claimed by Ahmadabad in 1713. They ought to be able to explain how that tomb came there, or a claim to having it there. The legend of Barlaam and Josaphat states that years after their death their bodies were brought to India and that their grave became renowned for miracles. That legend also speaks of St. Thomas' death in India, of the many inhabitants of India converted by the Apostle who were living Christian lives, and of the many anchorets and monks living in India, who had been formed on the pattern of those of Egypt. Now, if the legend is laid in the reign of King Abenner in the third or fourth century, we find that indeed there were many Christian monks in India in the fourth century, as is shown by the Indian monastery of St. Thomas and its 200 monks between 350 and 400 A.D., and by texts in St. Jerome's writings. At the beginning of the seventh century we get the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat in a Greek text. Can we still be so sure that the priority for the stories in the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat belongs to the legend of Gautama Buddha ? Or that, if an earlier legend of Gautama Buddha was utilized for the story of Barlaam and Josaphat, the entire story with the names Barlaam, Josaphat and Abenner, is fanciful ? Might the story of Joseph and his father Braudyn, which I referred to above, be only a version of the legend of Josaphat kept in close confinement by his father Abenner ?

I do not see how we can explain the tattoo-marks of Christian crosses in Malwa and Bundelkhand without bringing in the Gujars or the Ephthalite Huns, who in the sixth century settled in Malwa.

BOOK-NOTICE.

RÂJPÛTÂNE KÂ ITIHÂS [The History of Râjpûtânâ], Fasc. III, by MAHÂMAHOPÂDHYÂYA RAI BAHÂDUR GAURISHANKAR HIRÂNAND OJHÂ. 9¾ × 6½ in.; pp. 737-1136; with illustrations. Ajmer, Vaidik Press, 1929.

Since Col. James Tod completed—just a century ago—his immortal work, *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, enormous strides have been made in the critical study of Indian history and, besides the discovery and publication of further historical and other records, a vast quantity of epigraphical and numismatic material has become available. Tod, in the absence of these sources of knowledge, was dependent upon local traditions, such archives as had been preserved in the States and, more particularly, upon the bardic chronicles, which, as Mahâmahopâdhyâya G. H. Ojhâ has shown, only began to be recorded after the sixteenth century of the Vikrama Saṁvat and abound in errors. These old chroniclers had no knowledge of correct chronology, and Tod had no means of testing and correcting their assertions, to which his eloquent pen added a warrant of authenticity. The time was ripe for rewriting the story told in the fascinating pages of Tod; and it is fortunate that the task should have been undertaken by the present author, whose scholarly attainments and unique knowledge of the subject, acquired by life-long research and stimulated by personal interest in the land and people, render him pre-eminently qualified for the work. The errors in the bardic accounts, as well as in vernacular compilations of more recent date, have now been indicated and corrected. The narratives of the Muhammadan historians have been carefully examined and utilized where they afford relevant information. But the outstanding feature of this work is the use that has been made of stone and copperplate inscriptions, so many of which have been discovered by the author himself, and some of which have not hitherto been edited or published.

In the present fascicule, which is the third to be printed, we have the history of the premier state, Udayapur (begun in fasc. II) carried on from the time of the great Pratâpa (Pratâpasiṁha I) down to that of Mahârâṇâ Sajjanasiṁha, *i.e.*, from the reign of Akbar to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The story of Pratâpa and his long and gallant struggle to preserve the independence of his country is one of the most absorbing in a history replete with striking episodes; and our author does justice to the subject. A full description is given of the fiercely contested battle fought near Haldî Ghâṭ in 1576, when the imperial forces under the famous Mânasiṁha narrowly escaped defeat. Tod had been misled to think that Salîm (afterwards Jahângîr) was in chief command of the Mughal troops. MM. G. H. Ojhâ points out that the prince was only six years old at the time. He gives reason for holding that very little advantage accrued to the imperial side from their ultimate victory, as indeed Akbar seems to have recognized at the time, whence his displeasure with Mânasiṁha. Among the most impressive pictures drawn by Tod is that of the physical hardships and mental suffering endured by Pratâpa and his family as they were hunted from one hiding place to another in the hills, how the brave Râṇâ was unmanned by the "lamentation of his children for food," and how, his funds being exhausted, he was unable further to stem the torrent of Mughal attacks and formed the resolution of abandoning Mewâṛ and of leading his Sisodias to the Indus and there planting the crimson banner "on the insular capital of Sogdoi," when the noble devotion of his minister Bhâmâ Śâh, who placed at his disposal the accumulated wealth of a family that had for generations held the first office in the state, enabled him to turn back and renew the struggle with fresh resources and energy. The Mahâmahopâdhyâya shows that all this is largely hyperbole and partly imagination. He points out that from Kumbhalgaṛh in the north to beyond Ṛṣabhadeva in the south (a distance of some 90 miles), and from Debârî in the east to Sirohî in the west (about 70 miles) the country remained under Pratâpa's control. The tale of the Râṇâ's privations and penury he pronounces to be altogether baseless, giving detailed reasons for his opinion. In these matters he thinks Tod must have been misled by unreliable hearsay. The account of Pratâpa's reign concludes with an expression of regret that up to date no memorial should have been erected in Mewâr to the memory of so valiant and patriotic a Mahârâṇâ.

In spite of Pratâpa's misgivings, his son Amarasiṁha continued the struggle for another seventeen or eighteen years against the Mughal troops, until in 1615, with the co-operation of Prince Khurram, the memorable compromise was effected under which the Mahârâṇâ's son Karṇa was sent to Jahângîr's court, he himself being exempted from attendance. The fact was that, after constant fighting with the Mughals for 47 years, the Râjpûts had become thinned in numbers and weary of the struggle. In many families two generations, in some three, had passed away in this warfare, and the feeling was gaining ground that a truce should be called: but the conditions attaching to submission to the emperor and attendance at court deterred the proud Sisodias from coming to terms. The Sardârs put their heads together with a view to finding a way for peace with honour, some arrangement by which the Mahârâṇâ would not be required to submit to the indignity of having to dance attendance at the Mughal court. They decided to approach Khurram, to ascertain if the attendance of the eldest son, Karṇa, would be accepted, and first of all to sound Karṇa as to whether he would consent to such a solution. Karṇa having agreed, Khurram was approached. The latter sent word of the proposal to Jahângîr, who appears readily to have assented, granting the Mahârâṇâ "a

gracious *farmân* that would satisfy him."[1] This *farmân* is said to have been taken by Karṇa accompanied by all the Sardârs to the Mahârâṇâ, who most reluctantly agreed to accept it, saying: "If this be the desire of all of you, what can I, alone, do ?" (p. 808). Although by this settlement the Mahârâṇâ's personal honour was not directly compromised, he realized that it spelt surrender and felt it so bitterly that he handed over the administration of the state to Karṇa and retired to a life of seclusion in his palace. "Thus," as our author expresses it, "approximately 1050 years after Guhila came the end of the independence of Mewâṛ."

Ever since this time, it would appear, Khurram retained feelings of warm friendship towards Karṇa. Testimony to this friendship is found on pp. 824-25, where we are told that during his rebellion against his father, and after his defeat at Bilochpur, Khurram visited Karṇa at Udayapur on his way to Mâṇḍû, and when leaving exchanged turbans with Karṇa, who deputed Râja Bhîmasiṁha to accompany and help him. This is the 'Bhim Singh' of whom we find frequent mention in the Muhammadan histories as one of Khurram's most active and capable generals. This friendship with Karṇa, however, did not persist with his son, Jagatsiṁha, or his grandson, Râjasiṁha I, with whom strife occurred in the latter part of Shâhjahân's reign over the rebuilding of the fortifications of Chitor. After Aurangzeb's accession the tension became worse. There were several reasons for this, all of which have been clearly set forth by our author on pp. 847-79. Aurangzeb's rancour was aroused by being foiled in his desire to marry Chârumatî, the beautiful sister of Mânasiṁha of Kiśangaṛh. His religious intolerance towards the Hindûs was possibly aggravated by this. At all events about this time he pursued vigorously his suicidal policy of destroying temples and images and of re-imposing and enforcing with the utmost rigour the insulting and detested *jizya* tax—a policy that undermined the foundations of the Mughal empire, and operated perhaps more than any other cause towards its ultimate disruption. It was the enforcement of the *jizya* that led to the writing of the remarkable letter addressed to Aurangzeb, which Orme attributed to Jaswantsiṁha of Jodhpur, and Tod to Râjasiṁha, and which Sir Jadunath Sarkar thinks was written by Śivajî. MM. G. H. Ojhâ discusses the authorship of this letter at some length, and for the reasons stated by him, comes to the conclusion that it was written by Râjasiṁha. In this connexion he points out that Râmasiṁha may be regarded as being at that time the chief of the Râjpût râjas *in attendance at the Mughal court*, and so referred to in the letter as *Hindûoṅ kâ mukhiyâ*.

The next Mahârâṇâ of special note was Amarasiṁha II (1698-1710), who is still remembered in Mewâṛ as a great organizer in consequence of his numerous administrative and other regulations. In some respects the most interesting event of his rule was the forcible levy of contributions from his people and the oppression on this account of the Bhâṭs, of whom some 2,000 are said to have committed suicide, having regard to the prestige possessed by this caste in former times in Râjpûtânâ and western India.

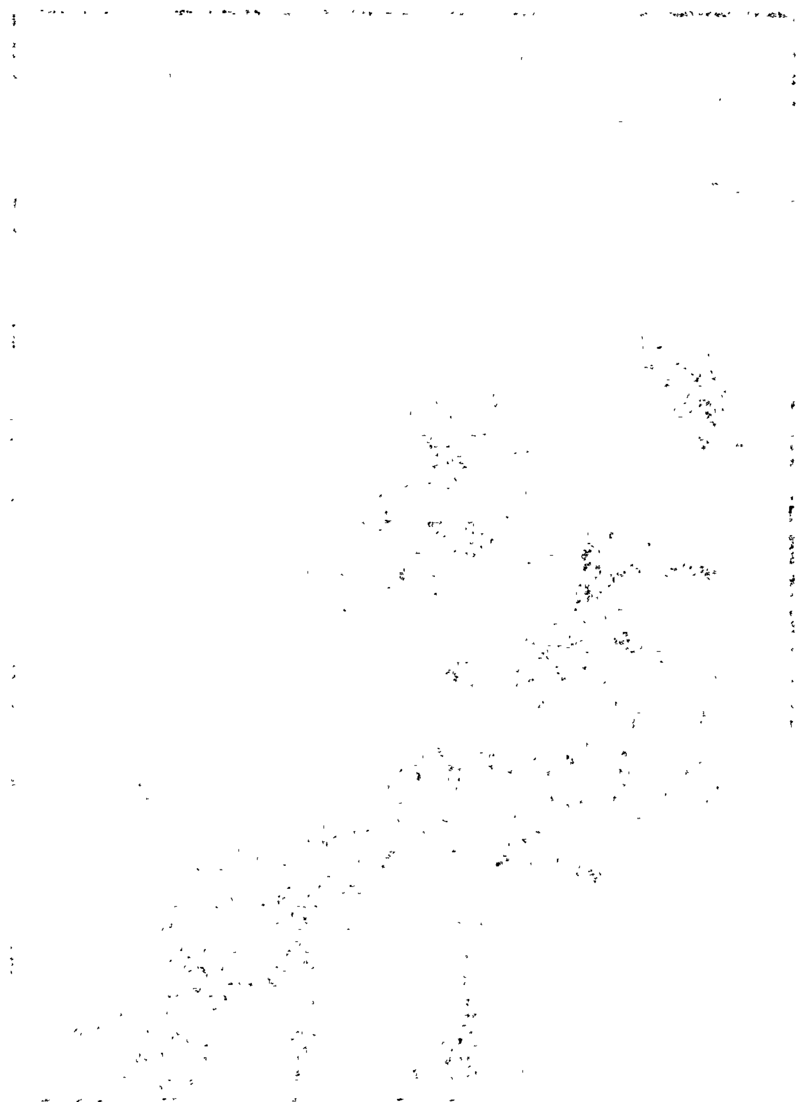
A new chapter in the history of Mewâṛ opens with the rule of Jagatsiṁha II (1734-51). From his time onwards the power and influence of Mewâṛ gradually declined. The Marâṭhâs had become paramount in northern India and completely overawed the puppet emperors of Delhi. Having exacted *chauth* from the weakling Muḥammad Shâh, they soon began to levy contributions in the Râjpûtânâ states. More than once the Râjpût princes attempted to form a coalition against this danger, but without success, owing to their mutual dissensions. In the quarrel over the Jaipur succession between Îśvarîsiṁha and Mâdhavasiṁha the Mahârâṇâ unfortunately called in Holkar; and from that time onwards the story is one continuous record of Marâṭhâ invasion, plunder and oppression. The quarrels between the Râjpût states themselves became more frequent, weakening further their power of resistance, till in the time of Mahârâṇâ Bhîmasiṁha (1778-1828) we find Mewâṛ and the neighbouring states being laid waste by the armies of Sindhiyâ and Holkar and the Pindârî hordes in turn. There is no respite from this turmoil till the British ultimately assume control. "From the time of Jaitrasiṁha," writes the Mahâmahopâdhyâya, "down to the time of Râjasiṁha (approximately 450 years) the râjas of Mewâṛ had fought continuously with the Muhammadans, yet the power of Mewâr was not exhausted; but in 60 years the Marhaṭâs had caused such ruin that had not the treaty been made with the English government, the whole of Mewâṛ would have been merged in their dominions." When the negociations for this treaty opened, the plight of Mewâṛ was such that "the Râṇâ's treasury was quite empty; such jewels as remained had been sold; the country was like a barren waste; and many of the inhabitants had emigrated and settled in Mâlavâ, Harautî and other provinces." Such were the conditions when Captain James Tod first visited Mewâṛ in the suite of the British Agent with Daulat Rao Sindhiyâ. It was to this stricken land, so full of glorious memories, and its romantic and chivalrous people that he later devoted the best years of his life. Tod was rewarded—and no public servant can receive a higher or more gratifying reward—by the deep affection with which his name is still cherished in Râjpûtânâ. The author of the *Râjpûtâne kâ Itihâs* will likewise be gratefully remembered in that land and by all students of its history. We thank him for the pleasure enjoyed in reading the first three fascicules of this fine work, and look forward to its successful completion.

C. E. A. W. O.

[1] *Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî*, trans. Rogers and Beveridge, vol. I, p. 274.



SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E.



IN MEMORIAM

SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A., etc.

BY the death of SIR R. C. TEMPLE, which occurred at Territet in Switzerland on the 3rd March, India has lost one of her truest friends, and Oriental research one of its staunchest patrons, the greater part of whose long life was devoted to the study of, and encouragement of research in, the diverse cultures of India and the East. For India—the land of his birth, in which he served in various capacities for 35 years—and her peoples his affection was deep to the last. The son of the distinguished administrator, Sir Richard Temple, Bt., G.C.S.I., he was born on the 15th October 1850, at Allahabad, where his father was then serving as a junior member of the Civil Service. Educated at Harrow and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, he joined the Royal Scots Fusiliers in 1871 and proceeded to India, where his father was then Financial Member of the Governor-General's Council. After a few years he joined the Bengal Staff Corps of the Indian Army and served with the 38th Dogras and the 1st Gurkhas. After the 2nd Afghan War (1878-79), for his conduct in which he received the medal and was mentioned in despatches, he was appointed a Cantonment Magistrate in the Panjab, where he worked for some years, and where he pursued the inquiries and collected the material used later in many of his publications, e.g., in the *Legends of the Panjab* (3 vols., 1884-1900), *Panjab Notes and Queries* (1883-87), of which he was the editor and to which he contributed largely, *Wide-awake Stories*, being a collection of Panjab and Kashmir folk-tales, which he published in collaboration with Mrs. F. A. Steel (1884), as well as in contributions to other publications.

It was during his service in the Panjab that his attention became directed to the proverbial lore of Northern India and to the folklore of Kashmir, subjects in which his interest never flagged. In the midst of his duties in Burma he succeeded in completing the revision and editing of Dr. Fallon's great *Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs*, the largest and most comprehensive collection of the proverbs of Northern India hitherto published (1885-87). Some forty years later was published *The word of Lalla the Prophetess* (1924), the famous female Saiva ascetic of Kashmir.

When the 3rd Burmese War broke out in 1885 he was transferred to Burma, where he was occupied with various duties, both military and civil, in different areas, acquiring a wide and intimate knowledge of the province and its races. He served at Mandalay and other places as Assistant Commissioner, Cantonment Magistrate and Deputy Commissioner, eventually becoming Official President of the Rangoon Municipality and Port Commission in 1891. In Burma his interests spread wide, embracing ethnology, linguistics, antiquities and numismatics, and a special study was made of local forms of demonology, which led to the publication many years later (1906) of *The Thirty-Seven Nats : A Phase of Spirit Worship prevailing in Burma*. The same line of study resulted in the publication at the time (1894), in collaboration with Dr. Burnell, of *The Devil Worship of the Tuluvas*, inhabitants of the South Kanara district on the west coast of the Madras Presidency. In addition to these activities, he rendered public services of conspicuous merit, raising and commanding the Upper Burma Volunteer Rifles (1887-90), the Rangoon Naval Volunteers (1892), the Volunteer Engineers and the Rangoon Port Defence Volunteers (1893), of which he was Honorary Lieut.-Colonel. Still a substantive Major in the Indian Army, these services, which were rewarded with the C.I.E., led to his appointment in 1894 to the responsible post of Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Superintendent of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair. Here, again, with his accustomed energy he plunged into an intensive study of the interesting tribes inhabiting these islands, their tribal divisions, languages, customs and beliefs. The ground

was by no means new to him, as he had been acquainted with the Andamanese off and on since 1875. Here he renewed his association with the late Mr. E. H. Man, then Deputy Superintendent of the Settlement and the foremost authority on these primitive islanders. The position of Chief Commissioner at that time was no sinecure; the duties were difficult and arduous, involving the exercise of watchfulness, tact and quick decision. These qualities Temple possessed in an eminent degree; and to them and a fearless spirit he probably owed his life on one occasion, when a plot was laid to kill him. It fell to his lot to carry out the Census (1901) operations in the islands, a task fraught with many risks among superstitious and savage tribes. To him the work was of intense interest; and right well did he perform it: his *Report on the Census and Memoranda on the Forests* of the islands (1901) remains a document of great and permanent value. Besides many reports written in his official capacity, he published a *Grammar of the Andamanese and Nicobarese Languages* (1902), compiled accounts of the islands for the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and communicated numerous articles and notes to the *Indian Antiquary* and other journals.

While still at Port Blair, Lieut.-Colonel Temple succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father in 1902. Retiring from the service in 1904, he resided for many years at his ancestral home, The Nash, in Worcestershire, the home of the family for a couple of centuries. There the warm hospitality of Sir Richard and Lady Temple gave pleasure to a host of friends and visitors from home and abroad, who were able to view the many treasures of the house, consisting of objects, books and manuscripts collected to illustrate the subjects to which he had devoted his attention. For, besides enriching many museums in London, Oxford and other places, Sir Richard had added much to the collections at the Nash. Settled at home, he at once entered into the work of various national, county and local bodies and of learned societies with his wonted vigour and enthusiasm. The freedom from official duties following retirement enabled him also to devote more time to literary pursuits, and from 1905 onwards he edited many records of travel for the Hakluyt Society, the Indian Records Series and other series, with valuable introductions and annotations. And here a tribute must be paid, as he would have wished, to the invaluable help, so often acknowledged by him, of his collaborator in this and other work for some thirty-two years, Miss L. M. Anstey. These volumes included *The Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, by Thomas Bowrey (1905); *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. I (1907), vol. II (1914), vol. III, parts 1 and 2 (1919), and vol. IV (1925); *The Bowrey Papers*, vol. I (1925); *The Journals of Streynsham Master*, 2 vols. (1911), edited for the Indian Records Series; *Drake's World Encompassed* (1926); *The Itinerary of Ludovico Varthema* (1928); and *The Tragedy of the Worcester* (1930). He also edited his father's *Letters and Character Sketches from the House of Commons* (1912). Twenty-five years earlier, it may be noted, he had edited and revised his father's delightful *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, 2 vols. (1887). A further work published by him during this period, written in conjunction with Mr. Empson, was *The Cult of the Peacock Angel* (1928), referring to the heretical sect of the Yazîdîs.

Sir Richard Temple was a member of most of the societies that include India and the East within their scope, such as the Royal Asiatic Society (of which he was an Honorary Vice-President), the Royal Geographical Society, the Hakluyt Society, the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Folklore Society, the Royal Society of Arts, the Philological Society, the Bengal Asiatic Society, and many other societies at home and abroad. He was also a Fellow of the British Academy and of the Society of Antiquaries, and an Honorary Fellow of his College, Trinity Hall.

He was Chairman of the Standing Committee of Baronetage for 15 years. He presided over the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1913, when he delivered an address on *The Administrative Value of Anthropology*, a subject in which he took special interest, and the importance of which he had emphasized on previous occasions. In 1928 he was chosen to preside over the Jubilee Congress of the Folklore Society, when his presidential address on *The Mystery and the Mental Atmosphere* revealed the remarkable depth of his study of Eastern hagiolatry.

Reference has already been made to the energy with which he took a share in the public work of his own county, but special mention must be made of the unremitting service he rendered in connexion with the Territorial Army Association, of which he was Chairman from 1908 to 1921, and the St. John Ambulance Association, of which he was created Bailiff, Grand Cross in 1927. During the Great War he worked very hard as a member of the Joint War Committee of the latter association and the British Red Cross. For his services in these respects he was decorated with the C.B. in 1916. He was the moving spirit in the Edith Cavell Homes of Rest for Nurses, and for many years on the Council of the British Hospital for Mothers and Babies, in the building of which he was largely instrumental. Approaching, as he then was, the allotted span of three score years and ten, however, the strain of overwork during this period told heavily upon his naturally strong constitution, already impaired by long residence in trying eastern climates, and caused a breakdown. His eyesight became seriously affected, and other ailments associated often with old age supervened, compelling him eventually to live most of his time abroad and come to England on short visits in the summer. Montreux, Wiesbaden and Territet were tried in turn. For the last two years he lived at Territet, by the shore of Lake Geneva. Here, though forbidden at intervals by his doctors to do any work for some weeks at a time, he managed to get through an extraordinary volume of work on the whole, completing his *New Light on the Mysterious Tragedy of the Worcester*, published at the end of last year, and almost finishing an annotated edition of the second volume of *The Life of John Olafsson* for the Hakluyt Society. In the intervals of leisure from these works he was occupied with the classification and arrangement of the voluminous material collected by him during thirty years on the Indian Muslim Saints, for the preparation of what he himself regarded as destined to be his *magnum opus*. In view of the difficulty of publishing the work as a whole, he had decided to divide the matter into a series of five monographs, the first of which was actually ready in type.

In the autumn of last year his condition became such as to give cause for grave anxiety; but his wonderful recuperative power gave hope that he would pull through, as he had done before, and recover his strength with the advent of the spring. Full of pluck and faith, he was never despondent. His letters were always cheery. He frequently complained however of the severity of the weather, which precluded him from getting out into the sunshine and confined him to his room. When the end was at hand he was not even feeling ill: death came to him quite suddenly, caused by a clot on the brain, while he was working with his papers actually in his hand.

To the *Indian Antiquary*, with which he was associated for fifty-two years, and which owes its continuance since 1885 to his enterprise and devotion, his loss is irreparable. Dr. James Burgess, who founded the Journal at his own risk in 1872, had by his own abilities and by enlisting the co-operation of a band of great scholars, like G. Bühler, J. F. Fleet, F. Kielhorn and (Sir) Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, established it successfully as the premier research journal in India. It was during the editorship of Burgess that in 1879 (then) Lieut. R. C. Temple made his first contribution to the Journal in the shape of a " Note on the *Mengala Thôk* " (vol. VIII,

p. 329). This was followed by many notes and articles in succeeding volumes, till in 1885, when Burgess had to give up the work, the proprietor-editorship was assumed jointly by him and the late Dr. J. F. Fleet. From the 1st January 1892, when Dr. Fleet retired from the joint-editorship, he carried on the Journal as sole proprietor and editor entirely at his own risk until 1924, when he formed a company (the Indian Antiquary, Limited) in the interests of the Journal, and an agreement was entered into with the Royal Anthropological Institute by which the latter assumed responsibility, with effect from the 1st January 1925, for the maintenance of the Journal upon certain terms and conditions. From vol. VIII (1879) to vol. LX (of the current year) articles and notes poured from his facile pen, the bare enumeration of which would fill some nine double-columned pages of this size.

When the time and labour involved in editing this monthly journal from such a distance—for many years single-handed—is considered, the wonder is that he could manage to do so much other work as well. In the course of the brief life story above most of the volumes written or edited by him have been named. But this does not complete the tale of his literary activities by any means. He also contributed numerous notes and articles to *North Indian Notes and Queries*, the old *Calcutta Review*, *Notes and Queries* (London), the *Folklore Record*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, the *Journal of Indian Art*, and many other journals and newspapers. In addition to this there is a list of some fifty miscellaneous pamphlets prepared by him. Truly a remarkable record for a man so occupied with official and public duties !

The outstanding characteristics of Sir Richard Temple were his indefatigable industry, amounting to a joy of work, his exceptional range of knowledge and interests, covering almost all branches of Oriental research, his wide personal experience of all provinces of the Indian Empire, and his liberal and broad-minded outlook that enabled him better to understand and appreciate the cultures of the East as a whole. He never claimed to be an expert in any of the subjects he dealt with. To overrate one particular branch of research, or depreciate others, was alien to his nature. He insisted on the sounder principles of viewing Indian history, life and culture as a whole, correlating one with another, the neglect of which principle in certain spheres of research has had such unfortunate results. It is in this respect that his place will be most difficult to fill. Not less remarkable than his range of knowledge was his unfailing readiness to help and encourage others. Only those in close contact with him knew to what extent he used to stimulate Indian students who showed interest in research work. He would often detect matter of value in a paper written in scarce intelligible English, that would have been summarily rejected by most editors. In such cases he would go to infinite pains in revising the language, at times practically rewriting the paper. Many an author never realized how much had been done for him in this way ; and many who appreciated his unfailing courtesy will bear his name in affectionate remembrance. His own style was particularly easy and lucid, free, like himself, from any suspicion of pedantry or artificiality. His handwriting to the very last was firm and clear, even when he used a pencil, as was his practice latterly. In private life he was a delightful companion, with his interesting experiences, his sense of humour and his almost boyish zest for investigation and inquiry.

The readers of the *Indian Antiquary* will mourn his loss, and offer their deepest sympathy to his widow and family.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE STAGING OF THE VIDDHAŚÂLABHAÑJIKÂ.

BY DASHARATHA SHARMA, M.A.

1. THE place where the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* was staged has been hitherto a matter of some doubt. Was it staged at the court of the Chedi king, Yuvarâjadeva I or Yuvarâjadeva II, as suggested with some diffidence by Sten Konow, or at the court of the Pratihâra emperor, Mahendrapâla, at the time of Mahîpâla's installation as *Yuvarâja* or joint ruler of the Pratihâra empire, as believed by Wilson ? At first sight Wilson's position appears the stronger of the two. Râjaśekhara, we feel inclined to argue, was the spiritual teacher of Mahendrapâla ; at the court of this king, or his successor, some of the dramas by Râjaśekhara were represented ; therefore the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ*, too, must have been staged at this Pratihâra king's court by the order of his heir-apparent Bhoja or Mahîpâla. For the other theory, only two verses can be quoted, and these, instead of telling us that the ***Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ*** was staged at the court of Yuvarâjadeva, can show at the most that Râjaśekhara had some connection with the Chedi court.[1]

2. Now let us see what the drama itself has to say about the matter. The words in the prologue, which merely tell us that it was represented at the desire of the court of Yuvarâjadeva, do not help us to a solution of the mystery. But if we go a little further, we find indications enough to clear up the matter. The name Vidyâdharamalla, which the hero of the piece bears, alternates curiously enough with the name Keyûravarṣa,[2] and that this Keyûravarṣa was none other than Keyûravarṣa Yuvarâjadeva I is clear enough from his being called *Karachuli-tilaka*, or the lord of the Karachulis. Further this Keyûravarṣa of the drama is said to rule in Tripurî,[3] 'made noisy by the waves of the moon's daughter,' *i.e.*, the Narmadâ. Now this again is a distinct reference to Tripurî, the capital of the Haihaya dynasty, which was situated on the banks of the river Narmadâ. With all these facts before us, we can, I think, surely assert that the drama was represented not at the Court of Mahendrapâla, the king of Kanauj, but at the court of Keyûravarṣa Yuvarâjadeva I, the Chedi ruler.[4] The case of Yuvarâjdeva II,[5] who ruled about 980 A.D. can be rejected, because he did not bear the title Keyûravarṣa, and was, moreover, far removed in time from Râjśekhara, who flourished in the early decades of the tenth century.

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1 The two verses are—

सुश्लिष्टबन्धघटना विस्मितकविराजशेखरस्तुत्या ।
आस्तामियमाकल्पं कृतिश्च कीर्तिश्च पूर्वा च ॥ *Epigraph. Ind.*, i, 251.

नदीनां मेकलसुता नृपाणां रणविग्रहः ।
कवीनाञ्च सुरानन्दश्चेदिमण्डलमण्डनम् ॥ —*Sûktimuktâvali* (attributed to Râjaśekhara, and quoted by Sten Konow).

2 सुप्रभातं देवस्य केयूरवर्षस्य—Act IV, 1st line.
देवं केयूरवर्षं विनयनताशिराः सर्वसेनाधिनाथः—*Ibid.*, 18, 2nd line.
The word केयूरवर्ष seems to have been wrongly printed कर्पूरवर्ष in some editions.

3 Wrongly printed नूपुरी in Jivânanda's edition. Âpte had the right reading. See his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 662.

4 Yuvarâjadeva seems to have been famous for his liberality towards poets Vallabha, a poet of about 993 A.D., writes :—

सृष्टं नदत्र युवराजनरेश्वरेण यद्दुष्करं किमपि येन गिरः श्रियश्च ।
प्रस्थापनं स्फुटमकारि निजे कवीन्द्रमेकासनं समुपवेशयताभिनन्दम् ॥

Udayasundari, 1st Ucchvâsa. (Quoted by Mr. Dalâl in his edition of *Kâvya mîmâṁsâ*, Gaekwâd's Oriental Series.)

Vallabha's eulogy of *Sabhâpatis* begins with Vikrama, goes on to mention Hâla and Harṣa, and stops with Yuvarâja. Moreover, while the verbs used for Vikrama, Hâla, and Harṣa are आसीत्, गते, अजायत, respectively, the verb used with Yuvarâja is सृष्टः which gives almost the sense of present perfect. Combining these two references, we can, I think, say that the last king mentioned is of the poet's own century, and there too most probably Yuvarâjadeva I, who ruled at Tripurî *circa* 925-950 A.D.

5 He was a contemporary of the powerful Paramâra king Muñja (974, 979, 993 A.D.)

3. Next we might deal with the occasion which led to the staging of the play. It was, as already shown, not the installation of Mahîpâla as *Yuvarâja*. Then what else could it have been ? To me it seems that the occasion was some notable victory of the Kalachuris over the neighbouring Râṣṭrakûṭa kingdom of Kuntala. That it was probably so, will seem fairly indicated by the letter[6] purporting to have been written by the Chedi general to Keyûravarṣa himself, and not to Vidyâdharamalla or any other fictitious character of the story. After greeting the mighty Keyûravarṣa, the lord of the Kalachuris, who was then stationed at Tripuri on the river Narmadâ, the general proceeds to inform him *that he had restored the king of Kuntala* (then the heart of the Râṣṭrakûṭa kingdom) who had been deprived of his throne by his relatives, and had defeated on the banks of the river Payoṣṇî (Tâptî), the Siṁhala, Koṅkana, Karṇâṭa, and other kings who tried to oppose him by entering into a confederacy. That such an encounter really took place, and that the Kalachuris won is quite probable, because in the Bilahri inscription also Keyûravarṣa claims to have conquered many countries, and dallied with the women of Karṇâṭa and Lâṭa, which countries were in 934 A.D., ruled by the Râṣṭrakûṭas.

But who this Kuntala king was, and why he stood in need of help is again a problem.[7] Can he not be Baddliga Amoghavarṣa III ? His predecessor, Govinda IV, seems to have been a man of vicious character, who met his destruction in a rebellion raised by his subjects.[8] In this rebellion perhaps the Chedis had a share. By allying themselves with the feudatories[9] who are said to have called the successor of Govinda IV to the throne, they might have defeated the Râṣṭrakûṭa king, and crowned as ruler Amoghavarṣa III, who was a son-in-law of the Chedi king Yuvarâjadeva. The idea that something like this happened, and that Amoghavarṣa III did not come to the throne in the ordinary course is, I think, strengthened

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[6] The letter runs as follows :—

स्वस्ति श्रीमत् त्रिपुर्यां तुहिनकरसुतावीचिवाचालितायां,
देवं केयूरवर्षं विनयनतशिराः सर्वसेनाधिनाथः ।
श्रीवत्सो । वत्सलत्वान्मुरलजनवधूलोचनैरर्च्यमानं
पादद्वन्द्वारविन्दे क्षणमभिरचयत्यञ्जलिं मूर्ध्नि भक्त्या ॥

अथोच्यते, कार्यं च लिख्यते । करचुलितिलकस्य पार्थिवस्य तव प्रतापेन महामन्त्रिभागुरायणस्य मतिवैशारद्येन मादृशानां च पदातिलवानामादेशनिर्वहणेन प्राचीप्रतीच्युदीचीदिग्विभागे सर्व एव राजानश्चण्डवृत्तयो दण्डोपनताः स्थिताः केवलमवाचीक्षितिपतयो दृश्यन्ते स्म । तत्रापि विनिवेद्यते । तत्कुल्यापहृतराज्यः कुन्तलाधिपतिर्वीरपालो देवं शरणमागतो, देवादेशाच्च तं पुरस्कृत्य वयं पयोष्णीतीरं समावासिताः । तदा च ।

कार्णाटो युद्धतन्त्रे चतुरतरमतिः सिंहलः सिंहकर्मा
पाण्ड्यश्चण्डासियष्टिर्मुरलपरिवृढः कार्मुक-प्रौढबाहुः ।
आन्ध्रो नीरन्ध्रसारः समरभुविधुरः कन्तलः कुन्तलेशः
किञ्चान्ये कोङ्कणाद्या अपि नरपतयः संश्रिताः संघवृत्तिम् ॥

. . . .

किंबहुलिखितेन तान् विजित्यास्माभिः स्वराज्ये वीरपालोऽभिषिक्तः । . . . .

[7] Like Vidyâdharamalla, the name Vîrapâla seems to be fictitious. It was probably invented to avoid giving umbrage to the reigning Râṣṭrakûṭa monarch, who was a relative of Keyûravarṣa. Another fictitious character, Mṛgâṅkâvalî, daughter of Chandravarman of Lâṭa, similarly, seems to represent Nohaladevî, the Chedi queen, the daughter of Avanivarman Châlukya.

[8] The Wardha grant says :—" Fettered by the chains of the eyes of women, he displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses, and his limbs becoming enfeebled, and the constituents of the (political) body becoming non-coherent, he met with destruction." (Quoted in Mr. C. V. Vaidya's *History of Mediæval India*, vol. II, pp. 149-50.)

[9] The Wardha plates say :—" After the death of Govinda IV, king Amoghavarṣa's son Jagattuṅga, being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the sovereignty of the Raṭṭas, ascended the throne of heroes." (Quoted in Mr. C. V. Vaidya's *History of Mediæval India*, vol. II, p. 150.)

by the disrespectful words used in the Wardha grant for Govinda IV by his cousin Indra III, the son and successor of Amoghavarṣa. If Amoghavarṣa III had not captured the throne by violent means, his son would hardly have used such words towards his (Amoghavarṣa's) immediate predecessor, however bad his character might have been. In inscriptions which are meant to be a permanent record such dispraise can only be expected from a usurper or murderer.

4. Having so far dealt with the place and occasion of the representation, we should next like to deal with some other interesting details furnished by the staging of the drama. The real hero, as I pointed out in the beginning, is Keyûravarṣa Yuvarâjadeva, and not Vidyâdharamalla or any other fictitious character. Hence the details of the possessions, when given, might be said to apply to the domains of the Chedis about 933 A.D. In the letter sent by the general, he is called the lord of Tripurî and the Murala country. These we might therefore regard as the central possessions of the Haihayas. By Murala here perhaps the poet means the country lying about the Muralâ, which has been identified with the river Narmadâ by Mr. S. N. Majumdar in his recent edition of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India.*[10] Besides this, the king has been called the 'lord of Trikaliṅga' in two places.[11] As Kokalladeva, the grandfather of Yuvarâja, too, was the master of this territory[12] in 870 A.D., and Yuvarâjadeva himself was probably at the height of his power in 933 A.D., it is not to be wondered at that he was the master of the extensive territories denoted by the name 'Trikaliṅga,' which is believed to mean Kaliṅga, Andhra and a part of Oṛisa. At another place the king is called उज्जयिनीभुजङ्गः or 'the lord of Ujjayinî.'[13] As the other details given about the Chedi dominions in this drama are quite correct, are we not to conclude that Yuvarâja was the lord of Ujjain in 933 A.D., and that it was captured later in the century by the Paramâras ?[14] In fine, if we combine all these references, we find that the Haihayas of Chedi ruled over a very large kingdom in the thirties of the tenth century. Besides being the masters of the greater part of the Narmadâ valley, they were the lords of Eastern Mâlwâ in the west, and a part of the sea-coast in the east. As for the statement at the end of the drama that the king attained the status of a *Chakravartin* as the result of his marriage with Mṛgâṅkâvalî, we might dismiss it as the expression of the ambition rather than the actual accomplishment of Yuvarâjadeva I, who was only one of the many strong princes of the south.

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10 P. 726.

11 जयजय त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपते सुखाय माध्यंदिनी संध्या भवतु भवतः ।
जयतु जयतु त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपो देवः । Act I, p. 43, and Act IV, p. 139 (Jivânanda Vidyâsâgara's edition).

12 C. V. Vaidya. *History of Medieval India*, Part II, p. 135.

13 जयजयोज्जयिनीभुजङ्गः । Act I, p. 10.

14 Mr. S. N. Majumdar Sastri also believes, though I do not know on what grounds, that Ujjain was the capital of the Katacchuris before the Paramâras. See his edition of Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 726.

NATURE STUDY IN THE SANSKRIT DRAMA ŚAKUNTALÂ.

BY LILY DEXTER GREENE, PH.D.

(*Continued from page 48.*)

In speaking of the right he thinks he has to marry Śakuntalâ, the king insists that she must be high-born, and says that her coming to be in charge of Kanva is like a delicate, broken jasmine bloom leaning upon the sturdy sun-plant's stalk. The plant *navamallikâ* is a very delicate creeper, also called *atikomala* and *puṣpabheda*. While the sun plant referred to is the *arka* (*Calotropis gigantea*). This is a shrub with thick, heavy stems and lilac-coloured flowers. Its acid, milky juice comes from any wound in the plant and is used by the Indians for medicinal purposes. Good charcoal can also be made from the plant.

The jester says of the king that he seems to slight the gems of women in his palace for a mere fancy, and that to do this is to lose the relish for sweet dates and yearn for the sour tamarind. The date referred to is probably the *Piṇḍa kharjûra* (Sans.)—*Phœnix dactylifera.* The tamarind tree, called in Sanskrit *tintiḍikâ*, or *tintiḍî* (*Tamarindus indica*, Linn.) is a large tree with very long branching limbs, is very elegant and very shapely, affording a dense shade. The seed-pod is full of acid pulp. In the hot weather, it makes a cooling, refreshing drink. It is also used in curry dishes during the hot season and gives a peculiar, sour flavour.

In the prelude to Act III, the young Brahmâcârin enters with *kuśa* grass for the *barhis.* Looking about, he inquires of Priyaṁvadâ, who is still behind the screen, why she is bringing the *uśîra* ointment and the lotus leaves with fibres attached.

Uśîra is the root of a perennial, tufted grass (*Andropogon muricatus*, Retz.), from which a kind of cooling ointment is made. In Sanskrit this grass is also called *śîtala*, which means 'cold.' The common name for the root is *k͟has-k͟has* (Pers.). These roots are long, spongy, brown fibres, which, when dried and slightly moistened, are made into fans and door-screens for use in the hot, dry season. Other names of this plant are *jalaśaya*, which means 'lying in water,' and *avadâha*, which means 'allaying fever.' *Mṛṇâla* or *viṣa* refers to the fibres of the lotus stalks, and may have reference to any one of the lotus species.

In Act III, Scene 1, the king appeals to the "god of the flowery shaft." This has reference to the Indian idea of Kâma, who is the Indian counterpart of the Greek Eros and the Roman Cupid, though differing from these in many respects. Alluding to the well-known conception of Kâma, he says :—

"'Tis said that flowers are thy shafts,
'Tis said that moonbeams frigid are."

And then, to express the extent to which his heart has been touched, he says the flowers are as hard as steel, and the moon's cold rays burn—the Indian idea being that the rays of the moon are very cold. He asks : "How can thy arrows, if headed with flowers, be so sharp ?" Then, musing, he remembers, that Śiva had consumed Kâma's body with a flame of wrath, and so comprehends the mystery. As he walks away at the close of the sacrifice, when his presence is no longer necessary to drive away the demons, he passes through the wood where Sakuntalâ has so lately gone. Here the poet paints the scene with skilful touches, and we seem to walk along that path, with its flower stems fresh-wounded and the lotus breezes still fragrant.

Śakuntalâ tells her companions of her love for the 'saintly king,' and then begs them to contrive some plan by which his favour may be gained, or else prepare to pour out for her the sesamum water, which is an oblation for the dead. This plant (*Sesamum indicum*, Linn.) is widely cultivated in India for the sake of its seeds and the oil made from them. Both of these are extensively used for religious as well as economic purposes. There are three kinds—the black, white and red; but the first is considered the best as it furnishes much more oil than the others. Its common name is *til*; but it is also called *homadhânya*, the sacrificial grain, and *pitritarpana*, or the grain used in offerings to the dead ancestors. It is made into

a sweetmeat with sugar, as a common article of diet, and is often ground into meal for other foods.

As the king steps forth to reply to Śakuntalâ just after she has written a letter to him on a lotus leaf, in which she refers to their mutual stricken state, he says that, although she is like a withered lotus, he is like a blotted-out moon. The daylight causes this special lotus, the *Nymphœa Lotus*, to fade away, and it blooms only in the night. Comparing himself to the moon, is a favourite metaphor of Duṣyanta because of the Indian idea of the influence of the moon upon the lotus flower.

The old hermit, Kanva, shows the usual feeling of India with reference to a daughter. His great concern is that she may have a suitable husband and that she may find favour in her new home. Hence he takes her round the sacrificial fire, which is surrounded by *darbha* grass. This *darbha* grass is the same as *kuśa* grass (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*, R. and S., the *Poa cynosuroides* of Retzius), but is not to be confounded with *dûrvâ* (Sans.) grass, which is known in northern India as *dûb* (*Cynodon Dactylon*), a very different grass, though it is also supposed to have had a special efficacy in the early ages. The *kuśa* grass is a coarse kind of grass, which grows readily on dry, barren soil. Its Sanskrit name, *kuśa*, seems to have been given to it at a very early period, for it is said to have been consecrated to Kuśa, one of the sons of Râma. However that may be, almost all literature in India has some reference to the sacred uses of this plant. Its leaves are very long with sharp points and edges. The Hindus frequently say of an intellectual person that his intellect is as sharp as the *kuśa* leaf. In the Veda, it is said to have been produced at creation like a " drop of fine gold." Unlike the *kuśa* grass, *dûrvâ* is a very nutritious food for animals. Because it supplies food for the cow, the Hindus value it all the more, and in the early days considered it the home of benevolent nymphs. In the *Veda*, it is said of it : " May Dûrvâ, which rose from the water of life, which has a hundred roots, and a hundred stems, efface a hundred of my sins and prolong my existence on earth for a hundred years." Its flowers are beautiful, and when examined under the lens, appear like delicate jewels set in constant motion by the gentlest breeze.

In Act IV, the young disciple sent by Kanva to discover the time of day, finds it out in a peculiar Indian fashion. He notices the closing of the white lotus, which means that the moon has gone down, also the early awakening of the peacock and of the deer, rising from their hoof-imprinted couch, curve their backs and stretch their limbs as if preparing for their movements of the day. This shows how closely observant of nature the dramatist really was. When Śakuntalâ is about to start on her long journey to the home of king Duṣyanta, her foster-father, Kanva, orders flowers from the forest, and the result is given in the following sentence : " One tree revealed a white linen robe, another gave dyes to stain her feet, while still others gave various kinds of ornaments." The dye may have been the bruised leaves of *Lawsonia alba*, already mentioned in a previous passage, where the feet of dancers were said to have been stained with this colour. Then, as Śakuntalâ leaves the forest, voices in the air refer to the way by which she shall journey, as cooled and beautified by streams gleaming with lotus blossoms and the roads as densely shaded by massive trees, while even her pathway is perfumed with soft pollen spread on the way and cooled by favouring breezes. To show the sorrow of all living things at her departure, the poet says that the browsing deer let fall the tender grass they are chewing, the peacocks cease to dance, and the creepers drop their withered leaves, like tears of grief. Kanva, the hermit, musing on the love of Śakuntalâ for the fragrant jasmine, and hearing her request to be allowed to bid it farewell, compares the marriage of his daughter to the king to the twining of the jasmine vine round the mango tree. This is a motif frequently found in the lyric poetry and dramas of India. Referring to her pet fawn, he says that she reared it so tenderly, healing the cuts made by *kuśa* grass with cooling oil and feeding it with the tender *śyâmaka* grains, so that now it will not willingly allow her to depart. Śyâmaka is the grain of a kind of millet (*Panicum frumentaceum*,

Roxb.), an inferior grain, but frequently referred to by Sanskrit writers as being used for food.

When the king repudiates his wife, owing to his loss of memory of her, due to the curse of a devotee whom she has offended, he uses the common figure by which the eyebrows of this beautiful girl are likened to Cupid's bow. Her anger is said to break this bow by the contracting and parting again of her eyebrows. The glances of the eye are then compared to arrows discharged from a bow.

In Act VI the vernal festival refers to the spring festival, when the mango tree is in bloom and its flowers are much used for decorative purposes, as well as offerings to Kâma, the god of love. In fact this seems to be his favourite flower, and is given in all of the lists as one of the flowers with which his darts are tipped. In the conversation between the two maidens, Parabhûtikâ and Madhukârikâ, we catch glimpses of the way the festival was kept and of the thoughts that centred round it. The thought has already been given that each dart of Kâma was shafted with a flower, so here the hermit maid says :—

" O, mango bud, I offer thee
To Kâma, grasping now his bow.
Be thou his choicest dart—thy mark
Some maid whose lover wanders far."

And the same thought is also expressed in the words of Duṣyanta :

" When Kâma fixes on his bow
A mango blossom for a dart
And aims his arrow at my heart."

The description of the portrait of Śakuntalâ by the jester is very minutely given, but the king wishes to add still other touches. He draws the river Mâlinî, two sacred birds on its bank, the sacred hills with deer reclining, and beneath a tree, where the bark garments hang, a doe gently rubbing her head against the horn of a gazelle. Then, as if this rich picture were still incomplete he sketches the *śirîṣa* blossoms hanging as ornaments from her ears, and the lotus fibre necklace about her neck and resting on her breast.

In Act VII, where Śakuntalâ appears in the sacred grove of Kaśyapa, we have another reference to the *mandâra* tree, which has been previously mentioned. As she advances, the king says :

" This is she
Who clad in sombre mourning weeds,
Her face emaciated with grief,
Her hair twined in a single braid,
And every motion pure and chaste
Prolongs that vow of widowhood,
I, forced, unmerciful, on her."

The fact that her hair is twined in a single braid, has reference to the custom, already mentioned in connexion with " The Cloud Messenger," of wearing the hair in one single braid, without ornaments, to show great grief at the absence of a husband.

When the king finally realizes that he has found his wife, Śakuntalâ, and their little son, Bharata, he speaks in the following verse :

" Hail, beauteous love ! that meetest me,
Whose dark oblivion is dissolved !
The eclipse is past, and Rohinî
Is now united with the moon."

According to the Hindu belief, the moon on its revolution passes through 27 constellations, one each day of the month. These constellations were reckoned as the wives of the moon, and among these Rohiṇî was the favourite. So now the king, moving around amongst his many wives, has at last found Śakuntalâ, who is his Rohiṇî.

POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

By BIREN BONNERJEA, D.Litt. (Paris).

(*Continued from page 52.*)

Taking it for granted that the caste differences really arose from colour differences, we are faced with other difficulties. It is said that even now caste largely corresponds to race, and that especially in northern India the social status of a caste is indicated by its physical type ; those at the top have an Âryan physiognomy, and those at the bottom an aboriginal physiognomy.[23] And according to Sir H. Risley, in India a man's caste is known from the inverse ratio of his nasal index.[24] Or, in other words, the high caste Hindus show a decided tendency towards leptorrhyny, and the lower castes towards platyrrhyny. The nose measurements given by Risley, in ascending order, are as follows [25]:

Brâhmaṇa	70·3	Kâyastha	70·3
Brâhmaṇa	71·9	Sadgop	73·9
Gwâlâ	74·2	Mocî	74·9
Pod	76·1	Kaibartta	76·2
Koc-Râjvaṁśî	76·6 & 80·0	Bâgdi	80·5

And according to Deniker the nasal index of some different Indian tribes in ascending order are : [26]

Brâhmaṇa	63·0	Malé (or Assal)	71·0
Kharwâr	71·0	Kol	71·0
Dom	79·1	Orâon	80·0
Kurmî	82·6	Kṣettrî	82·6
Bhûmij	86·5	Santâl	88·8
Muṇḍâ	89·0		

From the above data we see that Risley can hardly be right in his statement. The Brâhmaṇas and Kâyasthas have the same nasal index, and in some cases the Brâhmaṇas have a higher index than the latter, and must, according to Risley's rule as to the inverse ratio, be rated lower than the Kâyasthas. And the Kaibarttas, who are undoubtedly rated higher than the Sadgop, Gwâlâ, Mocî and Pod, have a decidedly more platyrrhynic tendency than the latter. From Deniker's measurements too we have the same confusion. The Brâhmaṇas are at the top of the social scale on account of their leptorrhyny, but then the Kṣettrîs, who claim to be descended from the Kṣattriyas,[27] are below the Malé, Kharwâr, Kol, Dom, Orâon and Kurmî, all of whom are either Dravidians or Kolarians. Our own measurements bear out Risley's statement more closely,[28] but even there we find that the classification is not as it should be. Moreover, as the number of subjects measured was too few, these measurements can be taken only in conjunction with others : and it is possible that the figures would have to be modified to great extent were the number of subjects greater than it was. In any case, from all the available anthropological material at our disposal we find that the nasal index of the modern Hindus does not agree, in the manner mentioned by Risley, with their castes. In the same tribe or caste we come across leptorrhyny, mesorrhyny

[23] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, ii. 60 ; H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* (Berlin, 1879), pp. 113 f. ; F. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop* (London, 1867-1875), i, pp. 322 f. ; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i, pp. xxxviii f. ; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* (London, 1903), pp. 53 f. ; E. A. Gait, in *Census of India*, 1911, pp. 380 f. *486 ; A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (London, 1912), ii, 267.

[24] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *The People of India* (London, 1915), p. 28.

[25] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *The People of India*, p. 401, quoted by B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Appendix B, No. 2.

[26] J. Deniker, *Les races et les peuples de la terre* (Paris, 1900), pp. 659, 657, etc., quoted by B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Appendix B, No. 1.

[27] Cf. B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 8 f.

[28] See B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Appendix B, No. 6.

as well as platyrrhyny. We may therefore safely reject Risley's hypothesis as to the nasal index being an indication of the caste.

Of the other anthropological measurements the cephalic index is another of great importance. Here, too, we have the same difficulty of assigning any particular type to any particular caste. Among the Brâhmaṇas of Bengal we have, according to Risley,[29] the following percentages of cephalic and nasal indices :

Cephalic Index :

Hyper-dolichocephalic (—70·0)	0%
Dolichocephalic (70·0—74·9)	13%
Mesaticephalic (75·0—79·9)	52%
Brachycephalic (80·0 and over)	35%
	100%

Nasal Index :

Leptorrhynian (less than 70·0)	46%
Mesorrhynian (70·0—84·9)	53%
Platyrrhynian (85 and over)	1%
	100%

And among the Dravidian Santâls we have the following figures obtained from the same source[30] :—

Cephalic Index :

Hyper-dolichocephalic (—70·0)	1%
Dolichocephalic (70·0—74·9)	36%
Mesaticephalic (75·0—79·9)	49%
Brachycephalic (80·0 and over)	14%
	100%

Nasal Index :

Leptorrhynian (less than 70·0)	0%
Mesorrhynian (70·0—84·9)	31%
Platyrrhynian (85 and over)	69%
	100%

The results we obtain from these figures are that the Brâhmaṇas are principally mesaticephalic, but mesorrhyny and leptorrhyny are fairly well balanced among them. On the other hand the Santâls are distinctly platyrrhynic ; they are also mesaticephalic, but there is a large percentage of dolichocephalism among them. These results, however, do not agree with Datta's biometrical analysis of the measurements given by Risley in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal ; an Ethnographic Glossary.* Though rather lengthy, I have thought fit to reproduce in a condensed form Datta's figures here as his paper[31] may not be available to all. According to Datta, the somatological type most prevalent in India is the dolichoid-mesorrhynian.

29 (Sir) H. H. Risley, *The People of India*,[2] p. 382 ; B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Appendix B, No. 3.

30 (Sir) H. H. Risley, *The People of India*,[2] p. 272 ; B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Appendix B, No. 5.

31 Bhupendranath Datta, "Das indische Kastensystem," *Anthropos*, vol. xxii (1927), pp. 150-153. I have spelt the names of the different castes as Datta has spelt them, and have not taken any notice of how they should be spelt in transcription.

Name of Caste.	Percentages of each type.					
	Dolichoid—leptorrhynian.	Dolichoid—mesorrhynian.	Dolichoid—chamorrhynian.	Brachycephal—leptorrhynian.	Brachycephal—mesorrhynian.	Brachycephal—chamorrhynian.
PANJAB.						
1. Khatri ..	23·3	70·6	5·0	0	1·6	0
2. Jat (Sikh) ..	57·5	4·0	1·25	0	0	0
3. Arora ..	25·92	74·67	0	0	3·0	0
4. Chura ..	12·5	63·75	3·75	1·25	12·5	1·25
UNITED PROVINCES (N.W.P.).						
1. Brahman ..	25·25	63·63	10·10	0	1·17	0
2. Chatri ..	9·0	68·0	21·0	0	2·0	0
3. Khatri ..	20·0	46·6	33·33	0	0	0
4. Bania ..	12·5	57·5	28·75	0	1·2	0
5. Kayastha ..	16·0	57·0	25·0	0	1·0	1·0
6. Lohar ..	6·66	46·6	44·4	0	22·0	0
7. Goala ..	9·09	53·5	36·3	0	1·0	0
8. Kurmi ..	13·0	56·0	30·0	0	1·0	0
9. Kewat ..	11·0	52·0	37·0	0	0	0
BIHAR.						
1. Brahman ..	31·34	58·208	4·477	4·477	1·492	0
2. Babhan ..	27·11	50·84	8·474	5·084	6·779	1·694
3. Goala ..	14·0	65·0	7·0	1·0	9·0	4·0
4. Kurmi ..	5·6	70·42	14·08	1·408	5·633	2·816
5. Kahar ..	5·35	57·14	23·21	0	12·5	1·785
6. Musahar ..	0	23·37	70·12	0	3·89	2·59
BENGAL.						
1. Kayastha ..	30·0	38·0	1·0	17·0	14·0	0
2. Brahman ..	29·0	40·0	21·0	13·0	15·0	1·0
3. Chandal ..	14·92	50·746	8·95	11·94	10·44	2·855
4. Sadgop ..	22·9	50·0	8·33	4·16	14·5	0
5. Goala ..	19·51	58·53	7·31	4·87	7·3	2·43
6. Kaibarta ..	11·0	54·0	11·0	2·0	18·0	4·0

According to Risley there are three main types of population in India,[32] *viz.*:

(1) A leptorhine, pro-opic, dolichocephalic type, of tall stature, light build, long and narrow face, comparatively fair complexion, and high facial angle;

(2) A platyrhine, mesopic (or almost platyopic), dolichocephalic type, of low stature, thick set, very dark complexion, relatively broad face, usually low facial angle; and

(3) A mesorhine, platyopic, brachycephalic type, of a low or medium stature, sturdy build, yellowish complexion, broad face, and low facial angle.

[32] (Sir) H. H. Risley, "The Study of Ethnology in India," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xx (1891), p. 235.

And lastly, to give some more figures, I found by personal observation that the order of superiority as measured by the nasal index is as follows[33] :—

	Leptorrhynian.		Mesorrhynian.	Platyrrhynian.
Brâhmaṇa	69·2	to	70·3	
Kâyastha	..	..	70·4	
Sadgop	..	..	73·8	
Dhobâ	..	..	73·9	
Pukuriyâ	..	..	74·8	
Sonâr Veṇe [Vaṇik] ..	..	..	75·2	
Moci	..	..	75·8	
Gwâlâ	..	..	76·0	
Gandha Vaṇik ..	..	..	76·1	
Pod	..	..	76·2	
Kaivarrta	..	..	76·3	
Vaidya	..	..	77·7	
Teli	..	..	78·2	
Câsâ	..	..	80·0	
Ḍom	..	..	81·0	
Kurmi	..	..	82·4	
Bâgdi	..	..	83·8	
Mâlo	..	..	83·9	
Bâuri	..	..	84·2	
Tẫtî	..	..	84·6	
Birhor	..	..	..	85·8
Lohâr	..	..	..	87·1
Orâon	..	..	..	87·2
Bhũiyâ	..	..	..	88·8
Santâl	..	..	..	89·0
Muṇḍâ	..	..	..	89·6
Mâl-Pahâṛiyâ	..	..	..	91·8

(*To be continued.*)

ON CERTAIN SPECIMENS OF FORMER CURRENCY IN BURMA.

By the late Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bt

Some thirty years ago I had the accompanying plate made of certain remarkable specimens of currency, which I had collected while in Burma and gave to the British Museum. But I never published it because I had dealt with the subject in articles contributed to vol. XLII of this *Journal*. As, however, the specimens are unusual, I publish the plate now with some remarks thereon. They consist of

(1) two specimens of what have been called usually Tenasserim Medals in works on numismatics : figs. 1 and 5.

(2) two Siamese tickals : figs. 2 and 3.

(3) a Shan silver shell (*chûlôn*) : fig. 4.

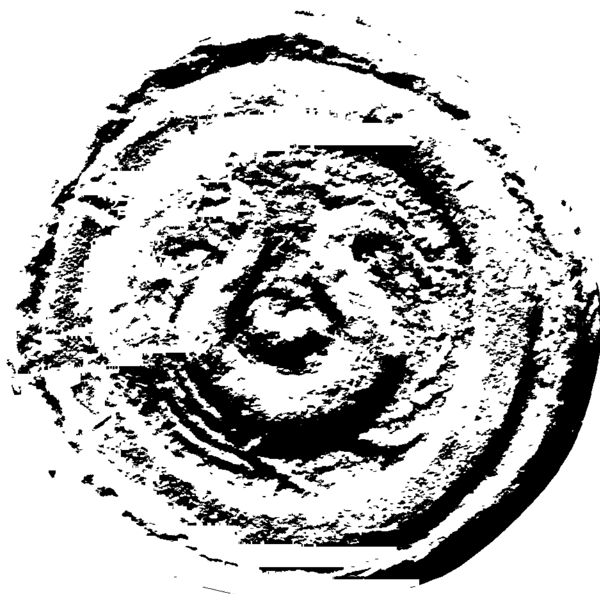
(4) a Tenasserim cock coin or token : fig. 6.

I. Tenasserim Medals.

The "Tenasserim Medals" are worth a special note. The oldest reference to these pieces of currency, for they were not "medals," that I know of, is in Tavernier's ***Travels***,

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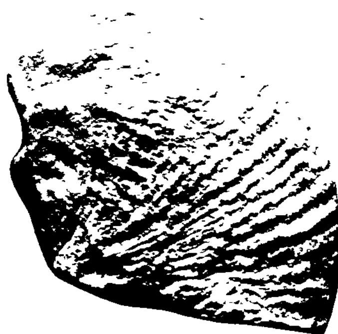
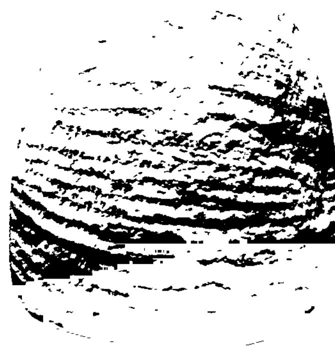
33 B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Appendix B, No. 6 [p. 164].




1




2

4




3



6



5



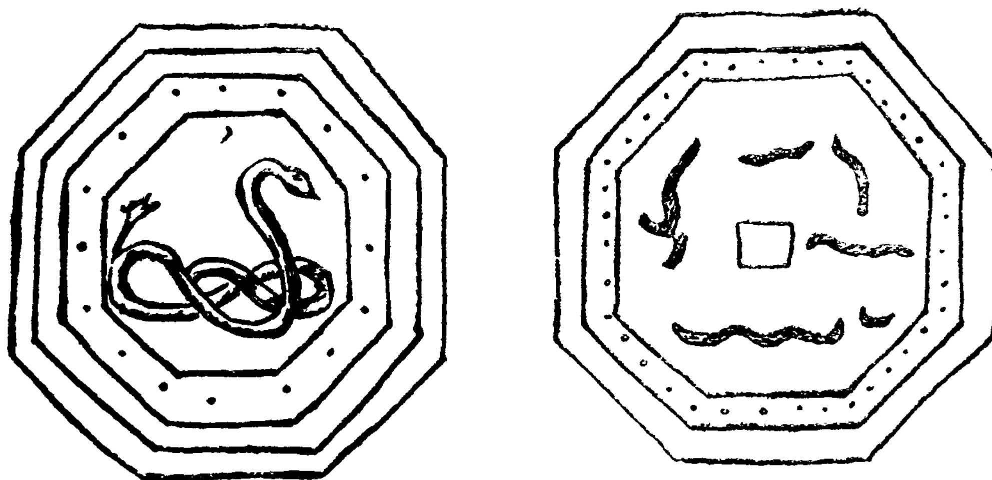

5

FULL-SIZE

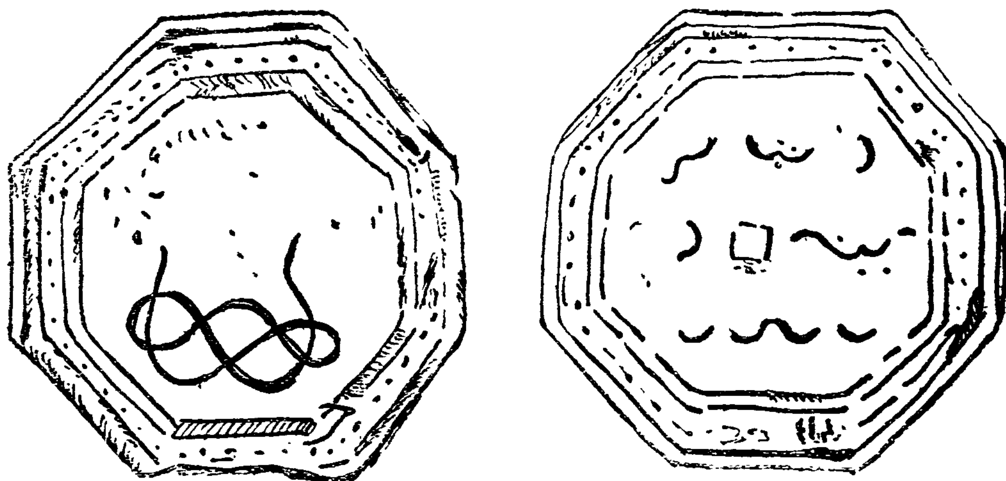
English ed., 1678, vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 6 f. They are called "the money of the King of Cheda and Pera" [Kedah and Perak]. That is, they were true Malay tin currency of the olden time, and in my *Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States* (*Ind. Ant.*, 1913, vol. XLII, pp. 85 ff.), there is an explanation of them, which goes to show that the name "Tenasserim Medals" is a misnomer altogether, and they should be labelled as specimens of the old tin currency of the Federated Malay States.

Regarding this currency, Tavernier's actual words were: "*An Account of the Money of Asia.* The money of the King of Cheda and Pera. This money is of Tin and is coined by the King of Cheda and Pera. He coins no other money than Tin. Some years since he found out several mines, which was a great prejudice to the English. For the Hollanders and their merchants buy it [the tin] and vend it all over Asia. Formerly the English brought it out of England, and furnished a great part of Asia, where they consumed a vast quantity. They carried it also into all the Territories of the Great Mogul, as also into Persia and Arabia; for all their Dishes are of Copper, which they caused to be tinned over every month. Among the meaner sort of people, there is little to be seen but this tin-money and the shells called Cori [cowry]. Figs. 1 and 2 are of that piece of Tin, which weighs an ounce and a half, and in that Country goes for the value of two of our Sous. But in regard that the Tin is there at 14 Sous a pound, this is not worth above one Sou and three Deneers. This piece of Tin is only thick in the sides, the middle being thin as paper." The old French *poid de marc* or pound of 16 oz.=7,555 grs. English, and was thus a little more than the old English *lb.*, which=7,000 grs. The old French *livre* (called also the *franc*) was divided into 20 *sous* of 12 *deniers* each, as a *sou* was roughly an English halfpenny or 1 cent of a dollar. The "great piece of tin" of the old Malay currency was thus worth 2*d.* English according to Tavernier.

On a plate marked to face p. 7 of Tavernier's *Travels* is found: "The money of the King of Cheda and Pera" [that great piece of tin which weighs an ounce and a half], and with reference to the figures given below it may be here remarked that the misfortunes that have happened to Tavernier's plates at the hands of subsequent writers are detailed on p. 4 of Millies' *Recherches sur les Monnaies Malaies*, 1871.



All that Millies could find of this coin 200 years later in Paris, when it had become much worn, is given below from Millies, *op. cit.*, p. 130, and Pl. XXII. No. 230. It is an indication of the liberties taken by Tavernier's engraver.



On Pl. V, fig. 4, of my *Obsolete Tin Currency*, is exhibited a figure of a similar coin or weight, which is quite probably a specimen of the actual "great piece" that Tavernier describes in his plate. A reference thereto will show how great were the liberties that his engraver took in drawing "the serpent." My specimen was, however, round and not octagonal, and surrounded by a great number of small balls after the manner of fig. 5 of the plate attached.

In describing Plate V, fig. 4, above-mentioned, I called (*I.A.*, XLII, 124) the specimen a tin "snake" weight or coin, from Mergui, with debased Arabic characters on the reverse and what may be called a date ٨١١ (=A.H. 811 or A.D. 1408), drawing attention to Tavernier's "great piece," and remarking that it had been copied by Crawford (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, 1820, I, 253). I further remarked that it is quite possible that the "snake" was only a debased or "developed" *to* (a mythical beast known to all Burma), as could be seen by a comparison with figs. 3 and 4 of the same plate and with fig. 5 of the plate attached. I also drew attention to various developments of the *to* in Phayre's plates (*Numis. Orient.*), for which see below in the description of fig. 5 in the plate attached.

I made (*I.A.*, XLII, 103) one further remark on Tavernier's statement, which is noteworthy in the present connection. It shows that his "great piece of tin" fitted into the general Malay currency of the time.

Thus : 50 cowries =1 little piece (*kepeng, pitis*, cash).
3 little pieces (cash) = 1 sou (cent).
100 sou (cent) =1 dollar.

15,000 cowries or 300 cash to the dollar, or 7,500 cowries to the rupee, a fair average number : see *I.A.*, XXVI, pp. 290 ff.

I further remarked : "Remembering that this is the report of a French traveller on Malayan currency as understood in India in the seventeenth century, one finds in it a clear reference to the old Dutch scale of 400 cash to the dollar."

Taking it for granted, then, that at any rate some of "the Tenasserim Medals" of Phayre and other numistatists were really Malay tin currency, we can proceed to describe figs. 5 and 6 of the plate attached.

Fig. 5 is identical with fig. 3 of Plate V of *Obsolete Tin Currency*, which is thus described (*I.A.*, XLII, 123) : "A *to* tin weight or coin, from Mergui, with the eight-pointed star, or 'Malay palm' symbol on the reverse." This "Malay palm" symbol of the old books has also been described as a "lotus." It is, however, much more likely to represent the calix on the hard rind of a mangosteen fruit, which consists of a small round cup surrounded by a 'five pointed star,' corresponding to the five divisions of the fruit inside. The eight points of the star in the

representation may have arisen out of the much greater difficulty of engraving a five pointed star. The mangosteen is a prominent object in the Malay Peninsula and almost peculiar to it.

The real find spot of this coin or weight could hardly have been Mergui, and should have been given as Kedah, since Phayre (*Numis. Orient.*, Coins from Aracan, Pegu and Tenasserim, Plates III and IV) gives several examples, some with Pali and debased Talaing and Burmese characters on the reverse : " *Mahâsukam Nagaram* (City of great rest, apparently Kedah)." That this legend really referred to Kedah is shown (*I.A.*, XLII, 118, n. 55) thus : " The Mergui weights and coins had on the reverse debased imitations of Burmese legends, which one of them shows to have been *Mahâsukam Nagaram* (ungrammatical Pali)." It would mean " City of great peace " and clearly refers to Kedah, which " on later coins assumed the Arabic form *Dâru'l-amân*, Land of peace. Thus Millies' (*op. cit.*, pp. 133, 137) readings are *Dâru'l-amân Balad Kadah* and *Dâru'l-amân Kadah* (Land of peace, City of Kedah and Land of peace, Kedah) on tin coins of 1741 and 1809. Mr. Otto Blagden told me that the capital of Kedah was known in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as Lĕngkasuka, ' Land of Peace,' a name still remembered."

The counterparts of Tavernier's " great piece " of the Malay tin currency and its like, as further illustrated above, have been found in Mergui and Pegu in spelter, or perhaps it would be more correct to say in pewter, as the metal is a mixture of lead and tin, and is not zinc. A sample is shown on Plate III, fig. 11, with a distinct *to* on it, taken from Phayre, *Numis. Orient.*, which connects it with the *to* on the tin piece.

A discussion on spelter and tin when applied to the coinage and weights of South-Eastern Asia will be found in *I.A.*, vol. XLVIII, *Notes on Currency and Coinage*, p. 149 f. where the various amalgams used in making the spelter and pewter are explained, and also the vernacular terms therefor, *tutnag*, *ganza* and *calin* (*calai*).

Whether the large tin coin from Kedah or the corresponding spelter specimens from Mergui, Tavoy and Pegu are the older is a question one would like to see settled if possible. The presence of the *to* on the large tin currency of Kedah seems to show that it was a copy of the large spelter currency of the Tenasserim districts of Mergui and Tavoy and of Pegu proper, yet it is quite possible that the *to* (a mythical half deer half bird) is not indigenous in Burma, but is the common property of all South-Eastern Asia.

The principle of making weights of metal ingots and models of animals is very old in India itself, going back to the early days of Buddhism, before Christ at any rate. It was well known in very early Egypt, and among the Assyrians and ancient Jews, Persians and Greeks : See Plate VI of *Obsolete Tin Currency*. It is again very old in Burma, Siam and Cambodia, and a fair general inference is that it travelled from India to Burma and thence to Siam. At the same time the principle is as old in China as in Asia further to the west, but whether it travelled originally from the west into China or not, it would now be difficult to say. That it travelled from China to the Malay Peninsula is, however, hardly doubtful, as the tin ingot currency of the Malays was the direct descendant of the method employed in bartering in their chief trading commodity—tin—evolved out of the business needs of the early Malay traders, dealing in the first place with Chinese sailors and merchants. They invented—more probably borrowed—their *gambar* or animal-shaped tin currency in an attempt to regulate the tin ingots by giving them various readily recognisable shapes, which could be made to conform to definite standards.

On the whole argument the inference is that this practice of making tin ingots in animal shapes had a two-fold origin in influences arising on the one hand from Burma and Tenasserim overland and on the other from China overseas. The transfer of animal images to the fields of coins necessarily followed the animal shapes of the metal ingots. It may also be here remarked that there is a remarkable likeness in the weights, measures, currency and coinage of the whole world, but this is not the place to further descant on that fact of universal application brought about by ancient trading contacts.

There has always been a great deal of mystery and confusion about the "Tenasserim" currency, which apparently can be accounted for by looking at the specimens that have survived, not as coin of the realm or "king's money," but as traders' tokens issued by private individuals or firms, much on the principle of similar tokens in England and elsewhere. In *Notes on Currency and Coinage* (*I.A.*, XLVIII, 149) is a quotation from Cæsar Frederick, 1567, English version, which seems to explain the question: "The current money that is in this Citie [Pegu] and throughout all the kingdom is called *gansa* or *ganza*, which is made of copper and lead. It is not the money of the king, but every man may stamp it that will." Again, *La Loubère* (*Siam*, English Translation, p. 14), writing in 1688, says: "Vincent Le Blanc [physician retained by the King of Siam to work in his mines] relates that the Peguans have a mixture of Lead and Copper, which he calls sometimes *ganze* and sometimes *ganza*; and of which he reports that they make statues and a small money which is not stampt with the king's coin, but which everyone has a right to make." In 1726 Valentijn called it "Peguan *gans*, a brass mixed with lead," and in 1727 Alexander Hamilton talks of "plenty of *ganse* lead, which passeth all over the Pegu Dominions for Money." These quotations lead directly to Phayre's researches in the next century.

Fig. 1 of the plate attached relates to yet another specimen of the spelter type of this coinage. It resembles fig. 11 of Plate IV in *Obsolete Tin Currency*, which came from Pegu. These two specimens are not exactly the same, though very nearly so, the obverses coming in each case obviously from the same die, but the reverses differ altogether in the rim, though both are equally blank in the field. Moreover, their *provenance* was quite different. The first specimen was collected by myself in Mandalay and the second many years earlier by Phayre and illustrated in *Numis. Orient.* Fig. 11 is described (*I.A.*, XLII, 122 f.) as "Hentha (goose coin or spelter weight *ex. coll.* R. C. Temple) procured in 1889 (not 1899 as in the text). Phayre, *Numis. Orient.*, 1882, Plate IV, fig. 2, exhibits a better specimen, which has an illegible debased Arabic legend on the reverse. He remarks (p. 32) that *hentha* ingot weights were common in Pegu. Phayre's specimen weighed 11¼ ounces and no doubt represents the *penjuru* (14 *oz.* standard) of Malay tin ingot weight."

Burmese, Siamese, Cambodian and Malay weights were often in the shape of all sorts of animals and birds, and among these were to be found the cock, a common wild bird of the South-Eastern Asiatic jungles. So spelter weights or coins of the same kind as those above described from Pegu sometimes had a cock on them, and of this there is a clear instance on Plate III, fig. 11, from Phayre's *Numis. Orient.*, which he showed on his Plate IV, fig. 3. [See also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LVII, Plate III, p. 37.] It weighed 11¾ oz., again representing the *penuru* or 14 *oz.* standard of Malay ingot weight.

In the same Plate III, fig. 10, is shown from Phayre's *Numis. Orient.* a Cambodian coin, exhibiting a cock, and the interest in this coin is that its form shows that the original of the 'cock' was the *to*, as can also be seen by a careful comparison with the animal in fig. 5 of the plate attached and in fig. 3 of Plate V of *Obsolete Tin Currency*. The *to* has here developed into a cock in the hands of successive artists. In Plate IV, fig. 3, of Phayre's *Numis. Orient.* is shown a clear 'cock' variety with debased Talaing and Burmese characters on the reverse.

Although I think that in this instance the cock image has developed out of the *to*, the inference must not be carried too far, as among the Malay tin ingots the cock was quite a common object: see Plate II of *Obsolete Tin Currency*, which shows eight varieties of them, and Plate I with two others. It may be remarked also that one must be at times a little careful in attributing an image or form to any definite animal, bird, insect or fish. The vagaries of the *to* have been already alluded to, and on Plate IV of *Obsolete Tin Currency*, fig. 2 shows the Burmese *hentha* weight, which is, as its name implies, a goose. But fig. 6 which is practically indistinguishable from it—so close a copy is it—represents a bird of an absolutely different character, *viz.*, a *ziwazo*, the swift of the edible bird's-nests. The copying of a well-known figure for use as an animal quite foreign to its nature is carried indeed quite as far

if not further, in the *chinthe* or lion weight, which in one form is obviously a mere variety of the *hentha* weight, as may be seen from the same plate, fig. 1, and from the figure on p. 123 of *I.A.*, vol. XLII.

In Plate III, fig. 8, of *Obsolete Tin Currency*, just above the Cambodian coin, is to be found a cock fully developed in a modern Malay *duit ayam* (cock doit) or copper cash. Its rude forerunner is seen in fig. 6 of the plate attached and also in fig. 5 of Plate V of *Obsolete Tin Currency*. It is thus described in that work (*I.A.*, XLII, 124): "Tin cock coin, or perhaps counter, token or tally, from Mergui. Reverse has a badly inscribed Burmese legend, which reads: *thâthanadaw* (in the year of) religion; date illegible. This is probably the tin coin recorded by Sangermano (*Burmese Empire*, ed. Tandy, 1833, p. 167) as current between 1781 and 1808: "In Tavai and Mergui pieces of tin with the impression of a cock, which is the Burmese arms [properly however the *hentha*, or goose], are used for money." Taking the ratio of tin to silver as 10 : 1, the value of this coin would be 5 cents of Malay money. "The Malay tin coin mentioned by Pyrard de Laval in 1602 was worth half a *bastardo* of Albuquerque, or 10 cents. That mentioned by Tavernier in 1678 was worth one cent in India." They quite probably referred to the same coin.

The reference to the *bastardo* of Albuquerque is here interesting. According to Gray, who edited Pyrard de Laval's *Voyage* for the Hakluyt Society, p. 235, the Malay tin money had existed in the Maldives before the days of the Portuguese, and under the names of *calaim* and *calin* (*kalang*, tin) the coins were worth 100 cash, or half of Albuquerque's *bastardo* (*Obsolete Tin Currency*. (*I.A.*. XLII, 109). Denys, *Dict. of British Malaya*, *s.v.* money, states that Castanheda, vol. II, says: "As there was no money in Malacca, except that of the Moors [Malays], the Governor General (Albuquerque) ordered (1510) some to be coined, not only that he might extinguish the Moorish coins [tin money], but also in order that a coin might be struck with the stamp and arms of his royal master. Also, taking on this subject the opinion of the Gentile Chins [Klings, Hindus from the Coromandel Coast of India] and other honorable men, dwellers in the city [of Malacca], he commanded forthwith that a tin coinage should be struck. Of the one small coin called *caixas* [cash] he ordered two to be made into one, to which he gave the name *dinheiro*. He struck another coin, which he named *soldo*, consisting of 10 *dinheiro*, and a third, which he called the *bastardo*, consisting of 10 *soldo*." He also made both a gold and silver dollar of 5 *bastardo*, called respectively *catholico* and *malaque*.

From this statement it can be deduced firstly that Albuquerque's dollar was a *milrei* of 1000 reis and that the *caixa* or cash (the Portuguese *pese*) was one *reis*. We can further construct a table, which shows the relationship of the modern dollar and its parts to the Portuguese coinage in the Malay Peninsula, which, in its turn, was based on the coinage invented by the Chinese to suit their commercial dealings with the Malays. Thus:

Albuquerque's Portuguese Coinage.

2 caixa (cash) make	1 dinheiro		
10 dinheiro	1 soldo		
10 soldo	1 bastardo		
5 bastardo	1 malaque (silver) 1 catholico (gold)	dollar	

1,000 cash to the dollar

Therefore :—

		Cash		Cents of the British dollar.
caiza	=	1	=	1/10
dinheiro	=	2	=	1/5
soldo	=	20	=	2
bastardo	=	200	=	20
malaque	=	1,000	=	100

Specimens of this coinage in the Raffles Museum at Singapore, as described by Dr. Hamitsch in *JRAS.*, *S.B.*, No. 39, *Collection of Coins from Malacca*, 1903, p. 183 ff., show that they were cast in the reigns of Kings Emmanuel (1495-1521) and John III (1521-1551), *i.e.*, clearly in and not long after the time of Albuquerque at Malacca (1510-1511). They were obviously imitations of the tin ingot currency of the Malays, but bore the cross and globe of the two kings above mentioned and Portuguese legends. Incidentally they exhibit the commercial wisdom of his advisers in effecting only a changed and not a new coinage.

II. Shan Shell-Money.

The remaining specimens on the Plate attached belong to categories of coinage altogether differing from the "Tenasserim Medals." Fig. 4 illustrates two sides of a *chûlôn*, K'ayûlôn (round shell), or *chaubinbauk*, the Shan shell-money, which was once well-known in Upper Burma. This particular form of Burmese currency is explained in *I.A.*, vol. LVII, pp. 91-92, and is shown on Plate II, fig. 16 (facing p. 44) of *Notes on Currency and Coinage* in that volume.

Sir George Scott, writing to me in 1889, called the shells Siamese money, the Siamese being a variety of the Shan race, and said that they were "still current among the Siamese and a large portion of the Lao [Shân] States." Mâ Kin, a well known female dealer in Mandalay, told me about the same time that the Shân shells came from Bawdwin (the Bortwang of Crawford's *Ava*, p. 144) near Nyaungywê in the Southern Shan States.

"They are not deliberately manufactured, but are the result of the natural efflorescence of silver under certain methods of abstraction. They are necessarily as pure as bò [*baw*, Burmese, pure] silver, and their weight was tested by handling, so they passed as tokens. In fig. 1, Plate I, of *Notes on Currency and Coinage* (*I.A.*, LVII, 12) and usually in specimens of Shan *bò*, efflorescence in this form is to be seen adhering to the silver from which it springs." Yule (*Ava*, p. 260) alludes to this: "The variety next to *bò* is *k'ayûbàt*, so called from *k'ayû*, a shell and *pât*, circle or winding, in consequence of the spiral lines of efflorescence on the surface." Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 31, expresses the same opinion and says that k'ayûbàt (*kharoobàt*) is "a silver cake with marks upon the surface, produced by crystallization of the lead scoria in the process of refinement." My own information differed from that of Yule and Prinsep as to the relation of *bò* and *k'ayûbàt* silver. To my mind, they are identical (see *I.A.*, XLVIII, 41). At any rate, *Shân bò* is identical with *k'ayûbàt*, and so must be the corresponding *Burmese bò*, for the process of extraction appeared to be the same in both cases: descriptions by Burney in 1830, in Yule's *Ava*, 260 *n.*; Anderson, *Mandalay to Momien*, 44; and Trant, *Two Years in Ava*, 280 f., will be found in *Notes on Currency and Coinage* (*I.A.*, LVII, 128 f.)

Owing to a mistake in Ridgeway's *Origin of Currency*, pp. 22, 29, in which he states that Shan silver shells are about the size of a cowry and argues that they are survivals of the cowry currency of Siam, etc., I may as well state clearly that the true *chûlôn* are of all sizes, and I had one in my possession—that shown in the Plate attached—which was many times the size of a cowry shell. In 1888 about 500 specimens of *chûlôn* passed through my hands at Mandalay, which I tried to 'size,' and found that "the size of any particular shell was purely accidental and an incident of construction, human intention having no concern in it."

III. Shan Silver Majizis.

There also passed, in Mandalay chiefly, as gold and silver tokens, a form of currency known as *majîzîs* (*magyîzîs*) or tamarind seeds. Burmese children, especially little girls, are very fond of a game of knuckle-bone, which consists in throwing a tamarind seed into the air with one hand, and seeing how many more can be picked up by the same hand before it falls and is caught. The royal children used those made of gold and silver, and King Mindôn significantly impressed upon the little princesses the importance of keeping those that he gave them against a rainy day. They were soon mostly melted down or sold after the British annexation and became exceedingly rare. They were tokens, owing to their weight and fineness being assumed, and when, as subsequently happened, the *majîzîs* took on a uniform and conventional shape, size and fineness, we are brought to a point very near the true coin.

On Plate II of *Notes on Currency and Coinage* (*I.A.*, LVII, 44) above mentioned a series of *majîzîs* is shown in figs. 17, 18 and 19. Fig. 17 is a dried tamarind seed : fig. 18 is its imitation in gold with little dotted circles in the centre of each face to represent the pit marks of a similar kind often seen on fresh tamarind seeds, and fig. 19 is the conventional silver *majîzî* in which the dotted ring has taken on a fixed form with that of the represented seed itself. It was in this form that silver *majîzîs* were usually met with in Mandalay.

So far the discussion has related to the Burmese form of the *majîzî*, but those of the Shans were quite different in shape and construction. They were called *tanthông* (*th* as in *the*, *this*) and were in silver, being used as customary gifts, like the *chûlôn* or Shân silver shells, and were still nearer to true coin than the conventional Burmese *majîzî*, as they were conventionally stamped to show fineness : see fig. 20, Plate II, above mentioned. This particular form of *majîzî* had become rare in Burma in 1890. It is shown in figs. 2 and 3 of the plate attached.

Regarding such *majîzî* Mr. H. S. Guinness, in a letter to me from the Shân State of Wuntho in 1894, wrote : " Sometime ago I weighed 18 silver *magyîzî*, which I bought in Mandalay. The bazaar weight thereof varied between 59 to 66 grains per *magyîzî* : the average for the 18 being 61·92 grains. This made me think that *magyîzîs* were meant to run three to a *tolâ* or four to a tickal. If the former the weight of a *magyîzî* should be 60 grains : if the latter, 64 grains."

The Shân *majîzî* may thus be really a quarter tickal, the well-known Siamese (Shan) standard weight or coin—perhaps rather currency. It is shown on Plate II of *Currency and Coinage*, fig. 21 (*I.A.*, LVII, 44), from which its remarkable resemblance to the Shân *majîzî* in its several forms becomes apparent. Crawfurd (*Siam*, 331) describes the tickal and its parts as nothing more than bits of silver bar bent and the ends beaten together, impressed with two or three small stamps. This is the principle of the construction of the *larin* or hook-money, very different in appearance : see Pyrard de Laval, Hak. Soc. ed., vol. I, pp. 232 ff. For Siamese tickals, see Bowring, *Siam*, I, 257 ff.

An elaborate enquiry was made into the origin and age of the tickal in *Currency and Coinage among the Burmese* (*I.A.*, vols. XXVI and XXVII), in which it was shown that it is a direct descendant—general value 1¼ rupee—of the ancient Indian *ṭakâ*, just as the corresponding Burmese *dingâ*—now equated to the rupee—came from *ṭaṅkâ*, the nasalized form of *ṭakâ*. The final *l* in *tickal* arose out of Portuguese " influence " as in many other Oriental words. A large number of quotations from 1554 to 1893 are given in *I.A.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 255 ff., showing the history of the word.

BOOK-NOTICE.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM. Vol. II, Part 1. KHAROṢṬHÎ INSCRIPTIONS, with the exception of those of Aśoka. Edited by STEN KONOW. Government of India, Central Publication Branch, Calcutta, 1929.

Professor Konow, in his short preface, tells us that originally the joint editorship of vol. II of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* was to have been entrusted to Professors Rapson and Lüders, of whom one was to edit the Kharoṣṭhî, and the other the Brâhmî inscriptions. However, Professor Rapson was prevented from undertaking this laborious task by his editorship of the *Cambridge History of India* and by the arduous publication, together with M. l'abbé Boyer and the late M. Senart, of the Kharoṣṭhî documents from Niya. Thus the task of editing the Kharoṣṭhî part of vol. II fell during the latter part of 1922 to Professor Konow. The outcome of his researches is now published in a magnificent volume of considerably more than 300 pages, to which are added a very good map and 36 plates of splendid exterior, though sometimes less clear than could perhaps be wished. Professor Konow is to be sincerely congratulated upon having happily concluded his painstaking and troublesome task.

An undertaking like this cannot under any circumstances be called a happy and promising one; it is rather one that is partly beset with utter hopelessness. When one studies the pages of this magnificent book and finds, time after another, how great authorities differ so widely in the decipherment of a number of these inscriptions that scarcely one word of their various interpretations is identical, one feels like sinking in the Slough of Despond with no friendly Help to lift one out; Time

after time we are vividly reminded of how slender—or perhaps even non-existent—are those foundations upon which are built up our present ideas concerning the older periods of the history of India.

Even a scholar who, like the present writer, can claim no particular familiarity with these Kharoṣṭhî documents, cannot escape feeling struck by the utter uncertainty of a great number of Professor Konow's readings. An authority like Professor Rapson [1] has demonstrated how inscriptions which are really corner-stones of Konow's historical and chronological system contain but slender bits of those words and sentences which have here been got out of them. And we shall allow ourselves in the following paragraphs to point out a few further passages where we feel beset with the gravest doubts. It is, however, sufficient to emphasize now that a very great part of the historically important inscriptions perhaps contain only a more or less minute part of those facts which the present interpretation has elicited from them.

Upon these frail foundations Professor Konow has in his two first chapters, *viz.*, 'Historical Introduction' (p. xiii ff.) and 'The Eras used in Kharoṣṭhî Inscriptions' (p. lxxxii ff.) erected a resplendent historical and chronological superstructure, a veritable *gandharvanagara*. His chronology has been partly calculated in collaboration with Dr. van Wijk and was known from several papers in the *Acta Orientalia*; but, in spite of the great learning and industry exhibited by his collaborator, not many scholars with a smattering of historical sense will feel convinced by these calculations, the uncertainty of which is, besides, sometimes admitted even by their inventors. Of the five eras made use of by Professor Konow, two, *viz.*, the Vikrama and the Śaka, have the immense advantage of being really existent; though it must be admitted that the explanations of their origin furnished by the learned editor are more than doubtful. Of the three others, the 'old Śaka era' (84-83 B.C.) and a 'Parthian' era originating in 7 B.C., and founded by Azes, are the results of the purest fancy; the third, beginning in 128-129 A.D., is said to be the 'era of Kaniṣhka' and is most probably just as nebulous as both the others.

The existence of the 'old Śaka era' (84-83 B.C.) rests upon two suggestions: (1) Maues (Moga, etc.), who originated from Seistân, did not assume the title 'Great King' (*maharayasa mahaṃtasa Mogasa*, Taxila copperplate of year 78, etc.), before the decease of Mithradates II of Persia in 88 B.C.: (2) this era records the conquest of Western India by the Śakas. The first of these assumptions is now endorsed by Professor Rapson,[2] while the second meets with his disapproval. Personally, I scarcely feel inclined to accept as undisputed even the first of Professor Konow's suggestions.

The later years of Mithradates II are wrapped in obscurity, and after his decease a somewhat prolonged period of feebleness and anarchy set in. This would rather lead us to the conclusion that Mithradates, during the last part of his reign, had not the power to prevent an energetic upstart participating in the conquest of Western India from assuming the title of 'Great King.' On the other hand, if Professor Konow's suggestion concerning an era beginning in 84-83 B.C. be correct, Maues would have used this title in the year 6-5 B.C. at a period when the Parthian empire had triumphed at Carrhæ and had, at any rate, held its own very well both against Antony and Octavian. This argumentation leads to no tangible results; but it is apt to prove the utter fancifulness of Professor Konow's assumptions.

Professor Rapson has already suggested[3] that the era of the year 78 is one which commemorates the foundation of an independent kingdom in Seistân about 150 B.C., and that thus the year 78 would mean something like 72 B.C. This is undoubtedly possible; and the Macedonian name of the month (*Panemos*) undoubtedly proves this era to be of a Western origin. Still I do not feel quite satisfied that this is the case.

We admittedly never hear of an era founded by Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, just as little as we hear of a Seistân or an 'old Śaka' one. But there always remains the possibility that Demetrius instituted a new era to commemorate his conquest of 'India.' If such were the case, why should not such an era have continued to be used in North-Western India even after the extinction of the line of Demetrius? Why should it not have been still used even during the reign of the 'Great King,' Maues or Moga? Now, the regnal years of Demetrius are admittedly somewhat uncertain, as are even those of his Indian conquests. But assuming the later ones to fall somewhere between 180-170 B.C., the year 78 of such an era would fall somewhere about 100-90 B.C. That Maues was perhaps succeeded by Azes (I), and that this Azes founded the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. seems not unassumable. And in that case Maues would probably have left the stage about 60 B.C. Assuming that the years 100 or 90 B.C. fell within the limits of his reign, it would have been a fairly, though not enormously, long one. And we know nothing that would expressly contradict such an assumption. But I shall always willingly admit that this, like the suggestions criticised here, remains sheer hypothesis.

We shall not enter further upon the utterly entangled historical problems dealt with in the introduction, as we do not feel entitled to form any definite opinion upon them. Besides such a discussion would exceed the limits of a review like this. We shall content ourselves by making the following few scattered remarks on passages that seem more or less doubtful and in need of emendation.

1 *JRAS*, 1930, p. 187 ff.

2 Cp. *JRAS*, 1930, p. 192: cp. also *CHI*, I, p. 569 ff.

3 Cp. *CHI*, I, p. 570.

On the word *kharoṣṭhi* (p. xv) cp. now the ingenious suggestion of M. Przyluski[4] which, however, seems fairly uncertain.

On p. xx Professor Konow discusses the curious word *muruṇḍa*,[5] a Śaka one that must apparently mean 'lord,' 'chief.' There can scarcely be any doubt that this word is connected with the Śaka *rrumda*, which has been considered a genitive of the word *rri*, 'king'[6]—certainly an entirely impossible suggestion. It, however, remains to be considered what is the sense of the first syllable *mu-*.

On *hien-tu* (p. xxiii) cp. also von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 60.

The identification *ârśi* : Ἄσιοι (p. lviii), in spite of a certain verisimilitude, still remains entirely uncertain (cp. p. lxi).

On p. xcvi *ai* is, of course, not derived from *ayam*, but from a form **ayah*, cp. Shâhbâzgaṛhî *ayi* and *bhui* < *bhûyah* in the Zeda inscription. This phonetical development probably is intimately connected with the development *-as* > *-i* in Eastern Iranian.[7]

Whether *Minamdra* for Μένανδρος (p. xcvii)—cp. Pâli *Milinda*—marks an Indian development *e* > *i* or renders the actual Greek pronunciation, may be left undecided.

The name *Travaśakura* (Peshâwar no. 20, p. xcviii) in its first part undoubtedly reminds us of *Trapuṣa*, *Tapussa*[8]; but then again what is °*kura* ?

Extremely curious are the writings *-tr-* = *-t-*, *-gr-* = *-g-*, *-y-*, etc., which have not been satisfactorily explained ; nor can I offer any plausible explanation.[9] The writing *vh* (p. ci) apparently in several cases simply means *f*.

On p. 14 is discussed a name *Damijada* which is apparently connected with the *Dâmajada* or *Dâmaysada* of the Western Kṣatrapas. Of its Iranian origin there can be no doubt ; the form anyhow represents something like **Dâmizâda*. In this same inscription Professor Konow's translation of the words *savalavadhapitra sardha* is not quite intelligible to me.

In the Taxila Copperplate (p. 28 f.) the words *Takhaśilaye nagare utareṇa* apparently make a bad construction ; but there can be little doubt that they must mean 'to the north of the City Taxila.' In the same inscription the words *bhratara sarva ca [ñatigabamdha]vasa ca puyayamto* (provided the reading be correct) most probably are = *bhrâtṛn sarvâmśca jñâtṛkabandhuvamśam ca pûjayan*.

The name *Hayuara* on the Mathurâ Lion Capital (p. 37) is doubtless an Iranian one ; why should it not be connected with the Śaka *haj(u)va*[10] 'wise' ?

In the same inscription we find a somewhat disputed word *kadhavara*, which Professor Lüders wanted to connect with a *kanthâ*, meaning 'town,' in the Śaka and Sogdian languages, and also known to Pâṇini. On this *kanthâ* a somewhat extensive discussion is found in *Le Monde Oriental*, XVIII, 1 ff.

The introductory sentence of the Mathurâ Lion Capital has generally been construed in the same way by all previous interpreters ; and there is no doubt whatsoever that it runs as follows : 'the chief queen of the Mahâkaṣtrapa *Rajula*, the daughter of *Azes Kamuïa*, the mother of the crown-prince *Kharaosta*, *Nadadiakasa*,' etc. Professor Konow, however, raises various objections to such an interpretation and finally arrives at a translation (p. 48), according to which the lady's name is really *Ayasia Kamuïa*, the daughter of *Kharaosta*, the mother of *Nada Diaka*.' If, however, her name was really *Ayasia*, why is it not written *Ayas(r)ia* like *Piśpas(r)ia* following later ? Professor Konow further (p. 35) objects that the common construction of the sentence leads to the assumption of *Kamuïa* being the genitive of a stem *Kamui*, which would be an unheard-of form. With this objection I am rather at one.[11] But *Kamuïa*—whatever the word means—need be nothing like a genitive. In a language as uncouth as this one *Ayasia Kamuïa* may well be a slip for what ought properly to be *Kamuïa-Ayasia*, i.e., a nominative coupled with a genitive. With such a construction cp. coin-legends like *priyapita Stratasa* which would apparently render a Greek φιλοπάτορος Στράτωνος, *mahârajabhrata dhramikasa Śpalahorasa*, *maharaja rajatiraja tratara devavrata Gudapharasa*,[12] etc.

On p. 56 f. it would be very tempting to put *vayira-* = *vyâghra-* ; but phonetical considerations seem to make such a suggestion impossible.

The reconstruction of the Taχt-i-Bâhî inscription (p. 57 ff.) has been reduced to its proper proportions in *JRAS*, 1930, p. 189 f.

In the Kâldarra inscription of the year 113 (p. 65 f.) no valid objection can be raised against Senart's translation of *Datiaputreṇa* by 'the son of Datis.' In the same inscription the correctness of rendering the word *sarvasapaṇa* by *sarvasarpâṇâm* is too obvious to be made doubtful even by the objections

[4] *JRAS*, 1930, 43 ff.

[5] He has certainly quite correctly identified *Śaka-muruṇḍa* with the Chinese *Sai-wang*.

[6] Cp. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains*, I, 349 ; on *rri* and Σπαλι-ρίσης cp. *Acta Or.*, VII, 196, n. 4.

[7] Cp. Dr. Tedesco, *Zeitschr. f. Indologie*, IV, 126 ff.

[8] According to Buddhist tradition the well-known bearer of this name originated from Northern India.

[9] What is found in *JRAS*, 1927, 232, concerning *s* and *ṣ* in the Niya inscriptions can scarcely xplain the writing *-sr-* = *-s-* in some of our inscriptions.

[10] Cp. Leumann, *Zur nordar. Sprache*, p. 139 ; Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains*, I, 338.

[11] With slight astonishment I, however, find that on p. 152 Professor Konow considers *Arthamisiya* quite a possible genitive of *Arthamisi*.

[12] Cp. *CHI*, I, 589 f.

of an illustrious triumvirate of scholars, such as Professors Konow, Lüders and Thomas.

In the Panjtar inscription of the year 122 the name *Urumuja* (provided the reading be safe, which seems to be the case) will most probably correspond to Śaka *Urmaysda*=*Ahuramazda*. As this word is at the period in question a synonym of *Āditya* the word *Urumujaputra* would possibly mean 'a worshipper of the Sun.'

The name *Imtavhria* (p. 77, but cp. p. 74, n. 1) like *Granavhryaka* (p. 150 f.) certainly in its later part contains an Iranian—*fr(i)ya(ka)*, cp. names like *Buddha°*, *Dharma°*, *Dhyâna-priya*. If in *Granavhryaka* the beginning *gr-* stands for *g-*, the name would really mean *Ganapriya(ka)*, i.e., something very much like *Samghapriya*.

A very interesting inscription apparently is that of the Taxila gold plate (p. 83 ff.), the original of which has most unfortunately been lost. The interpretation, however, is far from convincing. That of Professor Thomas, incredible as it is, still gives an intelligible sense, which can, unfortunately, not be said of that of Professor Konow. That there should be a stop after the words *Śirae bhagavato dhatu prethavetiye* seems quite clear; but what follows is confusing, probably owing to some slight corruption.

On p. 99 there is a word *Jhamdanamasya* which is translated 'Of Jh.' But it seems more probable that this is to be interpreted *Jhamdanâmasya*, and that the real name is only *Jhamda*. This I suppose is = Śaka *śamda*, 'earth.' We may possibly also compare with it *Ara-jhamdasa* on p. 101. As for the sense, cp. *Ysamotika*, which is rightly derived from *ysama* (i.e., *zama*) 'earth.'[13]

The names *Yavalatra*, *Budhalatra*, *Monalatra* (p. 100 f.) should, I suppose, be compared with such ones as *Kumâra-lâta*. It would be tempting to assume that *Yavalatra* is really **Yavala-latra*, and that **Yavala* is = *yola* (pp. 101, 175).

Denipasa (p. 101), if correct, may represent a Greek name Δείνιππος (cf. Fick, *Griech. Personennamen*, p. 153).

On p. 115 we find a name *Bosavaruma*. Professor Konow thinks that this looks un-Indian. But then *Bosisatva* in the Taxila silver scroll on p. 77 looks equally un-Indian. Either we must keep both, or we must silently amend them both. But what possible reason can there be for dragging the Chinese *p'u-sa* into this discussion as is done on p. 115?

On p. 127 Professor Konow's translation: 'in heaven may she carry the tenth' lacks sense. Also on p. 133 we vainly ask ourselves about 'those who were confounded through truth.'

The plate of the Zeda inscription (pl. XXVI: 2, p. 142 ff.) is, unfortunately, not very clear. As for the title *marjhaka*, it might just as well represent an Iranian **marzaka*, meaning 'margrave' (cp. Pahlavi *marzpân*); then why should a man be specially styled *grhapati* in an inscription like this? Obviously it is open to very grave doubt whether the *muroda marjhaka Kaniska* of the Zeda inscription and *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Kaniska* of the Sue Vihâr copperplate, both dated in the year 11,[14] can really be the same person.

Concerning the Kurram Casket inscription (p. 152 ff.) cp. now Professor Konow, *Studies Lanman*, p. 53 ff.

It need scarcely be repeated here that *kaisarasa* in the Ârâ inscription (of which *-i-rasa* is visible) is a highly adventurous and improbable conjecture of Professor Luders, upon which no conclusions can be built.

The name *Dasavhara* (p. 165), if correct, probably contains an Iranian-*farna*.[15] In the same manner *Kamagulya* (p. 170), with which cp. *Manigula* (p. 82), may contain an Iranian element, viz., *gul*, 'rose' (cp. *Mihiragula*).

The Wardak vase (p. 170) in line 3 contains the words *a(m)dajojalayugaya(: śa)ye(: śe)tiga*. Here *ândaja* and *jarâyuja* (or *°ga*) seemed fairly clear, and consequently Senart, Hultzsch and Professor Thomas sought in *yayetiga* or *śaśetiga* a correspondence to Skt. *(sam)svedaja*. This is certainly correct, though it has been denied by Professor Konow, whose own interpretation is scarcely acceptable. Now, putting aside *jalayu*, we have left the letters *gayayetiga* or *gaśaśetiga*. Here there must be something wrong. Personally I should feel strongly inclined to suggest something like *ganaśetiga* and connect this with the Śaka *ganiśtä*, which is used to translate *samsveda*,[16] being itself so far of obscure origin. We would then get something like *jalayuganaśetiga* = *jarâyu-samsvedajâh*. But this is, of course, a mere guess.

This review has, however, already grown to some length, and we must abstain from further remarks. We feel very thankful to Professor Konow for having undertaken this extremely laborious task; and he has rendered a very great service to future research work by bringing together all the innumerable remarks on these inscriptions scattered through various books and periodicals. But we cannot abstain from the comment that it would have been happier to let us have the inscriptions as they are instead of a series of more or less hypothetical reconstructions. And it would certainly have been happier not to have founded upon these reconstructions a vast chronological system which was doomed to destruction well-nigh before its publication.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

[13] That *Ysamotika* is not identical with *Bhûmaka*, as suggested by Messrs. Lévi, *JA*, 1916: I, 191, and Konow, *l.c.*, p. lxx, has been shown in *JRAS*, 1930, 201 f.

[14] It is to be observed that the formula of the date is not the same in both inscriptions.

[15] Cp. *JRAS*, 1928, 904 f.

[16] Cp. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains*, I, 245: *u âhya ysâta o pûrâmña ysâta cu ganiśtä ysâ* = *tathâ ânde jâtâs tathâ jarâyau jâtâ ye samsvede jâtâh.*

REMARKS ON THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.
Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from 1894 to 1903.

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

As a supplement to vols. LVIII and LIX of this *Journal* I published a series of amended extracts relating to the Andamans from the *Census Report* of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in 1901, which I compiled. I now publish a similar series of extracts regarding the Nicobar Islands, as they contain information, not procurable elsewhere, of value to students of ethnography.

I propose to divide the subject into the following heads: I Geography, II Geology, III Meteorology, IV History, V The People, VI Government and Village System, VII Commerce, VIII Reckoning.

The Nicobarese inhabit islands between the Andamans and Sumatra, from about 7° to about 9° North, and situated in groups at considerable distances in some cases from each other. Thus, to enumerate the inhabited islands only, Car Nicobar lies by itself, 41 miles to the north of any other inhabited island of the group. Then comes Chowra, 6 miles north of Teressa and Bompoka, situated close together. East and south 12 miles distant from these lie Camorta, Trinkat and Nancowry, forming a close group creating between them the magnificent harbour of Nancowry. To their west, 4 miles distant, and to the south of Teressa, lies Katchall. Again, 30 miles to the south of them lies the group of Great and Little Nicobar with Kondul and Pulo Milo.

The inhabitants of these islands are thus divided off into groups, which have little communication with each other, owing to the diversity of the dialects they speak. The groups thus created are (1) Car Nicobar, (2) Chowra, (3) Teressa and Bompoka, (4) Central (Camorta, Trinkat, Nancowry, Katchall), (5) Southern (Great and Little Nicobar, Kondul, Pulo Milo); and in the interior of the Great Nicobar is a separate tribe, (6) the Shom Pen, usually at feud with the people on the seaboard.

Although the Andamans and Nicobars are grouped together as a single entity for administrative purposes, they have no other connection whatever either geographically or by population. The Andamans belong to Burma, being the summits of a lofty submerged continuation of the Arakan Yoma mountains, and the Nicobars belong to the Malay Archipelago as a continuation of Sumatra. The division between them and the Andamans is caused by the Ten Degree Channel, which is wide and deep.

The Nicobar Group contains every kind of island scenery from flat and waterless Car Nicobar not much above sea level to mountainous Great Nicobar with its many hills and streams. In some cases the scenery, though of course tropical everywhere, is truly beautiful, and the one landlocked harbour—Nancowry Harbour—the islands contain, formed by the islands of Camorta, Nancowry and Trinkat, and the coral reefs surrounding them, with Katchall to shelter it from the west, is of great beauty. The entry from the west in the early morning is one of the most superb sights I know in a very wide experience. There is another considerable lan[illegible] harbour on Camorta just north of Nancowry Harbour, but it is too full of coral to be available for ships. An immense number of coco-nut trees grow all along the coasts and naturally attract the visitor's eyes, and hide to a great extent the variety of foliage inland.

The Andamanese are a race of the purest savages known and largely isolated in the world, but the Nicobarese belong to the Malay Peninsula, and their language and customs show them to be of the same general race of mankind as the Mons and to have come ultimately from the highlands of Western China. They are anything but savages and are indeed a semi-civilised, though illiterate, race, with a very ancient trade with the Far East and India. Like the Andamanese, however, though divided by dialects, now mutually unintelligible to each other, they speak one fundamental tongue, which is Far Eastern in its affinities.

Perhaps the most interesting fact of this population is that it appears to have been stationary through all historical time. That is to say that ages ago its numbers reached the point that the islands could support, according to its method of procuring food, and at that point it ceased to increase. The Nicobarese have resorted to agriculture—excepting fruit trees and vegetables—or cattle-raising or industry, procuring all their domestic wants not producible from the soil by the sale of coco-nuts to ships that call—a trade of which they are past masters.

In the course of 1883, a careful enumeration of the Nicobarese, for purely local reasons unconnected with any Indian Census, was made by the late Messrs. E. H. Man and de Roepstorff, Officers of the Andaman and Nicobar Commission. Their labour on that occasion proved of the greatest value afterwards, as they made *Reports* giving a good deal of information of use to the student of ethnology, and not otherwise procurable, about the islands generally at that time. It was used in the *Census Report* of 1901, and extracts therefrom will be found attached to the present remarks.

The Census figures of the Nicobarese population for 1883 and 1901 by Dialects are compared below :—

	1883.	1901.
Car Nicobar	3,500	3,451
Chowra	690	522
Teressa	657	702
Central	848	1,095
Southern	247	192
Shom Pen	—	348
	5,942	6,310

But if we substract from the 1901 figures the 348 Shom Pen, which tribe was unknown in 1883, we reach a total of 5,962 as the Nicobarese population of 1901. The figures for Car Nicobar were furnished by Mr. E. H. Man, who completed the work left undone by Mr. de Roepstorff. It must be also noted that the dialects of Car Nicobar and Chowra are spoken on those Islands only ; that of Teressa on Teressa and Bompoka ; the Central Dialect on Camorta, Trinkat, Nancowry and Katchall ; the Southern Dialect on Pulo Milo, Little Nicobar, Kondul and Great Nicobar Coasts; while the Shom Pen in the interior of Great Nicobar have a dialect of their own.

The figures above compared for 1883 and 1901 show the population to be stationary, as one would expect it to be on the theory already expounded, with reference to the Andamanese, as to the causes which govern the growth and maintenance of the population of savage and semi-savage peoples. They also go to corroborate what is known as to the movement of the population amongst themselves. Shortly before the Census of 1901 there was an emigration from overcrowded Chowra to Camorta North, and many people both in Nancowry and Camorta owned property in Katchall East, and villages and coco-nut plantations were owned both in Trinkat and Nancowry by the same men. Hence it was quite a chance on which of adjacent islands owners of property on both were to be found on any given day. There was also communication between the coast men of the Southern Group and Katchall West, and, similarly, the people of Great Nicobar would bodily " visit " Kondul, and so would those of Little Nicobar visit Pulo Milo, and *vice versâ*. Indeed, Kondul was an appanage of Great Nicobar East, and so was Pulo Milo of Little Nicobar. So, though the dialect test is perhaps the best division of the Nicobarese into six varieties, by habits of intercommunication they may be well divided into Northern or Car Nicobarese, the Central Nicobarese (Chowra to Nancowry), Southern or Great Nicobarese, and the isolated Shom Pen of Great Nicobar.

The Nicobarese can also be divided into three Groups,—Northern, Central and Southern—by language and a sharply-marked custom. The Northern (Car Nicobar, Chowra, Teressa

with Bompoka) all speak separate dialects, but they all have the custom of communal disposal of human remains in ossuaries, which the others have not. The Central (Camorta, Nancowry, Trinkat, and Katchall) speak one dialect, and so do the Southern (Great Nicobar with Kondul and Little Nicobar with Pulo Milo).

There is a strong local idea that, like the Andamanese, the Nicobarese, too, are rapidly decreasing in population, but I do not think there is any real ground for it and that the Census merely shows that the population is stationary.

There is an enormous variation in density of population in the various inhabited islands from a little over 1 per square mile in Little Nicobar to 174 per square mile in Chowra. The following table gives the detail :—

NICOBARS.

Density of Population in the various inhabited Islands.

	Population.	Area in square miles.	Density per square mile.
Car Nicobar	3,451	49	70
Chowra	522	3	174
Teressa	624	34	18
Bompoka	78	4	19
Camorta	488	58	8
Nancowry	224	19	12
Trinkat	102	6	17
Katchall	281	62	4
Great Nicobar	435	333	1½
Little Nicobar	63	58	1
Kondul	38	½	76
Pulo Milo	4	½	8

The Nicobarese "family" can be gauged by the population in each hut, and the figures show that it is normal in size.

Table of Population per Hut.

Car Nicobar	5
Chowra	4
Teressa	5
Bompoka	4
Camorta	5
Nancowry	5
Trinkat	4
Katchall	4
Great Nicobar	4
Little Nicobar	3
Kondul	4
Pulo Milo	4

These figures should help to get at an approximate estimate of the Shom Pen by simply going through their country and counting and mapping huts and then multiplying them by 4 for the population.

Two *Reports*, made during the Census Tour in R. I. M. S. *Elphinstone* in 1901 by the late Mr. E. H. Man and the late Captain A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., and Mr. (now Sir) Hadley

D'Oyly (Bt.) from the 4th to 13th January, contain much matter which is worth preserving, and extracts therefrom are accordingly added here.

Mr. E. H. Man's Report.

4th January.—Having embarked myself, Captain Anderson, I.M.S., Mr. D'Oyly, and a Police escort, servants, plant-collectors, convict boatmen, six Andamanese and a trader, the steamer left Nancowry Harbour for Car Nicobar.

5th January.—Anchored at 8 a.m. in Sawi Bay near Mus village. Mr. Solomon, the Government Agent came on board and reported all well. Landed with Census papers and explained to him how to take the Census during the absence of the steamer at the other islands. It was observed by Captain Anderson, that itch was very prevalent among the natives, and a bad case was noticed among the traders. Advice was given as to how to eradicate the disease. On returning to the steamer, took a canoe and some natives to assist us in landing at the other islands.

6th January.—Having left Car Nicobar at midnight, arrived at Chowra at about 7 a.m. Lalu (the former headman) came on board and reported that Tamkoi (the new headman) was absent on a visit to Nancowry. Landed with Captain Anderson and Mr. D'Oyly and took the Census of the inhabitants, who at present appear to number only 522 against 690, the estimated population in 1886. There were no foreigners residing at the island.

7th January.—Left Chowra at 5 a.m. and anchored off Bengala (Teressa Island) at 7 a.m. Gibson and his wife came on board and reported all well. Landed and took the Census of Bengala, Eoya and Chanumla. A beacon was fixed on a conspicuous cocoanut tree at Bengala by the officers of the steamer. The vessel then proceeded to Kerawa, where all landed and the Census of the remaining villages of the island was taken. Twelve Burman kopra-makers constituted the entire foreign element on the island.

8th January.—Leaving at 5 a.m., proceeded to Bompoka where the *Aung-khyantha-gyi* (Burmese barquantine) was anchored off Poahat village. Landed there and took Census of the inhabitants of the island. Left at 8 a.m. for Nancowry harbour, and anchored in Spiteful Bay at 11-30 a.m. Rati Lal came on board and reported that on 24th October last a cocoanut tree fell on to the roof of his quarters, doing much damage. Landed at Inuanga and visited Malacca. Arranged for taking Census on the following day of Nancowry, Trinkat, and of the east and south-west portions of Camorta. Found two *baglas* at Inuanga, a junk off Trinkat, and a barquantine near the west entrance of Nancowry harbour.

9th January.—Took Census as arranged and found only one foreigner, a Burman trader, who was at Trinkat. Visited the Government station and took note of the damage done to Rati Lal's quarters. Received from Rati Lal a current-slip found a month ago in a bottle on the north-east coast of Camorta; handed this to Lieutenant-Commander Wilson for disposal.

10th January.—Left at 6 a.m. for the east coast of Katchall, where the Census of all the existing villages was taken, and the cave visited. Leaving at 2-30 p.m., reached the anchorage outside Dring Harbour at 3-30 p.m. Landed and took the Census of the north-west of Camorta, excepting Puli Pilau, which must be done on the spot owing to the number of new settlers from Chowra and Teressa. Fresh tracks of buffaloes were discovered near the village, but no animals were seen.

11th January.—Left at 5 a.m. for Kondul, anchoring off that island at 0-30 p.m. Took Census of entire southern group. Ascertained that there were no foreigners at any of these islands. Visited Chinese junk off south-east coast of Little Nicobar, and found that she had obtained a permit to trade. Left at midnight for Katchall.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROF. S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

(*Continued from vol. LVIII, p. 210.*)

Alcatif.—The earliest example given in *Hobson-Jobson* is dated 1540. The following is about twenty-five years older.

[c. 1516.] " They also take many of the common silk camlets made in Cambaya, which are good and cheap. From India also they bring many large carpets, taffety, cloth of scarlet-in-grain and other colours," etc.—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, I, 129. Dames says the word in the original text as well as in the Spanish version is *alcatifas.*

Alfandica.—Sir Thomas Roe (1615) is the earliest English author quoted by Yule and Burnell.

[1608-11.] " Neare to the Castle [of Surat] is the *alphandica* where is a paire of staires for lading and unlading of goods ; within are rooms for keeping goods till they be cleared."—William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Fosters, 134; see also *ibid.*, 128, where the word is spelt " Alphandira."

Ambayna.—[1516.] " Advancing yet further and leaving these Bandam Isles, towards Maluquo, there are many isles called *Ambam*, inhabited by Heathen, each of which has its own King."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, II, 199.

This is " the native form of the name" with a slight variation. Mr. Dames says Ramusio has 'Ambon,' which is still used by the Dutch. 'Amboino' is first found in de Barros (*Decada* III, v. 6, f. 137) ; and Linschoten writes 'Amboyna.'

Arcot.—The Arcot in Tanjore, which Yule proposed to identify with the 'Harkatu' which Ibn Baṭûṭa " reached on the first evening of his march inland, after landing from Ceylon on the shallow coast of Madura," is mentioned, I venture to suggest, by an earlier Muḥammadan author—Waṣṣâf :—

[c. 1328.] " He [*scil.* the Rai of Madura—Tîra Pândi, i.e., Vîra Pâṇḍya] [c. 1312] delivered up to Malik Kâfûr, the country of *Arikanna* as a proof of his allegiance, and treasure beyond what imagination can conceive . . . so that the country was restored to him." Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, 50.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to point out that by the addition of a single dot to the penultimate letter the name would become 'Aricatta,' which is as close to Arkât (Tamil Ârkâd, Harkatu) as can be expected under the circumstances.

Areca.—The Arabic word for the betelnut, *foufel* or *fofel* [فوفل], " the origin of which " is said to be " uncertain " by Mr. Crooke, is without doubt derived from the Sanskrit, *pûgaphala*, the name of the fruit in that language. (H. H. Wilson, *Sanskrit-Eng. Dict.*) But *fulful* or *filfil* (فلفل) the Arabic for Pepper is derived from the Sanskrit *pippali*, long pepper (*ibid.*), and the two words are etymologically quite distinct.

Assegay.—[1516.] " Their weapons [*scil.* of the people of Sam Lourenço, i.e., Madagascar] are *assegais*, very slender for throwing, with well-worked iron heads. Each man carries a sheaf of them in his hand for throwing."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, I, 25 ; see also *ibid.*, p. 10.

Atap, Adap.—[1674.] " The houses here [Queda] being made of *Huttops* (which are no more than leaves of trees) do take [fire] like tinder in the dry times." Queda General to Surat, *O. C.*, No. 3917, quoted in Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Sir R. Temple, p. 269 n. Here " Huttops " are the " Ataps " of *Hobson-Jobson.*

Baba.—Sir Henry Yule denies that this word is used by the natives in the same way for children, and he thinks that the English word 'baby' has influenced its use. I beg leave to say that this is very doubtful. The Emperor Jahângîr writes : " After my birth, they gave me the name of Sulṭân Salîm, but I never heard my father . . . call me Muḥammad Salîm or Sulṭân Salîm, but always Shaikhu Bâbâ."—*Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî*, trans. Rogers and Beveridge, I, 2.

And he himself speaks of his own son, Prince Khurram (who afterwards became Emperor with the title of Shâh Jahân) repeatedly as *Bâbâ* Khurram.—*Ibid.*, 180, 186, 247, 256, etc.

And Shâh Jahân, in his turn, mentions his favourite son, Dârâ Shikoh as ' Dârâ Shikoh *Bâbâ* ' in a letter written by him to Mahâbat Khân, which Khâfî Khân has transcribed in his *Muntakhabu'l-lubâb.*

But the matter does not end here. Ziâu'd-dîn Baranî [*c.* 1358] puts into the mouth of Malik Fakhru'd-dîn Kotwâl a long sermon or preachment addressed to his nephew and son-in-law, Malik Nizâmu'd-dîn. In this the latter is addressed as '*Bâbâ*' ای بابا (*Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî*, *Bibl. Indica* Text 138, l. 7); and the same word is again used in the identical connection by this writer at p. 216, l. 11, and p. 218, l. 1.

Another writer of the same century—the fourteenth—also makes a great saint of the day, Shaikh Qutbu'd-din Munawwar, address Sultân Fîrûz Tughlaq as *Bâbâ* (child).—*Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* of Shams-i-Sirâj, *Bibl. Indica* Text, p. 79, l. 12. Elsewhere this author makes another highly venerated individual, Sayyad Jalâlu'd-dîn of Uccha, use the same expression in a speech addressed to the people of Tatta, to assure them that the siege of their town would be soon raised and that peace was in sight.—*Ibid.*, p. 241, l. 10.

It would appear that *Bâbâ* was commonly used in India long before the coming of the English, for the young as well as grown-up persons, as a term of endearment, that parents habitually spoke of or to their children as *Bâbâ*, and that persons of saintly character and religious preceptors also used the same expression in speaking to the laity as their spiritual children. Briefly, it seems to me that these facts militate with some force against the supposition advanced by Yule in regard to the influence of ' Baby.'

Bacanore.—The earliest reference to this place that is cited in *Hobson-Jobson* is from the Travels of Ibn Batûta (*c.* 1343), but this old port is mentioned also by Rashîdu'd-dîn, whose *Jâmiu't-tawârîkh* was completed several years earlier :

[1310.] " Of the cities on the shore [of Malabar which stretches from Karoha to Kûlam, i.e., Quilon], the first is Sindâbûr, then **Faknûr**, then the country of Manjarûr, then the country of Hili, then the country of Sadarsâ [*recte*, Fandarâna], then Jangli, then Kûlam."—Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I, 68.

Here Sindâbûr is Chintâpur near Goa, Manjarûr is Mangalore, Hili is Mount D'ely, Sadarsâ is Fandaraina or Pandarâni, Jangli is Chinkali or Cranganor, and Kûlam is Quilon.

Badgeer.—Mr. Crooke draws attention to Linschoten's description of a similar arrangement at the same place (Hormuz), but there is an earlier reference still in Barbosa who writes : " . . . . . . [1516] and, because that country is very hot, all the houses are built in such wise as to make the wind blow from the highest to the lowest storeys, when they have need of it."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, I, 91.

Bahâr.—This word occurs in the *Kitâbi-masâlik wa-l-mamâlik* of the Arab writer, Ibn Khûrdâdbih (d. 912 A.C.) :

[*c.* 912.] " Multân is called the '*farj* of the house of gold,' because Muhammad son of Qâsim, lieutenant of Al Hajjâj found forty *bahârs* of gold in one house of that city, which was henceforth called the ' House of Gold ' . . . . . . *bahâr* is worth 333 *mans*, and each *man* two *ritls*." Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I, 14. See also text and translation in *Journale Asiatique*, 1865, p. 277.

The same statement is made by Idrîsî [*c.* 1154], *Nuzhat al-mushtâq*, in Elliot and Dowson, *ibid.*, I, 82-3.

Bandicoot.—It is not Fryer only who " exaggerates worse than the Moor," Ibn Batûta), or who compares them to pigs. Another European traveller had done the same :

[1598.] " There are likewise great numbers of Rattes, and some as bigge as young Pigges, so that the Cattes dare not touch them. Sometimes they digge down the houses, for that they undermine the walles and foundations through and through whereby many

times the houses fall downe and are spoyled."—*The Voyage of J. H. Van Linschoten*, Old Eng. Trans. of 1598, ed. A. C. Burnell, I, 302.

And Mundy has the identical comparison :

[1632.] "Of the latter [*scil.* rats] there are a sort called Goose [i.e., *ghûs*], that are as bigg as a prettie pigg of 10 or 12 dayes old."—*The Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. C. Temple, II, 307.

Banyan.—The earliest reference to this caste in a foreign writer is, I think, in Mas'ûdî :

[*c.* 916.] "J'étais à Cambaye dans l'année 303, alors qu'un brahme nommé *Bania* [با نيا in the original] y régnait au nom du Balhara, souverain de Mankir. Ce Bania traitait avec la plus grande faveur les Musulmans et les sectateurs d'autres religions qui arrivaient dans son pays."—*Prairies d'Or*, Text and trans. by B. de Meynard, I, 254.

I venture to suggest with some confidence that *Bania* was not the *name* of the governor, but the designation of his *caste*. When Mas'ûdî says that he was a Brahman, what he really means is that he was a respectable Hindu of the Brahmanical persuasion. The Arab traveller here speaks of him just as a European in the seventeenth century would have done, as 'the Bunya.' He had heard his fellow-countrymen speak of him as 'Wânia' or Bânya' and imagined it was his name, as he did not know its real signification.

Banyan day.—The earliest example in Yule is from Ovington (1690). Here is one of still earlier date :

[1634.] They [i.e., Commanders of the Company's ships] are to deliver lists of their men and the number of their messes and accordingly a computated proporcion of what they may spend in such diett for *Banyan daies* (so called) as this place affords and the Company allowes."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster, 1634-36, p. 38.

Banyan-fight.—As Yule's solitary illustration is derived from the English *padre* Ovington [1690], the following notice of the same trait from an earlier author may be interesting :

[1666.] "The men are great clowns . . they make a great noise when they have any quarrel, but what passion soever they seem to be in, and what bitter words so ever they utter, they never come to blows."—Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part III, p. 51. (Eng. Trans. of 1687.) 'Banyan-fight' is a literal translation of a Gujarâtî expression *Vaṇiyânî laḍâî*, which is still in everybody's mouth.

Banyan Tree.—The old Arab travellers also appear to have been greatly struck by this 'wonder of the vegetable kingdom.' Mas'ûdî has an elaborate description, which is unfortunately too long to quote, but which begins thus : [*c.* 916.] "On trouve dans ce pays un arbre que l'on peut compter au nombre des merveilles de la nature et des prodiges du règne végétal."—*Prairies d'or*, ed. and trans. by Barbier de Meynard (ch. xviii), II, 81.

And Alberûnî writes :

[*c.* 1030.] "At the junction of the two rivers, Yamunâ and Ganges, there is a great tree called Prayâga, [*sic* in the translation], a tree of the species *vaṭa*. It is peculiar to this kind of tree that its branches send forth two species of twigs, some directed upward . . . and others directed downward, like roots, but without leaves. If such a twig enters into the soil, it is like a supporting column to the branch whence it has grown. Nature has arranged this on purpose, since the branches of this tree are of an enormous extent (and require to be supported). Here the Brahmans and Kshatriyas are in the habit of committing suicide by climbing up the tree and throwing themselves into the Ganges."—*Alberuni's India*, trans. Sachau, II, 170.

Barbiers.—[1631.] "Captain Morton, immediately after leaving Bantam, fell sick of the *barbiers* and died on November 21."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1630-1633), p. 182.

This is probably the earliest mention of the disease by an English writer and is older than that from Fryer (1673) quoted by Yule.

Bargeer.—The following quotation from the *Âîn-i-Akbarî* makes the "transition of meaning," which seemed obscure to Yule, fairly clear.

"His Majesty [Akbar] from the regard which he pays to difference in rank, believes many fit for cavalry service . . . When their services are required, they are furnished with a horse on a written order of the *Bitikchî* (writer); but they have not to trouble themselves about the keeping of the horse. A man so mounted was called *Bârgîrsawâr.*" (Trans. Blochmann, I, 139.) The original meaning of *bârgîr* seems to be 'baggage-horse,' and of *bârgîr-suwâr,* 'rider of a baggage-horse,' which latter was subsequently abbreviated into *bârgîr.*

I may add that for the man who brought his own horse—our 'Silladar' (q.v. *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 836), Baranî (*c.* 1358) uses *khûd-aspa*, i.e., 'man with his own horse' (خود اسپه). —*Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî*, Text, p. 86, l. 2.

Batel, Batelo, Patello.—The origins of the names of sailing vessels of the old world are exceedingly obscure and all but impossible to trace. Sir Henry Yule says 'Batell' occurs in the *Roteiro de V. da Gama*, that *Batel, Batelo* is the name of a sort of boat used in Western India, Sind and Bengal, and that 'Pattello' is used for a large flat-bottomed boat on the Ganges. Whatever the source of the Portuguese 'Batell,'[1] it is certain that the Bombay Batelo, or the Bengal 'Pattello' is not directly derived from it, as the form *batla* (بتله) occurs in the *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* of Baranî, which was completed in 1358 A.C. (*Bibl. Indica* Text, p. 490, l. 7).

Bayparree, Beoparry.—As no early use of this word is cited in *Hobson-Jobson*, the following extract may be of interest.

[*c.* 1516.] "In this Kingdom of Malabar there is also another caste of people whom they call *Biabares*, Indian merchants natives of the land."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, II, 55-56.

Bendara.—The earliest use of this word by an English author quoted by Yule is of 1810.

[1669-1679.] "And, againe, the hearts of the Syamers in generall were wholy sett against this Sort of Goverment, for the Radja had noe Sooner Seated himselfe in his place in Janselone, but he immediately turned out of Office most of the Syamers, both Councellours, Secretaries, Shabandares *Bandarees*, etc. . . . and in their Stead he placed Chulyars." —T. Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Sir R. C. Temple, p. 256.

The Editor notes that the *Bendahâra* was a very high degree of nobility amonst the Malays; the *bendahârî*[2] were the treasury-officers. The two words seem to be blended together in Yule's quotations.

(*To be continued.*)

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[1] The Portuguese word is *batel*, which, be it noted, Dalgado does not include in his *Glossário Luso-asiático*. Whatever be the origin of this word, the *pataild* (also written and pronounced *pateld*) of the Gangetic basin, which appears in a great variety of forms, such as 'patella,' 'patello,' 'pattella,' 'bettilo,' etc., in the journals and records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is a well known form of boat, widely distributed over north-eastern India. The boat is so called from the way it is built, or 'boarded' (पाटा), the side planks (Hindî, पाट; Sanskrit, पट्ट:) being laid from bow to stern, the upper overlapping the lower, or, as we should call it, 'clinker-built.' The change of the initial long *a* into short *a* is in accordance with rule.

A very correct drawing of a *pataild* will be found in B. Solvyns' *Etchings descriptive of the Manners, Customs,* etc., *of the Hindoos*, Calcutta, 1799, Section 8th, Plate no. 7. In his rare letterpress Solvyns calls this "A Pataily,—a flat clinker built boat from the Provinces of Behar and Benares." *Patailî* is simply the diminutive form of *pataild.*—C. E. A. W. O., JOINT EDITOR.

[2] Dalgado writes, under BENDARA: "from the Malay *bĕndáhara*, 'treasurer,' Javanese *bendara* < Sans. *bhandârî*," which seems probable.—*Glossário Luso-asiático*, I, 115.—C. E. A. W. O., JOINT EDITOR.



FRAGMENT OF STONE RAILING FOUND AT BHUVANEŚVAR, ORISSA

A STONE RELIEF FROM A KALIṄGA RAILING.

BY DR. STELLA KRAMRISCH.

STONE railings and fragments of stone railings, carved with figures are known from the early Śuṅga period and have been found in Bihâr, Central and Southern India, in the United Provinces (Paṭnâ, Bodh-Gayâ, Bhârhut, Sâñcî, Jaggayapeṭa, Nâgârjunikoṇḍa, Gumadidurra, Amarâvatî, Mathurâ, Amin) and also in Oṛissâ.[1] Another fragment recently found in Bhuvaneśvar distinctly proves that it was part of a railing. It is the upper half of one of the two main sides of a corner post broken off the entire post of buff-coloured sandstone, and measures 13 inches in height, 7¾ inches in breadth and 3 inches in thickness. It is carved in very low relief and shows a male figure, the hands in *añjali mudrâ*. The head portion is modelled in higher relief than the body: the height of the relief there is almost ½ inch, whereas the rest of the relief does not exceed ⅛ inch in height. This is achieved by an ingenious technical device. The background is made slanting into depth away from the two sides of the slab, so that a lower level is prepared for the modelling of the head, of which the relief, although actually much higher, yet does not exceed the upper level of the exceedingly flat treatment of the body.

Although the stone is weathered and battered (root of the nose on the left, right eye, right nose wing and to a slighter degree the left eye, the chest above the finger-tips, navel, arms and wristlets), and the top of the coiffure is broken away, yet what remains is peculiar enough to distinguish it from railing sculptures known hitherto, and to assign to it a definite place amongst the early sculptures of India.

The upper part of the figure is decorated with a necklace consisting of two courses of beads and chains alternately, whereas arms and wrists are embellished by three and five fold plain spirals respectively. The only garment visible is a folded cloth round the waist, knotted in the middle. The earlobes are distended by bunches of heavy triple rings. A wig-like arrangement of the hair, the loose skeins of which seem to radiate from the face and to surround it in the shape of a capricious bolster, completes the "embellishment" of the figure.

A long oval face distinguishes it from the majority of types seen on other railings. Yet even in Bhârhut, in the disc-composition of the *Mahâmagga Jâtaka* long faces occur. There, too, are found long and widely open, slightly bulging eyes, a long nose with broad nostrils, a relatively small mouth, beak-like in the sharpness with which the lips are set off against the receding modelling of the cheeks. A resolutely broad and short chin as well as a summarising treatment of the cheeks are common to the Oṛissâ and to the Bhârhut figures of the *Mahâmagga Jâtaka* scene, to which, amongst all other early Indian relief-physiognomies it shows the closest affinity. But in spite of these similarities of structure, the texture of skin and flesh is given stronger emphasis in our relief. In contrast to the sharpness of features, and their isolation within a wooden countenance, of the Bhârhut types, in spite of a sameness of mask-like inexpressiveness, greater softness and variation is given to the fleshy parts. The swelling modelling around the eyebrows offers a tangible contrast to the sharp cut employed by the Bhârhut craftsmen. The cheeks, too, are almost flaccid compared with those of the Bhârhut figures; instead of the rigidity of an abstract and continuous outline we find here a wavy contour and additional fulness is given to the lower part of the face. The nose too is broader and the ridge is not sharply marked.

The flaccid softness that differentiates the face, is also noticeable in the outline and in the slight modelling of the body. Only in Jaggayapeṭa a relief similarly low was employed. But there a tense outline impregnated with vitality the flatness of the modelling.

But leaving aside these connections with the Central and the South Indian schools, a comparison with the rock-cut reliefs at Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri and with the other

[1] *Some Ancient Remains at Bhubanesvara* by Nirmal Kumara Basu, M.Sc., *J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. XV, p. 259 ff.

railing fragments from Bhuvaneśvar seems obvious. Nevertheless, the affinities are scanty. An exceedingly low relief can be found in the panels of the Alakâpurî cave at Udayagiri only, but there the treatment is almost purely ornamental; modelling is avoided, as the edge of the relief figures is not rounded, but is cut at a right angle, in a firm line, against a flat background. Points in common are: the *añjali mudrâ* with the position of hands peculiar to our panel. They are joined on the side of the little fingers, in one straight upright line, whereas the hands, with finger-tips curved, as if carefully upholding something, diverge against the chest. Similar attitudes of *añjali mudrâ* may be observed in Mañcapurî and Rânîgumphâ lower storey, both in Udayagiri hill, as well as on the relief fragments referred to by N. K. Basu. This motif, too, is employed in the early as well as in the later work of Amarâvatî (cf. Bachhofer,[2] Plate 109, right, and Plate 111), whereas the *añjali* poses perpetually to be met with in Bhârhut follow another convention, i.e., the palm of one hand is turned against the chest, where it lies upon the flatly distorted palm of the other hand. In Mathurâ, on the other hand, the *añjali* posture is rendered with folded hands at a right angle against the chest (cf. also Gandhâra).

The "costume" again is related to some of the items worn by the figures on the Mañcapurî frieze. The bunches of ear-rings, the heavy pad of hair—the latter a feature, however, to be met with in Bhârhut as well as in Mahâbodhi—are conspicuous. In the treatment, too, of accoutrements, such as drapery, jewelry and hair, a predilection for tubular and parallel courses is noticeable. Besides these affinities, however, the Mañcapurî frieze, in its cubical treatment of the single plastic units, strongly contrasts with the railing fragment.

Although the affinities with Oṛissan rock carvings are scanty, as none of the figures there can be quoted as altogether analogous in actual appearance to the fragment under consideration, yet its position in the history of early Indian sculpture, in one respect, corresponds to that of the cave sculptures. To the same extent as there,[3] a connection with contemporary sculpture is visible in the composite features of the treatment. But whereas the Central Indian schools and Mathurâ contributed much to the appearance of the cave reliefs, the share of the Southern school except in the later reliefs on the Rânî Gumptâ, upper storey, is negligible, in their case, and also in the case of the other railing fragments from Bhuvaneśvar. This, however, is not so in the relief under discussion. Reference to Jaggayapeṭa has been made already.

One of the constituent factors of early Oṛissan sculpture thus becomes more clearly tangible. Although it seems, therefore, that, whatever school flourished in India at this period had its influence on the shaping of the Oṛissan form idiom, the latter, in spite of the variety of trends made use of by it, asserts its own peculiarity.

Whatever new light further finds may throw on the early phase of sculpture in Oṛissâ, our fragment, remarkably low in relief and with the modelling peculiar to it, gives a striking accent to Oṛissan stone sculpture in the second century B.C.

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[2] Bachhofer: Die fruehindische Plastik.

[3] Kramrisch, *Die Indische Kunst, in: Springer, Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, vol. VI, p. 259.

POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

BY BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

(*Continued from page 70.*)

And the cephalic index of the different castes is as follows :—

	Dolichocephalic.	*Mesaticephalic.*	*Brachycephalic.*
Muṇḍâ	74·7		
Bâurî		75·1	
Lohâr		75·5	
Orâon		75·7	
Santâl		75·8	
Mâl-Pahâṛiyâ		75·8	
Kurmî		75·8	
Telî		75·9	
Tãtî		76·0	
Bhũiyâ		76·2	
Ḍom		76·4	
Mocî		76·5	
Vaidya		76·6	
Bâgdî		76·9	
Birhor		76·9	
Kaivarrta		77·2	
Mâlo		77·2	
Gwâlâ		77·5	
Pod		77·6	
Sadgop		77·8	
Pukuriyâ		77·9	
Sonâr Veṇe [Vaṇik]		78·0	
Gandha Vaṇik		78·1	
Kâyastha		78·3	
Câsâ		78·6	
Brâhmaṇa		79·6	
Bârendra Brâhmaṇa		79·7	
Râṛhî Brâhmaṇa			83·9

In other words, the result obtained from my own researches is that the population of Bengal and the surrounding parts at least, where caste is as prevalent as anywhere else, is of the type which may be called the mesorrhyne mesaticephalic cymotrichi.

Consequently, from the above tables we see that several anthropological types are met with in each particular caste, and therefore caste cannot be taken as a somatological division. The colour, too, is just as elusive. In the northern parts of India people are fair-complexioned, and the more we go south the darker the skin colour becomes. During my last visit to India I had taken some notes on the prevailing colours among different tribes and castes ; but after a time, I gave up the attempt as futile. In every caste, nay in every family, the skin colour varies from light olive to dark brown ; but black is rarely found. In some of the Brâhmaṇa families I visited, I found the colour of some members of the family like that of a Spaniard or that of an Italian of the south, whereas others had a skin-colour very nearly approaching that of bronze. A Bengali proverb, however, struck me as significant. The proverb, in the original, runs thus :

" *Kâla Bâmun, Kaṭâ Śuddur, bũṭe Musalmân,*
Ghar-jâmâi âr puṣyi-putra, pãc-i samân ; "[34]

[34] " A black Brahman, a fair Śûdra, a short Muhammadan, a son-in-law (who comes to live permanently with his parents-in-law) and an adopted son are all the same [meaning, " tarred with the same brush "].

and is always said in a derogatory manner. It therefore seems that a very dark Brâhmaṇa or a very fair Śûdra are both looked down on, on account of their being not exactly *comme il faut*. At any rate, it shows that the Hindus themselves lay great stress on the colour question. The colour of eyes, too, varies; but generally it is either dark-brown or blue-black. Hair is either wavy or slightly curly. Straight hair, like that of the Mongolian races, is extremely rare, and it would be safe to say that no Hindu has the woolly or frizzy hair of the negroes. The average height is between 1600 mm. to 1672 mm.

The third suggestion put forward as to the totemic origin of caste presents some difficulties, although, in our opinion, this seems to be the likeliest of the three. If, as Rice says,[35] caste is a Dravidian institution adopted by the Âryan conquerors of India, the question arises why it should continue in Southern India in all its vigour, where the large majority of the population is in itself Dravidian. With the introduction of the caste system the Dravidians were obviously at a disadvantage, for were they not themselves the Dasyus of the ancients? It is, therefore hardly likely that they would willingly tolerate something which make them distinctly inferior to the foreign invaders. Over one hundred years ago, Abbé Dubois, writing of the caste system among the people of southern India, says: "Of all the provinces that I lived in, the Dravidian, or Tamil, country is one where the ramifications of caste appeared to me most numerous. There are not nearly so many ramifications of caste in Mysore or the Deccan."[36] Not only is this true of India of a hundred years ago, but also of today.

On the other hand, I am inclined to believe that the Âryans themselves brought the system of caste along with them to India. We know that caste existed in ancient Egypt, although Rawlinson objects to the word and calls them classes.[37] There, too, these class distinctions were hereditary. But in Egypt all professions were regarded as honourable, and a man was perfectly at liberty to change his profession if he wanted to.[38] In a story which Herodotus tells us, the high priests of Thebes descended in a direct line for 345 generations.[39] Among the Arabs and the Tartars, too, the same caste distinctions are observable. The people of Athens, it will be remembered, were separated by Cecrops into four tribes or classes, and this division was later upheld and strengthened in divers ways by the great Athenian lawgiver, Solon. At the time when great racial enmity existed between the Romans and the Sabines, Numa Pompilius hit upon the happy idea of dividing the body of people into different castes, and the results justified the wisdom of his actions. Moses, too, adopted the same method of governing the unruly people by dividing them into classes when he had been appointed their patriarch. These examples may be multiplied. We may, therefore, assume that the division of the people into castes was a common occurrence among the different races of antiquity, and, what is more important for our present purpose, that it was known among the Âryan races. It is also more than probable that the Dravidians of India also possessed it, though in a different sense and for a different motive.

In a recent article I made a suggestion that the probable origin of caste was purely magical.[40] The word Brâhmana derives its origin from *brahmaṇa*, "a magic spell."[41] As far as the Âryans are concerned, we are told by no less an authority than Caland that those

[35] S. Rice, "The Origin of Caste," *The Asiatic Review*, xxv (1929), pp. 152 f.

[36] (Abbé) J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* translated by Henry K. Beauchamp, (Oxford [1924]), 3rd ed., p. 15.

[37] G. Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt* (New York, Preface dated 1880), vol. i, pp. 443 f.; vol. ii, Index, *s.v.* "Caste," p. 544.

[38] Cf. Herodotus, ii, 164; Strabo, xvi 1 *3.

[39] Herodotus, ii, 143.

[40] B. Bonnerjea, "Some Notes on Magic and Taboo in Bengal,' *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. LVII (Bombay, 1928), p. 112.

[41] *Ibid.*, quoting O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* (Strassburg, 1901), pp. 637 f., etc.

who are accustomed to regard the Hindus as a highly civilized people will be surprised to find evidences of savagery amongst them, and the remarkable resemblance of their rites to the shamanism of North American Indians.[42] And, on the authority of Rice,[43] we know that the Dravidians were and still are well skilled in all forms of magic, and that they still have a firm belief in charms and amulets, in the efficacies of *mantrams* (magic spells), and of devices to keep off evil spirits and so on. "Dr. Slater points out that the Vedas, while showing that magic was well known to the Âryans, regard the Dravidians as especially skilled in it, and without going further into the question, records his belief that magic was a feature of Dravidian culture."[44] The Hindus too were not strangers to magic arts, and magic today is predominant in Hindu society. Dr. Rivers, writing of Hindu medicine, says: "Even at its best times, however, the close relation of medicine with religion was shown by the special practice of the medical art by members of the *priestly Brahmanic caste*. At the present time the frequent use of formulas when remedies are administered shows clearly how close is the alliance between medicine and religion, even among the more highly civilized sections of Indian population."[45] Thus, magic was, and is, common among both the Âryans and the Dravidians.

When the Âryans came and found that the Dravidian priests were as skilled in magic arts as their own, they amalgamated and formed the caste system. The priestly office was given to those who were skilled in magic, without distinction as to whether they were the conquerors or the conquered. The military, as well as the pastoral and agricultural duties the Âryans reserved for themselves; and the illiterate and the dark-skinned aborigines became the Śûdras. That caste at that time was flexible is shown by a passage in the *Mahâbhârata*, from which we learn that the Vâhikas of the Panjâb had no fixity of caste. A man might become a Brâhmaṇa first, then a Kṣattriya, then a Vaiśya, then a Śûdra, then a barber; after that he might again become in turn a Brâhmaṇa and a slave; one person in a family became a Brâhmaṇa and the others what they themselves liked.[46]

We know then that a form of caste system existed in ancient Greece, and Count d'Alviella has shown us how much India owes to Greece; how Grecian civilization has influenced the civilization of India in every domain—in medicine, astronomy, mathematics, writing, grammar, popular traditions, philosophy, and even religion.[47] It is therefore not too difficult to imagine that the Âryans brought the caste system along with them to India from their former habitat, and modified it to suit the original inhabitants of India, the Dasyus.

But though the Âryans kept certain professions for themselves, they were unable to keep themselves pure in this way. As is the case with every other nation, when brought into contact with another of an equal or even higher culture, as the Dravidians undoubtedly were, the Âryan invaders soon recognised the possibility of intermarriage. Manu himself recognised the possibility of marriage with the next lower caste as producing legitimate children, but condemned the marriage of an Âryan with a woman of a lower caste.[48] Yet, it seems that Manu knew of marriages between Kṣattriyas and Śûdras, for he says that from the union of a Kṣattriya and a Śûdrânî (Śûdra girl) a creature named Ugra is born; this creature has the characteristics of both a Kṣattriya and a Śûdra, and finds pleasure in

42 B. Bonnerjea, *loc. cit.*, p. 109, quoting W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual* (Amsterdam, 1900), pp. 162 f.

43 S. Rice, "The Origin of Caste," *The Asiatic Review*, xxv (1929), p. 151. For the subject of magic among the Dravidians and others, see (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings, passim*.

44 S. Rice, *loc. cit.*

45 W. H. R. Rivers, *Medicine, Magic and Religion* [Fitzpatrick Lectures delivered before The Royal College of Physicians of London in 1915 and 1916]. (New York, 1924), pp. 68 f.

46 *Mahâbhârata, Karṇa parva*, xliv, xlv.

47 Goblet d'Alviella, *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce* (Paris, 1926), *passim*, and especially, pp. 104-148.

48 *Laws of Manu*, x, 5; iii, 15. An Âryan, however, is one who is learned. E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. ii, p. 60.

savage conduct.[49] The *Parâskara Gṛhya-sûtra* allows the marriage of a Kṣattriya with a wife of his own caste, of a Brâhmaṇa with a wife of his own caste or of the two lower classes, and of a Vaiśya with a Vaiśya wife only. But it quotes the opinion of certain authorities that all of them can marry a Śûdra wife, while other authorities condemn the marriage with a Śûdra wife in certain circumstances, which implies that in other cases it might be justified,[50] and this hypothesis is further strengthened by Manu's statement about those whom he calls Ugras. We see, then, that intermarriage between the different castes, though not considered quite proper, was allowed. In course of time people became more and more mixed with each other, so that practically the whole of southern India became mixed with the original Dravidian population irrespective of their castes. The Brâhmaṇas continued to be magicians as hithertofore.

Objections may be raised by some as to the magical character of the Brâhmaṇas, both of the Vedic period as well as of modern times ; but fortunately it needs very little, besides what has been said already, to satisfy even the staunchest disbeliever. The prayers of the *Ṛg Veda* contain various funeral incantations against demons and evil spirits[51] ; these prayers, known as *mantram*, meaning 'charms,' 'incantations,' 'mystic formulas,'[52] were and are chanted by the Brâhmaṇâs. In fact, even down to our own times, it is the duty of the Brâhmaṇas alone to perform the funeral ceremonies.[53] The whole of Hindu life is one continual round of religious duties. He must do everything as is prescribed by his religion, and his religion to him is what his *guru*, or religious teacher, tells him to do. Every action of life is hedged round with a regular ritual ; his religion tells him when to get up and how, what to do when he is up and what not to do, what to eat on a certain day and what not to eat ; and even quite trivial actions are not without certain special ceremonies, such as for example, cleaning the teeth, washing the mouth, and so on. From morning till night, from birth to the funeral pyre, he has to act as his forefathers did, or in other words, as the Brâhmaṇas tell him. The principal ceremonies of the Hindus, such as the ceremony at birth, the naming ceremony, the wedding ceremony, and the death ceremony, are all saturated with primitive magic ; and it is the Brâhmaṇas who are the high priests of these ceremonies. And lastly, to give one more instance, the *Atharva Veda* and the *Kauśika Sûtra* are two very important books on Hindu magic.[54]

After caste had been firmly established in India it continued its existence on the occupational basis—the occupation of being a magician. And there is some doubt as to whether the Brâhmaṇas were considered as belonging to the highest caste in those times. In the *Ambaṭṭa Sutta*, Buddha claims superiority for the Kṣattriyas. "So it is clear, whether you regard it from the male or from the female side, that it is the Kṣattriyas who are the best people, and the Brâhmaṇas their inferiors." If this is correct, it further proves that the Âryans reserved the highest position for themselves, and the next was given to the magicians, the Brâhmaṇas. Caste system continued in a flexible manner till the advent of the Muhammadans. During the ninth and tenth centuries Śaṅkara, an orthodox Hindu, gave it a definite form, in order to protect Hinduism from the attacks of Islâm. Since that time it has become definite and rigid, and no important changes have been introduced into it in modern times. Today a man's caste is hereditary.

Thus, if our main thesis is right, caste originated neither with the Âryans nor with the Dravidians, it existed among the conquerors and the conquered. At the earliest times the

[49] *Laws of Manu*, x, 9 ; Jogendranath Bhattacharyya, *Hindu Castes and Sects* (Calcutta, 1896), p. 159 ; B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 9, note 1.

[50] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. ii, p. 60, quoting *Parâskara Gṛhya-sûtra*, i, 4 8 f.; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, ii, 258.

[51] H. Oldenberg, *La Religion du Veda*, translated by A. Foucher, p. 490.

[52] Cf., for modern Bengali, Benimadhab Ganguli, *The Students' Dictionary of Bengali Words and Phrases* (Calcutta, 1908), p. 684. *s.v.* "mantra."

[53] Cf. B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Chapter I.

[54] H. Hubert and M. Mauss ("Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la Magie," *L'Année Sociologique*, vii [1902-1903]) have made use of the *Atharva Veda* and the *Kauśika Sûtra* in their most important contribution to the philosophy of magic.

Âryan immigrants seem to have been a homogeneous community : gradually when their number increased, and they found a scarcity of women among them, they went among the Dravidians, and took the women of the latter as their wives, and thus became mixed with the aborigines. Later, when they had bred a sufficient number of females to serve their purpose, they closed their ranks, and forbade any further marriage. Thenceforth they became endogamous like the castes of today.

We know that in all primitive societies magic or religion plays a very important rôle, and it was the same with India. The true explanation of caste is not to be found in economic grounds based on materialistic principles, but in their primitive faith. Since both the Âryans and the aborigines were adepts in the art of magic, it was not difficult to find one common ground on which to meet. Their magicians became the priests, and were placed at the top of the ladder, if not from the very beginning, at least very soon. By this amalgamation both the Âryans and the Dravidians were satisfied, for each secured a position for himself, each according to his merit. The Vaiśyas and the Kṣattriyas too became gradually mixed, and remain so to the present day. The Śûdras alone are the possible remnants of the ancient dark-skinned population of India, unless here, too, they have managed to secure a higher position for themselves either through influence, power, money, or hypergamy, or through all of them. To sum up. therefore, **Caste is not an Anthropological Division, but is the outcome of Primitive Superstitions.**

LIFE OF ṚISHI PÎR PAṄḌIT PÂDSHÂH.

A Great Hermit of Kashmîr.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, ŚRÎNAGAR, KASHMÎR.

SAINTS are apostles with superhuman energy, who appear in this world from time to time to remind the apostate of the Creator and His grace. They are founts of inspiration. Their deeds strike the chord of devotional feeling and nobler sentiment among those people who trace the gods to man's ancestors and to whom every echo of days ancestral is cheering and inspiring. Their lives are a thrilling song, and, indeed, this age does not require to harp on, or hearken to, a nobler theme. Their pure lives lead us to wider-hearted appreciation of higher values, and are a contribution to the spiritual ideas of eager-hearted mankind, like the culture of Greece and the laws of Rome. Some of the accounts seem magnified portraits of the real men and recall Shakespeare's prophetic seers, but one cannot take the risk of modifying, revising or expurgating them, considering that those pure souls were really the manifestations of the power of God, and that the bygone generations, through whom the traditions have descended, were not unmindful of scrupulously preserving historical accuracy.

Ṛishi Pîr was one of the most famous saints or supermen of Kashmîr. He was born on the 6th of the dark fortnight of Baisakh V.S. 1694 (1046 A.H.; 1637 A.D.). The chronogram of his birth is given in following Persian lines :—

زبہر سال تاریخ قدومش ∴ دل و طبعم بہم کردند تدبیر
بگو تاریخ این فرخندهٔ کلام ∴ ازو آباد بادا ملک کشمیر

Translation :—

For the year of the date of his coming
The heart and mind consulted each other.
Say the date of this auspicious speech :
May the country of Kashmîr be happy through him.

Purified as he was from all earthly dross, we might fitly call Ṛishi Pîr a peer among *pîrs* (saints). His father, named Paṇḍit Govind Khushu, lived at Bhaṭṭyâr Mahall in Śrînagar. His mother came from the village Gushi (Uttar *pargana*). She gave birth to him near the bridge at Sopûr, while she was once on her way from her father's house to her home in Śrînagar. When five years old, Ṛishi Pîr's investiture with the sacred thread was performed. His marriage took place when he was seven years old. Soon after, he lost his father.

* تدبیر = 616 + این فرخندهٔ کلام =1091 =1707—(آباد + دا) =13=1694

Rishi Pîr had a religious turn of mind from his very childhood. At 14 years of age spurred by insatiable thirst for knowing God, he used to go to the Harî Parbat daily. One day he was tired and fell asleep there. He had a dream in which he saw the goddess. She asked him what he wanted. He replied : " I want a spiritual guide." She told him that he would meet one on his way home. When he woke up he regretted that he had not asked the goddess herself to be his spiritual guide. However, he went from there and near the shrine of Lakshmî, he met Krishna Kâr, who was a famous hermit living at Rainâwâri. The keen eye of the latter soon appraised Rishi Pîr. and. after revealing a glimpse of divine knowledge to him, he kept him with his chief disciple. Zinda Pîr. who, within a period of six months. infused new warmth into him and kindled the flame of divine vision in the house of his body.

Rishi Pîr used to go round the Harî Parbat daily, as stated above, and used to walk outside its bastioned wall, and on reaching Sargîn Darwâza, where there is a full view of the Chakreshwar. he used to run as if the effulgence of the goddess was unbearable to him. He was invariably accompanied by a large band of his disciples, among whom two men, named Nânak Shâh Âzari and Aita Shâh Malang, were his favourites.

Rishi Pîr used to work miracles. But this is viewed with disfavour by saints walking in higher spheres, in whose eyes every action tending to show personal and worldly aggrandizement sullies the true love of God. Rûpa Bhawânî, a famous hermitess who lived in his time, therefore, remarked : " *Rishis piyeyih tembra parantu tsâjin nah*," meaning that a spark had fallen on the rishi, but he could not bear it.

However, by working miracles Rishi Pîr's fame for sanctity spread far and wide, and people, out of respect towards him, began to call him Pâdshâh (king). He used to be carried by his disciples on a throne. He got a seal made and on it engraved *Pâdshâh-i-jahân*. The engraver secretly sent a report of this to the then emperor of India, Aurangzeb. His Majesty became incensed and deputed an orderly to Kashmîr to seize and conduct Rishi Pîr to his presence at Delhi. When the orderly reached Śrînagar and went to arrest Rishi Pîr, there was great commotion among the people. Rishi Pîr was informed of this. He said he must obey the imperial orders. He asked his disciples to give food and shelter for the night to the orderly. He further told them that he must be left alone in his room that night and that the door should be chained on the outside. They did as they were instructed. Rishi Pîr, by the force of his occult powers, appeared before Aurangzeb at Delhi. riding on a lion, and terrified him. asking why he was being troubled ; whereupon the emperor wrote out an order countermanding the previous one, with blood pricked from his little finger with a knife, and gave it to Rishi Pîr. In the same order he commanded that Rishi Pîr should thenceforth be called not only by the title of *Pâdshâh* but by that of *Pâdshâh-i-har dû jahân*. Next morning, when Rishi Pîr's disciples opened the door of his room, he gave them the emperor's order, with instructions to hand it to his orderly. The orderly, on receiving it, returned to Delhi.

The emperor, on rising from his bed next morning, felt greatly frightened and quickly wrote to the then governor of Kashmîr, Saif Khân (who held the post of governor from 1665 to 1668, and again from 1669 to 1672 A.D.) directing him to go to Rishi Pîr and present him with a *jâgîr* on his behalf, and ordering, further, that the rishi should thenceforth be called not only by the title of *Pâdshâh*, but by that of *Pâdshâh-i-har dû jahân*. The governor went and presented him with a *sanad* for a *jâgîr* for ten villages in the Devsar *pargana*.

The Muhammadan tradition is that, after Aurangzeb had sent his orderly to arrest Rishi Pîr, some of his ministers assured the emperor that it was a false report of the seal engraver that Rishi Pîr desired to assume the sovereignty of Kashmîr, he being a holy man to whom worldly power was repugnant. The emperor thereupon issued a second order, countermanding the first and commanding that Rishi Pîr should be called by the title of *Pâdshâh-i-har dû jahân* (' king of both worlds,' *i.e.*, of this world and the next). Thenceforth Rishi Pîr was called by this title.

Once Ṛishi Pîr was invited to a feast by Shâh Muḥammad *alias* Âkhûnd Mullâ Shâh,* of Badakhshân (tutor of Dârâ Shikoh, eldest brother of Aurangzeb), who used to reside in the Dârâ Maḥall built by Dârâ Shikoh. The monastery of polished stone of great architectural beauty (built by Jahân Ârâ Begam in 1650 A.D. at a cost of Rs. 60,000) which is still extant, was attached to the Dârâ Maḥall. The above buildings are situated on the southern slope of the Harî Parbat hill, commanding a picturesque landscape. Ṛishi Pîr knew by inspiration that the intention of the Mullâ was to destroy his caste. He, however, accepted the invitation on the condition that the food cooked should be served entire on covered plates and nothing should be eaten by anybody before he himself removed the covers. Mullâ Shâh agreed to this. He got rice boiled and fowls cooked by Muhammadan cooks. Ṛishi Pîr, humbly and meagrely garbed as usual, went to Mullâ Shâh's residence at the appointed hour. In the words of Kipling, "he scarce had need to doff his pride or slough the dross of earth." The door-keeper, not knowing him, would not let him in, thinking that he could not be the guest of the evening, for whom such great preparations were being made. He expected that he would be a great personage dressed in shawls and lace and would be accompanied by an escort. Ṛishi Pîr returned home and, after casting off his humble habiliments and dressing himself in raiment gaudy and gay, went again to the feast, taking a large number of disciples with him. When he reached Mullâ Shâh's residence, the door-keeper this time saluted him and unbarred the gate that he might pass through the gallery to the reception hall. Mullâ Shâh received him with due honours. When he took his seat in the brilliantly lit and richly decorated hall, the host, who was a renowned composer of sacred verses (having composed one hundred thousand couplets of mystic poetry unfolding his knowledge of God and spiritual truth), expressed his intense pleasure by welcoming him in the following Persian couplet :—

امشب شاه شاہان مہمان شد است مارا
جبریل با ملایک دربان شد است مارا

An emperor has become our guest tonight ;
Gabriel, together with the angels, has become our door-keeper.

One of Ṛishi Pîr's chief disciples, Aita Shâh Malang, in reference to the above, recited the following Persian couplet :—

در کار گاه وحدت کثرت چہ کار آید
ہژدہ ہزار عالم یکسان شد است مارا

What availeth plurality in the glorious hall of oneness (with God).
Eighteen thousand worlds have become all the same to us.

Then Ṛishi Pîr put an end to this oratory, which savoured of egotism, by repeating the following Persian couplet :—

در مذہب گدایان مرسل نبی نہ گُنجد
سامان بینوایان سامان شد است مارا

In the religion of the mendicants there is no room for the apostle (or) the prophet.
The Wealth of the Indigent (God) has become our wealth.

After this, the plates, duly covered with lids, were brought before the party. Ṛishi Pîr stretched out his long sleeves and bade them eat. The guests present sat mute in wonder at this strange behaviour. On being asked by the host what he meant by it, Ṛishi Pîr related the whole story of how he had been treated by the door-keeper when he had come in his ordinary clothing, and how he was received when he came again arrayed in elegant attire, and exclaimed ironically that man counted nothing, but clothing was everything. Mullâ Shâh asked for his pardon, saying that the door-keeper was unacquainted with him. Ṛishi Pîr now asked the party to take off the lids from the plates laid before them. They did so, and lo ! fowls came out alive. One fowl was without a leg, and, on inquiry, it was found that a cook had eaten it to test whether salt had been added in due quantity. Ṛishi Pîr told

* He died at Lahore in 1661 A.D., and was buried close to the tomb of his master, Miân Mîr. He had been summoned there by Aurangzeb at the instance of Dârâ Shikoh's enemies.

the cook to give his own leg to the fowl to replace the one he had eaten. One of his disciples, however, pointed out that a human leg on a fowl would look monstrous. Âkhûnd Mullâ Shâh felt ashamed at all this and asked pardon from Ṛishi Pîr. And those people who had thought that he was going to lose his caste became equally ashamed and marvelled at his supernatural powers.

Ṛishi Pîr then returned home. Mullâ Shâh went to see two ascetics named Saiyid Kamâl, *alias* Thaga Bâbâ, and Amîr Murâdâz, both of whom were living near the Wâtal Kadal Bridge, and told them what had occurred at the feast he wanted to give to Ṛishi Pîr. They advised him not to entangle himself by playing jokes upon such a holy man in future and to send a letter of apology for what had occurred. Mullâ Shâh returned and wrote to Ṛishi Pîr the following epistle in exceedingly submissive terms, asking for direction in the seemingly conflicting theistic theories :—

ازین ہیچ ولد ہیچ بن ہیچ ہیچ تر از ہیچ دعا رسد - اگر گویم ہیچم یا رب میفرماید که من

تو ام - اگر گویم او من ام شریعت میفرماید ادب گو - حل کرده جواب مهربانی فرمایند -

"Compliments presented by me, an ignoramus, son of an ignoramus, grandson of an ignoramus, humblest of the humble. If I say I am humble, God says 'I am thou'; If I say 'I am He,' religion taboos it as impertinence. Please solve this dilemma and reply."

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

In the (London) *Morning Post* the Indian special correspondent telegraphs as follows on 8 August 1930 :

"Since Kohidaman is a stronghold of the former adherents of Bacha-i-Sakko, who was executed by King Nadir after his brief tenure of the throne, there is grave apprehension that the present insurgence of the Afridis on the North-West frontier might develop into serious proportions and envelop Afghanistan proper, and also thereby endanger King Nadir.

Trouble among the Kohidamans arose on July 31 last, when they attempted the recovery of rifles belonging to the Afghan Government. The incidents, briefly summarised, are that the Kohidamans attacked the Governor there, who was killed after his escort had been overpowered. Lorries conveying Government troops were ambushed by these rebels, who were subsequently dispersed and driven off to the hills."

Being unaware, apparently, that *Koh-i-dâman* means the 'skirt' mountains, or 'foot hills,' and misled by the termination *man*, the correspondent treats "the Kohidamans" as an Afghan tribe. One wonders almost why he did not write "Kohidamen," like the "Mussulmen" quoted elsewhere in these pages. At any rate a new "Hobson-Jobson" has been fairly started.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON, Part VI, Mughal Painting. By A. K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in.; pages 114, with frontispiece in colour and 74 plates. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

The collection of Mughal paintings in the Boston Museum includes the well known Ross and Goloubew collections and contains a very representative series of paintings and drawings of the reigns of the Mughal emperors, from Akbar to Aurangzeb, as well as examples of the "late Mughal," "Dakhanî" and "Patna" schools. These are described with appropriate detail in this Catalogue by that expert in Indian art, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, with a historical introduction, a bibliography of Muhammadan painting and three useful indexes. Akbar, who inherited from his father and grandfather a keen appreciation of art and literature, having consolidated the empire upon a firm basis, was the first of the dynasty to have leisure to devote to the systematic encouragement of art, both indigenous and imported. It must be remembered that painting had attained a high standard of merit in India from very early times ; and the indigenous talent was fully prepared to assimilate the influences of the art of Persia, a further infiltration of which came with Humâyûn on his return from exile in that country, and of the art of Herat and Central Asia that had entered with Bâbur and his followers. Akbar appears to have maintained a large school of painting at Fathpur Sîkrî, where the majority of the artists were probably Hindus, to judge from the list of famous painters of his time given by Abul Fazl, who adds, regarding the work of Hindu artists : "Their pictures surpass our conceptions of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them." Under his son, Jahângîr, who (characteristically !) dilates in his *Tûzuk* on his own acumen in judging painting, portraiture of the miniature type

reached a stage of remarkable perfection. It became so fashionable, however, among the great nobles and the richer public as to lead in his son, Shâh Jahân's time, by extensive copying of the authentic originals, to the development of type portraits, and, except in the hands of the best artists, to the loss of those finer touches that reveal personality. The meticulous care of the portrait painters led, further, to the production of wonderful likenesses of animals, birds and flowers, often introduced as an exquisite framework round the central theme.

It is difficult to compare the finished gem of Mughal painting with the broad and vigorous lines of the crowded scenes on the frescoes of Ajanta. Both were remarkable in their own styles. Hands and feet, in particular, are naturally and beautifully delineated at Ajanta; and we find the Mughal artists using the hands with special skill to break the outlines of the stiff pose of the standing figure, *e.g.*, by drawing them resting on the sword hilt or holding some other weapon, or turning over the leaves of a book, or by perching a falcon on the hand, and in other ways. The work of the Mughal school is perhaps chiefly treasured for its extreme delicacy of execution. A striking example is that reproduced on Plate XXXII (Death of 'Inâyat Khân), of which there is a brilliant painting among the Ouseley MSS. at the Bodleian, illustrated in Mr. Binyon's *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*. Plate XXXV shows a fine border, or frame, depicting huntsmen, flying geese and ducks and flowers; and Plates LIV and LV, good examples of calligraphy. Akbar was specially fond of having illustrations made for his favourite books: examples of these, from the *Hamza-nâma*, *Rasikapriyâ* and *Mahâbhârata*, will be found on Plates I, VIII-XIX and XX.

It is very interesting to compare the views expressed in this work with those of M. Ivan Stchoukine (in his recent volume, *La Peinture Indienne à l'époque des Grands Moghols*), who comes to the conclusions apparently that the influence of Persia on Mughal painting was not profound and that its essential character was derived from indigenous sources, and that the rigid distinction usually drawn between Mughal and Râjpût painting is not maintainable from the artistic point of view. Dr. Coomaraswamy is of opinion, on the other hand, that while certain Indian elements are recognizable, "Mughal painting remains an entirely distinct creation, and cannot be described as dependent on contemporary Indian painting."

The plates are clearly reproduced, and the transliteration of Indian names and Persian words is carefully done on the whole. The *Catalogue* will prove an indispensable guide to the collections.

C. E. A. W. O.

L'OEUVRE DE SVEN HEDIN ET L'OROGRAPHIE DU TIBET, par M. EMMANUEL DE MARGERIE. 10×6½ in.; pages 139; with 29 illustrations and maps. Paris, 1929.

Between the years 1917 and 1922 the celebrated Swedish traveller and explorer, Sven Hedin, published a monumental work entitled *Southern Tibet. Discoveries in Former Times compared with my own Researches in 1906-08*, comprising nine thick quarto volumes of text, with 599 plates, accompanied by 2 portfolios containing 98 maps and a folio album of 105 double plates, reproducing 552 panoramas drawn by the explorer himself. The huge bulk and high cost of this work place it out of the reach of most scholars; and all who are interested in the physical features of Tibet and the great mountain systems of south central Asia must feel deeply indebted to M. de Margerie for this admirable summary of all the essential facts presented by the explorer, whose knowledge of these regions is unsurpassed.

The photographs, sketches in black and white, water-colour drawings and maps are all dealt with in turn, and then the contents of each of the volumes of text is reviewed, not omitting the chapters written by expert collaborators on the geological and other scientific data collected. A just encomium is paid to the remarkable skill which Hedin shows in his drawings, to the vigour and clearness of his touch and absence of superfluous lines, and to the excellence of the photographic reproductions. The maps have been described sheet by sheet, and the orography and morphology of the regions portrayed and illustrated by sketch maps with the ability of an expert, whose own work in this branch of geography has earned world-wide recognition. An excellent survey has been given of the history, from the age of Ptolemy onwards, of the cartography of the areas concerned as well as of the history of exploration therein. In regard to his own explorative work, it is remarkable that Sven Hedin's personal narrative fills little more than one-sixth of the total text. He himself rightly attached greatest importance to his work in the "Transhimalaya," that is, in the region to the north of the Tsang-Po valley, lying roughly between 80 and 88 E. Long. and south of 32 N. Lat., an area with which his name must ever be associated.

This little book is a model of what such a synopsis should be. Omitting immaterial particulars, it supplies just sufficient detail in respect of subjects of permanent interest or special importance, disclosing the exercise of a careful discrimination. Well arranged and clearly written, it forms a notable tribute to the great value of the work done by Hedin in Tibet.

C. E. A. W. O.

REVUE DE FOLKLORE FRANÇAIS, organe de la Société du Folklore Français, Nos. 1 and 2, Jan.-Feb. 1930. L. Staude, 15 Rue des Grands-Augustins, Paris.

The French Folklore Society was founded in 1928 on the initiative of M. André Varagnac, but largely on the work of Sir James and Lady Frazer, who have also further greatly helped it by paying the cost of printing and distributing the first two numbers

of its Journal. It got to work in 1929 and on 14 Feb. it was addressed by Sir James at the Sorbonne.

With such a guide as Sir James Frazer it has set about its work in the proper manner and has formed "Regional Committees" to enquire into local folklore on a fixed plan, so that the folk-ideas of all France can in time be got together in a definite manner. In this way it has attracted a number of serious and influential folklorists. This work has found a commencement in No. 2 of the Society's issues with enquiries into the Folklore of the Île de France and of Artois round Arras.

The Society is thus started on what we cannot but hope will be a very useful career.

R. C. TEMPLE

OUTLINES OF TIBETO-BURMAN LINGUISTIC MORPHOLOGY, by STUART N. WOLFENDEN. Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication Fund, vol. XII. London, 1929; pp. xv + 216.

This is a book of exceptional importance, which will no doubt form the point of departure for several fruitful lines of research in the linguistic history of the Tibeto-Burman group, and in particular of the two written languages, Tibetan and Burmese, and the various unwritten dialects, Kachin, Bodo, Nâgâ, Kuki-Chin, etc., which lie geographically, and also apparently morphologically, between the two.

Mr. Wolfenden has not only succeeded in working out a rational explanation of the extraordinary agglomerations of unvocalized consonantal prefixes which are such a feature of Tibetan, but has also succeeded in relating them to similar but less ossified prefixes in the other languages of the group.

The result proves to be unexpectedly interesting. Mr. Wolfenden gives good reason for recognizing in these prefixes the remains of quasi-pronominal suffixes, both subjective and objective, and also infixes of a prepositional nature. The similarity to the Sumerian system of prefixes must strike any comparative philologist. While the full machinery of neither system has been satisfactorily worked out, it would obviously be premature to regard any relationship as definitely proved, but Mr. Wolfenden has at any rate produced, and put in order, a large quantity of valuable new evidence, which will help us to work out linguistic relationships in this part of the world.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE MOGULS. By D. PANT. pp. x + 281, Bombay, Taraporevala Sons & Co. Rs. 6 net.

This is a successful thesis for the Dublin Ph.D. and is introduced by Lord Meston in a kindly foreword. The writer has collected most, though not all, of the relevant passages within the limited circle of his reading. He has also collected much else, so that the bulk of the book may be described as a rather sketchy economic survey, with excursions into other departments of knowledge, from which it is not altogether easy to disentangle the matter relevant to the title. The main weakness of the book lies in the limitations of the author's reading. With very few exceptions, the authorities cited are ordinary library books, some of them obsolete, and important mines of information are ignored. For the English records, the writer relies on Sir W. Foster's *Calendars*, but his reading of them stops at 1664, and it is somewhat rash to pronounce confidently on Aurangzeb's commercial policy without looking at the records for the last 43 years of his reign. The writer is apparently unaware of the existence of a body of Dutch records more important even than the English for this particular study; and he knows the Persian literature only from such translations as exist. The effect of this last weakness is seen in his excursions into general history, which are characterised by numerous blunders and some of the most unfortunate guesses I have ever seen in print. Taken as a whole, the book cannot be recommended to serious students.

W. H. M.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MUSSULMEN.

The common Indian expression Musalman for Muslim, a Muhammadan, is really a Persian plural form of the Arabic "Muslim," "saved," and means strictly "the Muhammadans." It is, however, in practice a proper name and an adjective, and in English usage has its own plural Musalmans. But the English forms Mussulman, Musselman, Musalman have always led those with no Oriental knowledge to look at the *man* as an English termination put on to some Oriental name like Mussul, Mussel, and so there has always been a false plural found for it, Mussulmen, Musselmen; and indeed in one case quoted *ante* (XXII, 112) Musselwoman has been used. In the same way the English created Burman, Burmans out of a sham term Burma, made out of the vernacular Mrammâ, pronounced Bamâ, accent on the last syllable.

The old error as to Musalman still continues, and in the *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. XVI, No. 3, July 1930, in an exceptionally intelligent article dealing with the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, we read, p. 245: "The carracks of the Order were invaluable in actions against the Musselmen [in. c. 1500]." To show that the above is not a printer's error we read (p. 253): "Sixty Christians and 700 Musselmen are reported to have fallen [in 1440]." Lastly, I suspect that the writer pronounced "Mussulman" as an English word when he wrote on the same page: "On the death of King John of Cyprus, in 1459, his bastard son James sold himself to the Mamelukes [Mamluk rulers of Egypt], and turning Mussulman, seized the crown of Cyprus from his half-sister Carlotta."

There was no need to use Musselman or Musselmen, as the writer uses the common (and not in itself incorrect) form Moslem for Muslim several times on p. 253.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[25. 8 OCTOBER 1712.]

Dear Sir,

On the 5th of this month past arrived the *Malborough*. Meeting with 3 French ships off Point Palmerie, she made a running fight for 2 or 3 days, and by her sayling well upon the wind, escaped them. I sent severall letters to you by her and other ships, which may never reach your hands, so shall write all the heads in this by the patamarr.

[Here follows a summary of the directions previously given regarding money due from Messrs. Foulkes, Stibs, Browne, &c. and the bill of exchange for Thomas Dixon.]

Captain Greenhaugh disputed with me to have more comission then I and to goe head. I allowed him half, but he was not satisfied, so we had a tryall before our owners, and I gained my point to goe head, and he was laughed at by most people. I find that I shall have but a troublesome companion of him, but I am resolved not to bate him an inch.

We were just ready to goe, but a storm happening on the 4 and 5 of this month, made our ship (after all his expences in fitting) so leakey that we had 5 foot 4 inches water in the hold, and if the storm had not bated, should have sunk or come ashoare. We have damaged a great many of the freight bales. We are now stopping our leakes and shall goe, if please God, in 2 or 3 days more.

This day I received two of your oblidging letters per *Chenapatnam* and *Recovery*, wherein you tell me that you put my business with Messrs. Russell and Feake to arbitration, and hope that I will abide by what you doe. You may assure yourself that whatever you doe with my affairs I shall think well done.

As for my goeing to China and Surratt the next year, I beleive that nothing will come of it, for I hear that Mr. Phips goes from Bombay, and weither I shall gett any subscriptions or noe tis very doubtfull. No news of the *Heriot*, but hope to find her on the Mallabar coast. I am very glad to hear of the *Howlands* safety, but not a little concerned at Mr. Jones staying behind; hope he may doe well and gett his gold a great deal cheaper, for I hope he made a new contract with the China merchants. Mr. Bennett is in hopes of goeing to China with you the next year. He pretends to have a great interest with the Government. I hope you may goe, so it be to your satisfaction, be with who it will.

I have sold my garden house to Mannutche, designing to send my wife home the next year to live with my mother and so to follow in a few yeares myself, if I can gett a little more money, for I find maintaining a family here is very chargeable.

Give my service to Mr. Starkes and tell him that I received his oblidging letter and that he need not fear Mr. Legg for a rivall, tho' his mistrisses eyes getts him some every day; but young girles are generall[y] very constant to their first lover, so that, let him but gett a little money, he need not fear a wife: they will hop to his armes as sparrows to a hatt.

I beleive now I have tired you so will conclude, dear Sir

Your most oblidged humble servant

J. S.

Please to give my servise to all freinds, especially your family.

Madrass the 8th October 1712.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 25.]

This month past. Really, the "present" month. The *Diary and Consultation Book* of Fort St. George, 1712, records the incident described by Scattergood as follows:—

"5th October. Ship *Marlbro* Captain Mathew Martin Commander returned into this road.

"At a Consultation. Present: Edward Harrison Esqr. Governor and President [and seven members of Council].

"Captain Mathew Martin of the *Marlbro* delivers in a Journall of his being chas'd by three French ships off Point Palmeras the 4th, 5th and 6th ulto. as also of his being engaged with the biggest and the least for severall hours." The "Journall" however does not

appear to have been preserved, but from "General Letters" dated 14 October 1712 (*Despatches to England*, 1711-14, pp. 44, 80) sent to the Company a clear account of the affair can be obtained :

Para. 35. "On the 27th of August wee dispatch'd the *Marlborough* for Bengall with seventy two chests containing five hundred and four thousand rupees [and] one hundred twenty one bales of callicoes.

Para. 221. "On the 5th instant arrived ship *Marlbro* Captain Matthew Martin, and acquaints us that on the 4th ulto. he mett off the False Point of Palmeras with three French ships, two of fifty to sixty guns and one of twenty six or thereabouts ; when he first saw them they were so farr seperated from each other that he did not take them to be enemies, though his ship was prudently made ready for defence ; the biggest ship and the little one gott well up with him about noon, and severall broadsides were exchang'd, till a fresh gale springing up, the *Marlbro* had the advantage of sailing, but so very little, that they chas'd her all that day and the two following allmost as farr as Bimlepatam, and on the 7th in the morning she lost them in a squall of wind and rain and made the best of her way hither, because they spread themselves in such a manner, that she could not gett to the northward of them, without being tore to peices, and if they had chased her into Ballasore road, she must have run a shoar for want of a Pilot or been taken ; we have unladen the treasure that was on board her, and wait to here further advices of the enemy before she proceeds : Captain Martin requested us in behalf of his ships Company, to give them a gratuity of two per cent upon the cargo, according to Act of Parliament, for the defence of it, which we think is an affair more proper to come before Your Honours when the ship returns, which was the answer we gave him."

The Company's comment on the encounter was as follows (Letter to Fort St. George dated 13 January 1713, *Despatches from England*, 1713-14) :—

Para. 24. "We were extreamly pleased to read the account of Captain Martin's good conduct in extricating himself from the French in his way down to Ballasore as well for the general benefit of all concerned in the ship as for our own large stock aboard and the disappointment of the enemy. When it pleases God he returns to us, we shall not be wanting in a suitable encouragement to him and his men, which you did well in letting him know you would leave to us, as you also did in sending him in company of the *Dartmouth* &ca. ships dispatcht by you till they were out of the Ponticherry track."

A storm happening (Para. 4 of document No. 25 above). The General Letter from Fort St George, noted above, comments thus on the storm :

Para. 220. 'On the 4th instant we had a sort of monsoon, in which severall ships lost their anchors and putt to sea ; by good providence it did not last long, but two ships foundered at an anchor. . . one small vessel was cast away near Sadrass ; which is all the damage we hear of, except that the vast rains which fell at the Fort St. David in the same storm have intirely laid all our bounds under water, and washed down some of the works."

Chenapatnam and *Recovery*. The *Chinnapatnam*, Senr. Calacto Commander, sailed for Manila on 24 March 1712 (*Fort St. George Diary*), and the *Recovery*, Captain Joseph Beale Commander, sailed for Bengal on 17 September 1712, but the *Diary* does not chronicle their return on 8 October.

Mannutche. Nicolas Manucci, the "Pepys of India." See W. Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, Indian Texts Series.

It seems probable, as will be explained later, that it was during his enforced delay in Madras, after making his final preparations for his voyage to Surat, that Scattergood acquired the interesting contemporary accounts of Divi Island and of Junkceylon found among his *Papers*. Therefore, before following the *St. Andrew* up the Malabar Coast and recording

her supercargo's business success at Bombay and Surat, it has been thought best to insert the two isolated descriptions at this point.

[26.] A DESCRIPTION OF DEWY (TAKEN PARTLY FROM THE NATIVES) OF METCHLEPATAN AND THE MOORS GOVERNMENT WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS IN THE MEDICAL ART.[1]

Dewy is a Gentowe word signifying an island.[2] When there is several that lye together they are distinguisht by adding some other word, as Gutten Dewy, an island near Ingeram.[3]

Dewy is a flat island but not without riseing ground in several places, and higher land then the adjacent Continent, as appeared when the sea broke over its boundarys, laying Metchlepotan under water and carrying several vessells many miles up the country, when little damage was don upon Dewy,[4] which appears at sea to be of a round shape or figure, and two thirds of it to be surrounded by it [the sea], and as near as can be judged (without surveying), a hundred English miles in circumference.[5] That part which is divided from the Continent by the River Kisney [Kistna] is about forty miles, that is to say, from Chiplear to Metchlepotan,[6] according to the opinion of an English gentleman that travelled it overland. This River Kisney breaks in upon the Island in several places, branching out, and embraceing a good number of islands, three of which are said to be considerable ones, but are all comprehended under the name of Dewry [Divî]. The greater rivers cutt their way through the Island and runn eastward into the sea, whilst the lesser ones, flowing more slowly, are lost in winding streams.[7]

The fertility of the Island has long since invited the Dutch to get it into their possession They well perceiving that the land will abundantly recompence the tillers care, they have had an eye upon the excellent pastorage, flowry meadows and such fine grass where the cattle feed, that they looked upon it as Fatherland, and the yallow butter to be as good as that of Holland, which alone, with the help of cabbage and scapes, from which they are no starters,[8] makes a Dutch man fat at Metchlepotan as soon as in Amsterdam.

Whilst the pleased spectator views the green livery of the fields and open country, there appears to his sight wildernesses and woods, one of which is said to be of a larg extent, where wild bulls. horses and most sorts of wild beasts shelter themselves. There the tyger, that ravenous animal, and others of the savage host. range without controulment, kil mankind without distinction. The tusky boar and all fall a prey alike to 'em. The spotted deer creeps amongst the bushes, whilst the nimble antilopes [*sic*] scours the plains where the hunts man does not frequent, and fears not his near approach. They give him the conveniency of standing at what distance he pleases to shoot amongst their harmless flocks.

Of all fower footed beasts, the hunting the hare gives the most delight, especially to ladys who love to pursue the harmonious noise of a pack of beagles noe bigger then lap dogs *Inter quadrupides, gloria prima Lepus* (Martial).[9] This sport upon Dewy is hardly practicable. The watchfull puss will not run for it but suffers her self to be knockt in the head with a stick or a stone, and are in such plenty that they may be found sitting in towns as well as in the fields.

The rivers are full of excellent fish, and hardly a tree which is not adorned with the peacocks train. Here the English Chiefs used to divert themselfs in the month of February,[10] pitching their tents under a banian tree, remarkable for the large extent of ground it covers.

This Island, so fit for agriculture and merchandizeing, has but few inhabitants upon it, which is occasioned by a constant tyranical government, formerly of the Moors and now of the Rajowe that has it in possession,[11] the annual revenues of the King not amounting to above 7 or 8 thousand pagodas, which is raised from the produce of grain, oyl, seeds and salt, an inconsiderable summ to what they may amount to after the English have it for some years in their possession, especially when the whole Island is inhabited with merchants and

others who will come there for the advantage of tradeing, others for the security of their persons and estates, expecting protection and justice. Those that live in Metchlepotan country will be the more inclinable to live upon Dewy, because there [in Masulipatam] is not only a bad government [12] but a constant scarcity of grain and other things. If what they want of eatables be not annually imported, the inhabitants would not be able to live upon the place, although indulgent Heaven takes care of 'em in sending rain in due season. Yet what falls there is lost as to the production of grain.

The inhabitants [13] are generally employed in makeing chints, which is carryed as far as Dely [Delhi], the chay root [14] growing at Pettipole [15] and upon Dewy in perfection which, with the agreeableness of that water, gives a greater lustre then any other, and makes the chints so valluable. Yet, if the government gave incourigment, there would be people enough besides to till the ground.

If Madrass [which] (when the English first settled the place) seemed by nature designed only for fishermen and the country for shepherds to dwell in, has been capable of such improvements as at present to shew a prospect of inclosures and avenues, green walks, broad shady trees and flowry gardens, all growing up out of a heap of sand, and the fields without [outside], the verdure of a continual spring of corn and other productions, what greater improvements then may be expected from Dewy, which is watered with a fresh and large river that overflows its bancks and fattens the ground as Nile does that of Egypt; and what is the narrow bounds or fruitfull soyl of Tevenapatam [16] to the extent and soyl of Dewy, the situation of which alone, lying in the high road to the Mogulls Court, will make it the emporium of the East for traffick, as Metchlepotan once was; and when it flowrishes under the English Colours, the former place, in comparison to it, will be as little vallued as a casket is to its jewel.

The Right Honble. Company will be here supplyd with all sorts of callicoes that are made on the Coast, and with some that are made no where else, as superfine long cloth and gingham sheets, and it will be able to supply other countrys also. The cotton tree and sugar canes will grow, and the teak tree will grace the woods. The rivers may be made navigable, commodious and pleasant to sayl in, and some of the barrs, of which they say there is 7 or 8, may be cleared, as in Holland, for larg shipps to enter in. If not, Ingeram Island,[17] which lay almost in sight will supply the defect, where the Company has ground given 'em and where the best teak growes.

The Island has been 5 or 6 years in Rajowe Opparos possession.[18] He made himself master of it, as the Northern Rajowes usually doe, by taking an oppertunity of a Nabobs death, or when out of place, by throwing up a mudd fort at once and putting in men and provissions, after which he makes it up for a present with the next Nabob that comes.

The Dutch say they offered the King of Gulleunday two hundred thousand pagodas for Dewy, and they had a Phirmand [19] or his Royal Promise for it, but after maturer thoughts the King recalled the grant and gave 'em Pollicull, with the territoryes belonging,[20] in lieu of it. After[wards] they had a grant of Aurenz Zeb,[21] which he also recalld. Noe doubts but they who know that it may be a more proffitable place then their Batavia or Zelon, and love so much to rival the English in trade, laments their loss of it. According to the report Sir William Norris did endeavour to get it for the New English Company alsoe.[22]

The Moors government is tyranical, from the highest in power to a Hobladar,[23] but the tyranny does not always lodg in the King. Aureng Zeb in his declineing years would have putt an end to the unhappy and inhuman customs of his sons fighting for the Crown by settleing it in his life time on his eldest son Sho Allum.[24] He was likewise desireous to have given a Phirmand to Sir William Norris and an other to the Zar of Moscovys Embassador for some priviledges about the Caspian Sea.[25] Yet he was not able to effect any of these. And King Sho Allum had not a despotick Soveraignity during his reign. He had little more power then one of the Dukes of Venice, and much adoe to keep upon his throne.[26] The Dutch Embassador could get no Phirmand from him.[27] When he sent his Embassador

Gusbadar to Metchlepatam for the English present,[28] "You know," he said to him, "my father was very desireous to have given the English a Phirmand. I could not. My Omrahs [29] do what they please. I order you to promise no Phirmand. It is in my power to confirm their old priviledges, which I will doe, but I am not sure of giveing 'em new ones. I desire only to se the face of one or two English men. I vallew not silver or gold. Bring only a few rarietys that may be putt in my lap. You know what disturbance there is amongst em in parting of bales of cloth and bulky goods, which I never se."[30]

These Gusbadars have free access to the King, whose chop,[31] or seal, is putt on their turbitts [32] and on their horses, and have a mace carryed before 'em. They have power to clear Junckanes [33] and to press the people to carry the Kings present and to cutt down the tents over the heads of those that refuse to goe to the King in the limited time, which happen'd to be done to Sho Allum, when Aureng Zeb told the Gusbbadar that he had don right.[34] And when they are sent upon an expedition, they take place of Vice Roys, Nabobs and all others that are not of the Royal Family. There is an inferior sort which carry the Kings letters.[35] Such an one was sent to Sir William Norris, who desired him to goe and order the Governor to let his hackerys [36] (or coaches), camells, &ca., to pass, which wire stopt a little way out of Metchlepotan for customes, as they did not belong to the Old Company.[37] When Sir William found the Gusbadar had not the power to doe it he resolved to embarck for Surat and the Governor who had orders to stop him, durst not venture to attempt it. He went off unreconciled with Consul Pitt,[38] who he blamed wrongfully. The scuffling letters that passed after betwixt Madrass and that place sufficiently shewed that he was as sincerely concerned for the New Companys interest as Governor Pitt was for the Old ones. Sir William was the occasion himself of the loss of that journey, by throwing away such summs of money for the people to scramble for, which made him suspected to be a P——t [pirate]. The Kings officers believed he had taken some ships and did not come honestly by the money and represented him to Court accordingly.[39]

Metchlepotan lyes about three miles to the North West from Dewy surrounded with marrish and swampy ground. The streets are regular and the houses built all of teak, two story high. There is a bridg upwards of a mile long, of thick teak planck, which shews it to have been *Regis opus*.[40]

The King of Gulleunday honoured the English by first visiting 'em in their Factory, and in particular Mr. Fleetwood by goeing to se him at his own house at Norus Porum.[41] There was a throne made for him in the Factory. He was desireous to hear Divine Service, and highly commended the decency and order of it. He went on board of an English ship in the Road [42] and a hunting upon Dewy.[43] He was a comely person, of a merry disposition, generous and curteous to all. Had he kept the English and other Europeans in his service at Guleunday it was believed Aureng Zeb had not taken this Kingdome.[44]

Tis customary for an English Chief to pay a visit to a Nabob, the Phousdar and Wakeneves,[45] and ask leave upon the exportation or importation of goods. The Wakanaves business is to write to the King of all occurrances, and the Nabob, who is generally a servant of him that rents the country, is affraid of doeing any thing without his consent and approbation. The inhabitants have a great love and respect for the English and those of the Government are as much affraid of 'em. They have all of 'em known or heard of the strength and courage of Sir Edward Winter of Couch [46] and the English that burnt their vessells and set their Banksal on fire, anno 1705, when the English Factory was beseiged by the Kings Duans forces, on account of protecting the New Company[s] merchants, &ca. customes they had promised to pay.[47] Mr. Symon Holcomb, Chief of Vizagopatan, who had then considerable effects lodged in the Factory, sent him a threatening letter, that if he continued to hinder his business, he would make him repent it. The beseigers hearing a country drum at the North gate, concluded the Vizaggopatan [38] soldiers were come, and every one of 'em run away, some in such hast that they left their guns behind 'em,[49] and there was a clear stage

for near half an hour. About this time the Duan [50] received advices from Pettipolee [51] that an English vessell was arrived at Chipplear [52] full of soldiers ; at the same time a letter from Governor Pitt that he would set the town on fire if he did not withdraw his people from the Factory. This Duan was then Nabob of the country. Yet he quaked for fear after an unaccountable manner and sent to the Factory in a begging manner to have matters accommodated.[53]

When the English first settled at Metchlepotan,[54] before diseases were contracted from the punch bowle, or strong fiery spirits drunk upon empty stomachs to quencht the central heat, tis written the English dyed there as fast as rotten sheep, but after they found a way to bring wine from Persia, the lives of many of 'em were saved. In the year 1700 Sir William Norris, Consul Pitt[55] and the New Company gentlemen brought out plenty of Florence[56] and the best of wines, but they unhappily chuseing rather to imitate the Romanes in the declincing age of that Empire in drincking and eating all sorts of flesh and fish together, then the natives of Metchlepotan. Whoever would be an epicure, let him eat of that excellent salt fish and rice and drink cold water upon it, and by custome he will find it to rellish better then the nicest viands. Most of 'em were soon sent to their long homes. They dyed of intermitting fevers, dysenterys and impostumes[57] in the liver.

Cort. Peru,[58] that admirable specifick, when rightly administred, fails here as seldome as any where of its desired effect and is also of great use in fluxes,[59] and in reality worth half the remedyes in an apothecarys shop. The inflamation of the liver is taken off and impostunations prevented by large phlebotony in the begining, so long as the patient is able to stand or stagger under 'em, and by starveing the disease out by a lowe dyet, after the same manner as in perfect rheumatismes. Their physicions were at first ignorant of the disease and its symptom, a pain in the right shoulder, till their Secretary, one of the last that dyed,[60] was opened.

Here it may be objected that several of the gentlemen lived moderately, and some by rule, yet dyed as soon as the others. To which may be answered, that every constitution will not admit of such a change, especialy in sickly places, as will inevitable happen from the climate it self. The curious machin is in imminent danger of being overthrown, because the bloud will putt on such a disposition as is suitable to the air and dyet of the place, especially in young people, some of which suffers the fatigue in Madrass, the healthfullest place, three or fower years before the country becomes natural and their bodys assimilated thereunto. Those that are turned of forty, health is more steddy in them and they are subject to less chang. People live longer or shorter according to their temperament or proportion of the fower principal elements which compose *punctus saliens,* that minute origin of man. Adam had first a *temperamentum ad pondus* or parity of the quallitys given him, and after his fall such a mixture, by a physical chang, as kept fast the seeds of distempers for several hundred years, for certainly the Antidiluvian Fathers enjoyed a steddy state of health the greatest part of their life ; otherwise it will be hard to determine by physilogy[61] how they lived so long, and as mankind was to increase and people the world, so birds and beasts were to stock it with their kind. Hence it may be concluded that they also had at first a temperament of long life given 'em when they were few in number and seldome lost their way in strang mountains according to Virgil, who follows the Moisaical system in the formation of the universe.

Rara ignotas errent animalia montes.[62]

"The lofty mountains feed the savage race,

Yet few and strangers, in th'unpeopl'd place."[63]

DRYDEN.

It was customary to goe to Madapollam as soon as any where seized with a violent disease which was usually found the best remedy, the air there being pure, sweet, and free from saline particles and such pernicious ones as the other place is sometimes stuffed with, and much cooler, from the fine soly[64] dureing the land winds, then tis at any settlement on the Coast. The desart and sandy ground to the westward of Madrass and Fort St. David,[65] and barren

mountains at Vizagopatam reflect the hot rays of the sun and give such an additional heat as makes those winds very troublesome, but especially from the salt ground at Metchelepotan that is as fiery hot there as at Commeroon[66] in Persia. Many inhabitants at Metchlepotan preserve their lives by dayly indulging themselves with a moderate dose of opium, and some are lusty, vigorous and strong at a hundred years of age, which shews that the medicinal vertue of this excellent drug does consist in preventing distempers and not in cureing of 'em. They begin to take it about twenty years of age, and live free from all diseases and are never observed to catch cold. The natives in Ginea are said to have a certain root or fruit, called Tantarobois,[67] which is full of bitter seeds, and them they mixt with their foods, which proves very proffitable to their healths, so that they live strong and lusty to very great ages.

Mr. Noden[68] preserves his health at Metchlepotan by a full and liberal feeding upon vegetable food, currys, &ca., made after the Portugeese fashion, and has already past his *Viridis Senectus,* and stands fair for a rejuvinessency, but this is still oweing to a good temperament. Doctor Willis,[69] with all his skill in the medical science, could not out live the flower of his age in his native country, and Mrs. Noden lived in Metchlepatam[70] or India 40 or 50 years and dyed about 90 years old. If shee had been Eve shee would not have lost Paradise by intemperance in drinking.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 26.]

[1] Beyond the title there is no information of the authorship of the monograph. It is not in Scattergood's hand nor does it resemble his style of writing. It seems therefore likely that it was compiled by one of his numerous European friends in Madras and presented to him as having a special interest in Masulipatam and Dîvî on account of his father's connection with those places, for he would have heard from his mother of the visit of Abdu'l-hasan Shâh of Golconda to Dîvî in December 1678 and the part played by John Scattergood senior in the entertainment of that monarch (see vol. LII, p. 23).

The date of the document can only be approximately determined from internal evidence. It was written after the death of "Shoa Allum" (Shâh 'Âlam I or Bahâdur Shâh I), as this monarch is spoken of in the past tense, and before the death of Philip Noden, an agent of the English at Masulipatam, whose good health is the subject of remark. Shâh 'Âlam I died 18 February 1712, and Noden in May 1718. The period can be further narrowed, since the grant of Dîvî Island from King Farrukhsiyar (who succeeded Shâh 'Âlam I) was one of the concessions obtained by the Surman Embassy (1714-1717). The writer makes no direct mention of the Embassy nor of the request for Dîvî, although his remarks indicate a hope that the British may soon have possession of the place. It seems therefore likely that the account was written soon after the first tender of the Island to the authorities at Fort St. George in January 1712 and before a formal application was made for it to the Mogul. This points to 1712 or early in 1713 as the date of compilation, and Scattergood may have acquired the MS. soon after it was written, or, later on, in 1717, when the island was granted to the English, and his friend, Richard Horden, a member of Council at Fort St. George, was appointed Deputy Governor.

[2] *Dîvî,* Tel. from Skt. *dvîpa,* island. By "Gentowe" the writer means Hindu. The form most in use was Gentoo or Gentue, a corruption of Port. *Gentio.* See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Gentoo.

[3] Guttinadîvî near Inzarâm. Guttinadîvî is not now an island, and its name is said to be derived from Tel. *gutti,* cluster and *adavî,* forest. It is correct that it is close to Inzarâm, which is near the mouth of the Godāvarī river.

[4] The writer is referring to the cyclone of 13 October 1679. For contemporary accounts see *Diaries of Streynsham Master,* ed. Temple, II, 300-303.

[5] Dîvî is a low headland surrounded by shoal flats for six miles south and east, and though it escaped the fate of Masulipatam in 1679, it is liable to inundation, causing loss of lives and property, in severe gales.

[6] Chippalêr, close to Zûvvaladinne, 26 miles N.N.E. of Nellore. The name **Masulipatam** is given as Metchlepotan throughout this account.

[7] The writer is somewhat confused here. His "greater rivers" seem to refer to the mouths of the Kistna and his "lesses ones" to the small deltaic channels belonging to the same river.

[8] "Cabbage and scapes, from which they are no starters"=cabbage and scapes to which they are constant. For various examples of the obsolete phrase "to be no starter" from 1536-1704, see the *Oxford English Dict.*, *s.v.* Starter. Scape (L. *scapus*, It. *scapo*), a flower-stalk, stem, also the shaft of a column (Stormonth's *Dict.*). The term is perhaps here applied to "root" vegetables, such as carrots and parsnips, as distinct from "greens."

[9] The allusion is to Martial's *Epigrams*, XIII, 92, but the quotation is incorrect. It should run: *Inter quadripedes mattea prima lepus.*

[10] It was in March, 1679, however, that Streynsham Master visited Dîvî and "went a hunting of wild hoggs" there (*Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, II, 139).

[11] The writer is wrong. Dîvî was not "formerly" under the government of the "Moors" (Muhammadans), but under the Nûzvîdu Zemindars, for whose history see Mackenzie, *Manual of the Kistna Dist.*, p. 295. The usurping "Rajowe" will be noticed later on.

[12] For the Nawâbs of Masulipatam, see Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

[13] Here the writer seems to have gone back to speak of Dîvî.

[14] Chayroot, Tam. *châyavêr, chirval* wood (*Oldenlandia umbellata*), used for dyeing cotton and silk cloths, the colouring matter being in the bark of the root. The Council at Fort St. George, commenting to the Company on the offer made to them of the Island (see below note [18]), remarked:

> "The Island is very fertile and productive of a great many valuable things, particularly the best Chay root in great quantitys, and the water is incomparably good for painting."

[15] Peddapalle in Tenâli *tâluk*, Guntur District. The English had a factory at the neighbouring village of Nizâmpatam, known as Pettipolee Factory, up to 1687, when it was abandoned. (See *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, II, 136, n. 7, 138, n. 2.)

[16] Tegnapatam (Tam. Têvenâmbattanam), the native name of the site of Fort St. David, where the Dutch had a factory.

[17] Inzarâm (see *ante*, note [3]) is now, however, not an island, but is situated near the mouth of the Godâvarî river. An English factory was established there in 1708.

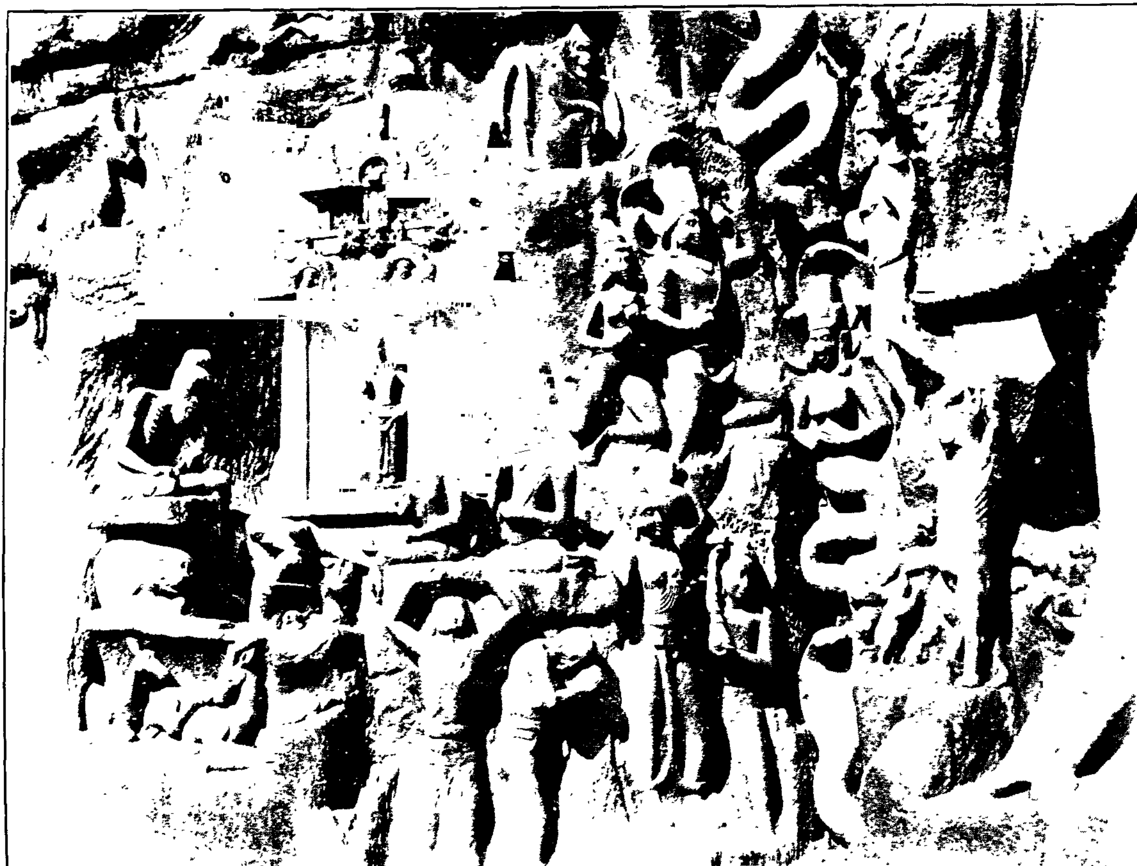
[18] By "Rajowe Oppero" Rajah Appa Rao one of the Nûzvîdu Zemindars, is apparently meant. The title Appa Rao was conferred on Appanna (Vijaya, the 'Victorious'), a noted member of the family, in 1667 after which date it was used to designate all the Nûzvîdu Zemindars. See Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

This particular Appa Rao, however, seems to have been a usurper, for the Council of Fort St. George, in their General Letter to the Company of 14 October 1712 (*Despatches to England*, 1711-14, p. 55), wrote as follows:

> "We have had an offer made us of Due Island near Metchlepatam by one Upperow, a Gentue freebooter that has possession of it at present, and wants our force to maintain him in it. We returnd him a very civill answer, but did not think it in our power to undertake a thing of this nature without your Honours permission, which would undoubtedly put us to very considerable expences before we should be able to reap any advantage from it."

The offer of the Island was made to the Council of Fort St. George through the "chief Braminy" at Masulipatam and was recorded in Consultation of 17 January 1711 12. The Council was urged "to solicit for it by means of the persons that accompany our present to Court [*i.e.*, to Shâh 'Âlam] and in the [mean] time to send down soldiers and take possession of it." (*Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George*, 1712, p. 8.)

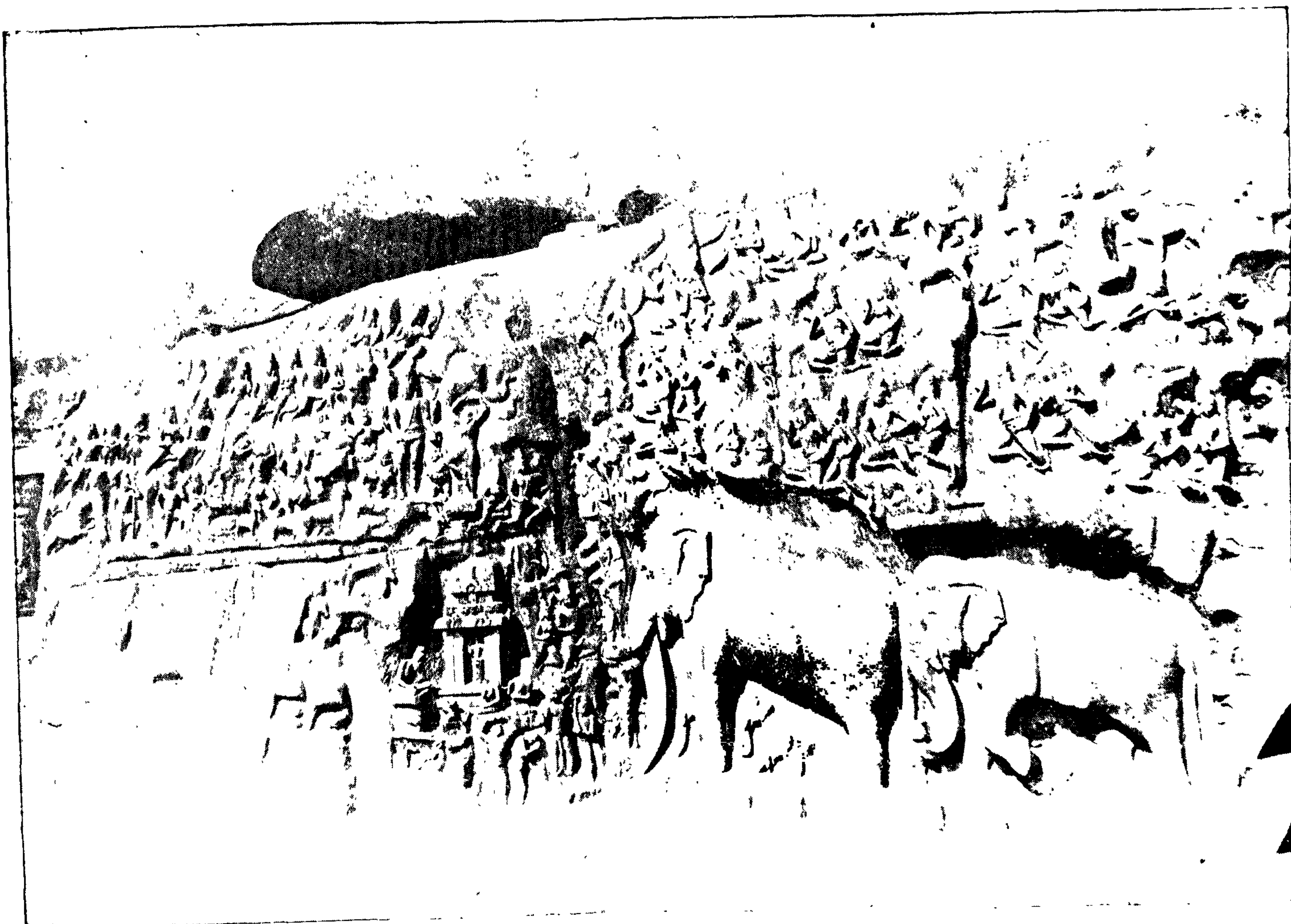
Plate II.



ROCK SCULPTURE AT MAHABALIPUR: DETAILS.
VISHNU'S TEMPLE AND SURROUNDINGS.

Plate III.

ROCK SCULPTURE AT MAHABALIPUR: DETAILS.



ROCK SCULPTURE AT MAHABALIPUR. GENERAL VIEW.
VISHNU'S PARADEVATA PARAMARTHYA.

VISHNU'S PARADEVATA PARAMÂRTHYA SCULPTURED AT MAHÂBALIPUR.

BY R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR, M.A.

PROFESSOR S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has described at length the antiquities of Mahâbalipur in the March number of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1917[1] and has given a short account of the attempts made by various scholars ever since 1788 to identify the sculpture. With regard to the bas-relief which has hitherto been known as Arjuna's Penance, Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil of Pondicherry, who has been devoting much time to original research, refuses to accept the popular designation of the relief and identifies it as Bhagîratha's Penance. Subsequent to this Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, after carefully examining the circumstances, concluded that the name Arjuna's Penance is the correct one and that the designation given by Prof. Dubreuil is hardly appropriate. Even Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, S. Circle, in his article on Pallava Architecture, Part II, published as a *Memoir* of the Archæological Survey of India, explains (p. 44) that the scene represents Śiva in the form of Bhikshâṭana arriving at Brahmakapalam in the Himâlaya to get himself released of the sin incurred by cutting off one of the heads of Brahma. He also says: "There can be little doubt that the whole scene is a symbolical representation of the Ganges flowing from the Himalayas. The rock is mount Kailâsa, and the cascade that once flowed down the cleft represented the sacred Ganga. The figure of Śiva seems to have been introduced mainly with the object of making it quite clear that the rock represents the Himalayas." If that were the case, why should all forms of life be represented ? and why should there be a Vishṇu temple with worshippers below ? and what is the object in representing the Himâlaya at Mahâbalipuram ? No scholar has yet taken the trouble to enter into the merits of the question. This paper is intended to explain what the bas-relief represents and what are the five monoliths which are called till now *Rathas*.

Before proceeding to explain the meaning of the bas-relief, it is essential to understand the religious conditions at Mahâbalipuram at the time. As early as the time of Pûdattâḻvâr the place was an important seat of Vishṇu worship. That Âḻvâr addresses Vishṇu as treating Mâmallai as his favourite abode. A great effort must subsequently have been made to convert it to Śaivism. That it did become devoted to the worship of Śiva is evident from the inscriptions carved on the walls of the Gaṇeśa Ratha, Dharmarâja Maṇḍapa, Râmânuja Maṇḍapa and the rock-cut cave at Sâluvanguppaṃ. There is a *śloka* (verse) which runs as follows :—

धिक्केषा न्धिक्केषा म्पुनरपि धिग्धिग्धिगस्तुधिक्केषाम् ।
येषान्नवसाति हृदये कुपथगति विमोक्षकोरुद्र : ॥

which means :—"Six times cursed be those in whose heart does not dwell Rudra (Śiva), the deliverer from walking on the evil path."

This clearly shows that Śiva worship was then predominant. The Gaṇeśa Ratha, the Shore Temple, Mahishamardinî Maṇḍapa, Dharmarâja Ratha and the rock-cut temple at Sâluvanguppaṃ were all places where Śiva was worshipped. We can see also that work was in progress on a big scale for housing the five *mûrtis* of a Śiva temple in the five rock-cut temples now popularly known as the Pañchapâṇḍava Rathas.

Subsequently a sectarian revival seems to have occurred, and the place became celebrated for its devotion to the worship of Vishṇu ; and it has continued to be a centre of Vaishṇavism down to the present day. Tirumangai Âḻvâr has sung several verses in praise of Talaśayana (स्थलशयन, 'reclining on the ground') Vishṇu, who was reclining on Mahâbalipuram. Again, we have the bas-reliefs depicting Śrî Krishṇa in the act of lifting Mt. Govardhana, as well as the Varâha temple, indicating the prevalence of Vishṇu worship. As we have abundant testimony proving that the place had become an important seat of Vishṇu worship at so early a period, it is evident that the Vaishṇava influence must have

[1] Reference is also invited to Dr. Aiyangar's later article in the December, 1928, and January and February, 1929, issues of the *Journal*.

been strong enough to uproot Śaivism. Some powerful force must have operated to bring about this change ; and this was probably the influence of the then ruling kings.

Among the Trimûrtis, *viz.*, Brahma, Vishṇu and Śiva, there had always been rivalry for supremacy between Vishṇu and Śiva. Some claimed that Śiva was the supreme deity, and others Vishṇu. If Vishṇu were proclaimed supreme, it was the duty of either Brahma or Śiva to contest the claim. As Brahma, in consequence of a curse, had been denied the privilege of having a temple, it falls to the lot of Śiva to oppose the fact. If Śiva himself were to declare that Vishṇu is the supreme deity, then the whole world would accept his statement without opposition. As Mahâbalipuram had already become staunchly devoted to the worship of Śiva, this expedient had to be used to change the minds of the people. But for this it would have been very difficult to change the local worship from Śiva to Vishṇu. To afford further testimony of the fact that Śiva had made this declaration, it was considered desirable to represent the fact in the sculpture carved on the face of the rock, which has ever since been known locally as Arjuna's penance. There is also a Puranic story in support of this statement. There is a story in the *Padmottara-Purâṇa* that holding a red hot axe in his hand Śiva proclaimed to the whole world that Vishṇu was the supreme being. Holding a red hot iron in the hand is a Hindu form of making an asseveration. This fact is mentioned in *Paramatabhaṅga*, a work in Tamil by Śrî Nigamanta Mahâdeśika.

" மாதவனே பரனென்று வையங்காண
மழுவேந்தி மயல்தீர்க்க வல்லதேவன்
கைதவமொன்று கந்தவரைக் கடியசாபங்
கதுவியனு யதின்பலத்தைக் கருதிப்பண்டை
வேதநெறியணுகாத விலங்குதாவி வேறாக
விரித்துரைத்த விகற்பமெல்லாம்
ஓதுவது குத்திரத்துக் கென்றுரைத்தா
னோதாதே யோதுவிக்கு மொருவன்றானே ".

"The supreme god Nârâyaṇa, who without learning from anybody, is capable of teaching others, declared the study of Śaiva, Pâśupata, Kapâlika and Kâlamukha *tantras*, all a deceit. All these are outside the time-honoured path of the Veda and taught by *Śiva, who axe (or a red hot iron) in hand could proclaim to all the world that Vishṇu is the supreme deity.* Śiva taught these in order to give effect to the curse of the sage Gautama that those who set up to examine eternal truths may suffer in false belief."[2]

Let us now describe the bas-relief in the light of the new fact stated above. The relief is carved on the sloping face of a huge rock, divided into two parts by a cleft in the middle. It is through this cleft that the rain water falling on the hill flows down and collects in the tank at the foot of the hill. The scene is divided into two parts, the one to illustrate Śiva's declaration to the world, and the other to show Vishṇu's temple with several worshippers [see Pl. I and also Pl. XXIX (*a*) and (*b*) in *A.S.I. Memoir* No. XXXIII]. The upper half of the proper right and the whole of the proper left have been devoted to illustrating Śiva's declaration, and the lower half of the proper right has been utilized to depict Vishṇu and his worshippers. This latter part has not been completely carved ; it has been left unfinished. A multitude of forms of life, from birds to Devas, *i.e.*, from the lowest to the highest, are sculptured on the upper half of the proper right and the whole of the proper left of the side of the rock. Kinnaras, Kinnarîs, Kimpurushas, Apsaras, Sûrya and Chandra and the Devas, too, are represented as running to hear the words of Śiva, who appears very prominently in the relief. Those on the proper right are raising their left hand towards their left ears, while those on the proper left are raising their right hand towards their right ear, to indicate their efforts to hear every word that issued from the lips of Śiva. The other hand in each case seems to be in the *añjali* pose. This shows

[2] *Paramatabhaṅga*, stanza 41.

the respect they feel for the person of Śiva. A pair, probably a husband and wife, is running towards the cleft near the feet of a person who is worshipping Śiva, and who has been hitherto considered to be Arjuna. These two persons alone appear to be going away from Śiva. They are running quickly to the waterfall, to wash their hands and feet in order to purify themselves before approaching Śiva. It seems that they are running quickly, so as not to miss the words of Śiva. The person who has all along been regarded as Arjuna is a worshipper of Śiva, and is practising *hata-yoga* by standing on one leg in order to please the god.

The natural waterfall has been utilized by the sculptor to represent Nâgas and Nâginîs, as if they were issuing from the lower world to hear the teaching of Śiva. Thus all forms of creation have been represented, and each is depicted as if eager to hear the words of Śiva. The lower half of the left side consists of a temple where an image of Vishṇu is set up. All around there are worshippers. One is offering libations, one is performing his midday prayer (*sandhyâ-vandanam*) and is addressing the sun in the prescribed form. Others are performing contemplation (*japam*) in sitting posture. One is holding a pot of water and directing another to go to the temple, as may be surmised from the position of his two fingers, which are pointing to the temple .The water is intended for bathing the image of Vishṇu. It is called *tirumañjana kuḍam*. The other figure holding a twisted object in the hand has been supposed till now to be holding a cornucopia, or horn of plenty. [See Pl. II or Pl. XXXI (*a*), in *A.S.I. Memoir* No. XXXIII.] The twisted object is held at the bottom by the left hand and at the top by the right hand. If it were a cornucopia it could have been held by one hand, and the mouth would have appeared open and not as shown in the figure. The left thumb is seen in the middle, near the end of the twisted object. As the object is held by both hands, and as it is in a twisted condition, it appears that the man, after washing Vishṇu's cloth, is squeezing the water out of it, by twisting the ends with his hands. That is precisely how cloths are wrung after washing even at the present day. Thus there is no reason for the cornucopia suggestion. Why should western ideas be imported where everything is entirely eastern ? Thus the lower half of the proper right side consists of a Vishṇu temple and worshippers. This is entirely different from the rest of the scene. It is to this Vishṇu that Śiva is pointing with his left hand. (See Pl. III or Pl. XXX in *A.S.I. Memoir* No. XXXIII.) Śiva is holding a long staff with a lotus-like object at its end, a sort of mace (*gadâ*), to denote that he is making an asseveration. As Vishṇu is here declared to be the supreme deity he is enshrined in a temple. Any deity that is worshipped should always have a *vitâna*, or canopy, over it, to indicate its importance. This is generally the case in South India. Another point that we have to note is, that Śiva has no *vitâna* over his head. He stands in the open air, but Vishṇu, to whom Śiva is pointing as the supreme, has got a canopy. Thus Śiva is proclaiming to all the world, which is represented by all manner of beings, both articulate and inarticulate, that Vishṇu is the supreme deity. Śiva is the prominent object in the upper half, and Vishṇu enshrined in the temple is the prominent figure in the lower half. By such means a place which was once a stronghold of Śaivism was changed to Vaishṇavism. This expedient was necessary to guide the common people. Consistently with this view we have the relief where Śrî Kṛishṇa is holding up Mt. Govardhana to afford protection to the Gopîs and Gopas, who were experiencing unendurable suffering from the incessant rain brought on by Indra. Thus the bas-relief, which has up till now been called "Arjuna's Penance," may hereafter be called Vishṇu's *Paradevatâ Pâramârthya* Relief. In order to have more effect on the people, another sculpture similar to this was carved on the side of a rock about a quarter of a mile to the south of this big sculpture : but this is in an unfinished condition. [See Pl. XXXIII (*a*) in *A. S. I. Memoir* No. XXXIII.]

Similarly, another error has been committed by all scholars with regard to the identification of the so-called Panchapâṇḍava Rathas. There are five rock-cut shrines. In all Śaivite temples there are five shrines to house the five *mûrtis* (images), namely, Śiva, Pârvatî, or Amman, Subrahmanya, Gaṇeśa, and Chandikeśvara. These five rock-cut temples

were intended to house these *mûrtis*. Some are completely carved, while others were left partly carved. Some war or other disturbance may have arisen to cause the carving to be abandoned. We have also an inscription in the Dharmarâja Ratha, which states that it is Atyanta Kâma Pallaveśvara Gṛiha, *i.e.*, the house of Śiva, who is also known by the title Atyanta Kâma Pallaveśvara. The figure of Sômaskandha carved, as the deity to be worshipped, on the back wall right opposite to the gateway of the room in the second floor of the Dharmarâja Ratha, will bear ample testimony to support the above statement.

We have now shown what the real nature of these sculptures at Mahâbalipuram is. The twisted object that is held in the hands by the person in the lower half of the proper right side of the so called Arjuna's Penance was taken to be a cornucopia, and this led Dr. Hultzch to infer that sculptors from North India had come and worked on these sculptures.

In 1914 when I was appointed as Archæological Assistant in the Government Museum, Madras, I was deputed to learn Archæological work under Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Southern Circle, under the orders of the Madras Government. He took me to Mahâbalipuram to train me in archæological work, and while he was teaching me what to see and how to make observations, he explained to me the so-called "Arjuna's Penance." It struck me, as I told him at the time, that the name Arjuna's Penance did not fit in with the situation, and that it must represent something else. Later on, when I had studied the question and found out what it represented, I told Mr. Longhurst that, in my opinion, the so-called Arjuna's Penance represents Vishṇu's Paradevatâ Pâramârthya, and, though he differed from me, he gave me some photographs, for which my special thanks are due to him, to enable me to publish an article on this subject. I got these photographs in April 1922. From that time I wanted to find out the source whence Nigamanta Mahâdeśika got the information embodied in verse 41 of his *Paramatabhaṅga*. The commentator on that verse has written that this has been taken from the *Padmottara Purâṇa*. I read the whole of a printed copy of *Padmottara Purâṇa*, and there Śiva tells Pârvatî that Vishṇu is the supreme deity (Paradevatâ).[3] Śiva's making an asseveration (शपथ), as stated in verse 41 of the *Paramatabhaṅga*, could not be traced. Finding that printed books were of no avail, I wanted to go through manuscript copies, but I could not get good and readable ones. I approached several eminent *paṇḍits*, and all of them are of opinion that the fact has been taken from *Padmottara Purâṇa*. As a good deal of time has already been spent fruitlessly, I do not want to delay publishing my views any longer. Śrî Nigamanta Mahâdeśika was a great scholar and lived about 1266 to 1369 A.D. By his sterling character he led an exemplary life, which others wanted to copy. Gifted with supreme intellect and learning, he composed a very large number of works, which are revered as a valuable heritage by Hindus. He is regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu himself, and is as such worshipped by all in all Vaishṇava temples. He never used to write anything without authority to support it. This is the case with all his works. His writings, therefore, should be taken as authoritative ; and on this ground I have made the identification set forth above, which explains satisfactorily the whole situation.

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[3] *Padmottara Purâṇa*, chapter 72, verses 97, 123.

ST. THOMAS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

By P. J. THOMAS, M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., Professor, University of Madras.

The following is a concise statement of the view that St. Thomas, the Apostle, must have visited and died in Southern India. Such a statement has become necessary, because several persons who write about the subject do not know exactly what the Thomas tradition is and why it is respected by those who have carefully studied it.

1. The Testimony of the Early Fathers.

Most of the early Fathers, whether Greek, Latin or Syrian, had a confirmed belief that the Apostle Thomas preached and died in India. As Dr. Mingana, who has examined many of them, puts it:—" There is no historian, no poet, no breviary, no liturgy, no writer of any kind who having the opportunity of speaking of Thomas does not associate his name with India . . . . Thomas and India in this respect are synonymous."[1] This belief was most pronounced among the early Syriac Fathers, who by their proximity to India claim the greatest reliability in this matter. According to Mingana, " To refer to all the Syrian and Christian Arab authors who speak of India in connection with Thomas would be equivalent to referring to all who have made mention of the name of Thomas."

The earliest known reference to St. Thomas in Syriac writings is in *the Doctrine of the Apostles*, which is of about 200 A.D. and cannot be later than 250 A.D. It says: " India and all its own countries and those bordering, even to the farthest sea, received the Apostle's hand of priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was guide and ruler of the Church he built there and ministered there."[2] This was written at Edessa, in Mesopotamia; about that time, the well-known historical romance, the *Acts of Thomas*, was composed in or around the same city by some anonymous Syriac writer, and in the fourth century St. Ephraim composed his incomparable hymns about the Apostle of India, narrating with pointed phrase how Thomas " purified a tainted land of dark people." " The sunburnt India thou hast made fair ".... " the cross of light has obliterated India's darkened shades."[3]

2. Which India?

Now, the question arises—Which is the India spoken of by the Fathers? According to recent critics, Persia and even Arabia have been mistaken for India. Modern writers who are acquainted with the mistakes made in this matter by mediæval European travellers have assumed that the same mistakes must have arisen in the case of the Greek and Syriac patristic writings also. But they forget that before the rise of Islam, India was better known to Greeks and Syrians, and that the testimony quoted above is that of men who lived on the banks of Tigris and Euphrates, on the overland trade route to India, and had ample facilities to know quite well where India was. As for the Greek Fathers, it would be absurd to say that they did not know India, seeing that the most authoritative of contemporary Greek writings on Geography and Trade—Pliny's *Natural History* (c. 50-60 A.D.), *Periplus Maris Erithræi* (c. 60 A.D.) and Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. 150 A.D.) knew India, especially South India, with a minuteness of topography that would amaze the moderns. By " India " they all meant the country lying in the Indian Ocean between the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges. By the discovery of the monsoon winds in c. 47 A.D., the voyage to India became a comparatively easy matter to the people of Western Asia, and every year numerous ships sailed from the Red Sea ports to the West Coast of India, *via* Socotra. As the monsoon winds directed the sailing ships straight to the Malabar Coast,—according to Pliny, Muziris (Cranganore)[4] was the first port touched in India—the Greeks and Arabs naturally knew that part of the country best, and had to

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1 A. Mingana, *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, pp. 15-16.

2 Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 33.

3 *S. Ephræmi Hymni* (Edit. Lamy), IV, p. 703. Wright's *Apocryphal Gospels*. See also Burkitt, *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*.

4 Cranganore was formerly the capital of Malabar (Chera Kingdom) but is now a petty village in Cochin State.

touch Malabar before they could proceed to any other place in India. Therefore the India of the early Fathers was first and foremost Southern India.[5]

3. The Indian Tradition.

There is an independent local tradition in India to support the patristic testimony above quoted. Three separate versions of it have been handed down, one held by the "Christians of St. Thomas" of Malabar, another by the Malabar Hindus, and a third by people around Mylapore. The first exists in ancient songs, whose antiquity cannot be accurately fixed; but the early European travellers (*e.g.*, Marco Polo, 1292 A.D.) have recorded the Malabar tradition, and the songs about St. Thomas were known to the first Portuguese sojourners in India. The existing written versions of these traditions are not of great antiquity, but this hardly detracts from their value. Epigraphy is of little help in regard to Malabar history; for, owing to damp air and heavy monsoons, neither cadjan leaves nor paper will keep long in that country. All ancient traditions had therefore to be periodically rewritten, and naturally embellishments must have been made from time to time.

The substance of the Malabar tradition is that St. Thomas after preaching the Gospel elsewhere, sailed from Arabia to India and landed in Cranganore about the year 50 A.D., travelled and preached all over South India, established seven churches in Malabar and many outside, ordained priests to succeed him, and in 68 A.D. received the crown of martyrdom in Mylapore. He is also said to have converted certain kings, one of whom is called 'Chola-perumal' in some versions and 'Kandaparaser' in others, besides many Brahman families of high position. Several miracles are also narrated. In some respects, the story resembles that contained in the Syriac work, the *Acts of Thomas* mentioned above; but the Malabar tradition cannot be a rendering of the *Acts of Thomas*, seeing that there are features in it which point to an independent origin; and this is confirmed by the existence of those features in certain early European writings about Thomas. Rather the probability is that the clever author of the *Acts* dramatized the simple story that came from India, spinning out many Indian names and incidents, and connecting the Apostle with an otherwise known Indo-Parthian King Gudapharasa. The *Acts* may be valuable or worthless, but the South Indian Tradition does not depend upon it, except that possibly it gave the theme for it.[6]

4. The Apostle's Tomb at Mylapore.

There is no doubt that the Malabar tradition has been embellished by later editors, but there is a substratum in it which is ancient and reliable. We shall here take only the story of the Apostle's death in Mylapore. At one time, this was regarded as a Portuguese fraud, but later research has considerably dispelled the doubts, and to-day it would be hazardous to question it, unless one could explain away the testimony of the numerous pre-Portuguese travellers who have written about St. Thomas' tomb there. To begin with the later ones, Barbosa (1518), Nicolo Conti (1440), John Marignoli (1350), Friar Odoric (1325) and Marco Polo (1292) visited and commented upon the tomb and the Church that stood near it and the many Syrian Christians that lived close by. Before them we have the testimony of the Muhammadan travellers of the ninth century who called it "Betuma" (House of Thomas). King Alfred is said to have sent offerings to St. Thomas in India (883 A.D.), and as no other place in India or anywhere else in the world ever claimed to possess St. Thomas' tomb, those offerings must have gone to Mylapore, if at all they went anywhere. Similarly references abound in Syriac writings about the tomb of St. Thomas in India. 'Amr, the Christian

[5] See on this subject, *Periplus* (ed. Schoff); Ptolemy's *Geography* (ed. McCrindle): Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* and Charlesworth, *Trade Routes of the Roman Empire*. For a summary, see P. J. Thomas, *The India of the Early Christian Fathers* (Young Men of India, January 1928).

[6] The best account of the Malabar tradition is in the Malayâlam work, *The Christians of St. Thomas* by the Rev. Bernard, a Syrian priest. For the Mylapore tradition, see the writer's paper in the *Report of the Indian Historical Records Commission* (1924).

Arab historian (1340) says distinctly that "his (Thomas') tomb is in the 'island' of Mailapore in India, on the right hand side of the altar, in his monastery."[7]

The monastery of Mylapore mentioned above has been mentioned also by the European travellers just quoted; but it existed in much earlier times. Gregory of Tours in the sixth century records the accounts which he heard from the monk Theodorus about "the church and monastery of striking dimensions" that stood near the tomb of St. Thomas in India. Lately valuable evidence for the existence of this monastery as early as the middle of the fourth century has been discovered. This is contained in a Syriac work called *Life of Hermit Yonân*, written about 390 A.D. by Zadoë, who calls himself "priest, monk and archimandrite of the monastery of St. Thomas in India"; and in this work it is said that Mar Yonân came from Anbar (modern Baghdad) into India to visit the said monastery. We know in other ways that this Mar Yonân lived about 350 A.D. Now that the existence of the tomb can be traced as far back as 350 A.D., it would be futile to consider it as a Portuguese fraud. Monks from Malabar and Persia seem to have lived there for many centuries, but in the fifteenth century the place seems to have fallen into ruins. The Portuguese renovated the place and built a beautiful church over the Apostle's tomb.[8]

5. An Indigenous Church in South India.

Many critics (*e.g.*, Milne Rae and Richard Garbe) have attributed the early Christianity of India to the evangelical efforts of 'Nestorian' missionaries from Persia. There is no doubt that Christians from Mesopotamia and Persia colonized on the Malabar coast between the fourth and ninth centuries A.D. According to tradition, a Syrian merchant called Knâyi-Thoma (Thomas of Cana) settled down in Malabar in the fourth century, accompanied by many followers, and this is quite probable, seeing that in the middle of the sixth century, Cosmas found in South India and Ceylon a community of Persian Christians with a Bishop of their own. But these colonists were never known in Malabar as missionaries; they were chiefly traders, and are said to have fraternized with the descendants of St. Thomas' converts. That there was in South India before the arrival of Persians an indigenous community of Christians is clear from the following independent lines of evidence.

Before the year 354 A.D., the Emperor Constantius is said to have sent a missionary called Theophilius to Arabia, Abyssinia, Ceylon and India. According to a contemporary historian, Theophilius preached the gospel in the Maldives and from there sailed to other parts of India, "and reformed many things which were not rightly done among them; for, they heard the reading of the Gospel in a sitting posture, and did other things which were repugnant to the Divine Law; and having reformed everything according to the holy usage, as was most acceptable to God, he also confirmed the dogma of the Church."[9] According to Medlycott and Mingana, this valuable statement implies the existence of (1) a resident congregation of the faithful, (2) Church services regularly held, at which the Gospels were read, and (3) consequently a ministering clergy. This Latin account squares very well with the Syriac text quoted above, from the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, which clearly says that India received the Apostle's *hand of priesthood* from Judas Thomas," and confirms the Malabar tradition that the Apostle consecrated priests in Malabar to follow in his footsteps.[10] Nor need there be any doubt that the Christians whom Theophilius found were indigenous. Although the "Apostolic

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7 Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, IV, p. 34.

8 On Mylapore and the Portuguese, see F. A. D'Cruz, *St. Thomas the Apostle in India*; the foreword by Bishop Teixeira.

9 See Abbé Migne, *Pat. Gr.*, lxv, 481-489. Quoted and commented in Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 178, and Mingana, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

10 The tradition is that four of the leading Brahman Christian families were raised to the privilege of priesthood. They were: Pakalomattam, Sankarapuri, Kalli and Kaliankavu. They still exist in Koravalangad, and the present writer is a lineal descendant. The Head of the Malabar Church, the Archdeacon, had to be selected from Pakalomattam—a practice which was continued among the Jacobites till a hundred years ago.

Constitutions" had laid down that the reading of the Gospel must be heard in a standing posture, and although this had been accepted all over the Christian world, western and eastern, the news of it had not reached the Indians, and they naturally continued to hear the Gospel in a sitting posture. We may remember in this connection that the Maldive Islands lie off the Malabar Coast, and were always in commercial contact with it.

Another independent source of evidence is the testimony of an early Muhammadan writer that Mani, the founder of Manichæism (born 215 A.D.), visited India to spread his rival creed, and this strengthens the Malabar tradition that the sorcerer Mani came to Malabar to pervert the converts of St. Thomas and that some of them succumbed to him. It is also known that, owing to persecution in Persia, Mani's followers migrated to India, China and other countries. One cannot say whether the well-known Manigramakars associated with Malabar Christians were Manichæans, but it is highly probable that Mani or his immediate disciples visited South India, and this lends support to the view that there were Christians in South India in the third century A.D.[11]

6. Conclusion.

Thus we have testimony from two independent sources about the mission of the Apostle Thomas in South India. On the one hand we have unequivocal evidence of the early Fathers that St. Thomas preached and died in India; on the other, we have in India itself a local tradition which receives more and more support as historical research advances. If the Apostle came to India at all he could not have normally avoided Malabar; and in Malabar itself we have a Christian community that claims Thomas as their founder and whose existence could be traced back to the early centuries of the Christian era. At least from the fourth century A.D. we have reliable evidence for the fact that Persian and Syrian Christians looked to Mylapore for the tomb of St. Thomas. One cannot understand why all these people looked for it on the barren shores of Mylapore, seeing that early Christian haunts were nearer home. If they, who knew the story of the *Acts* well, thought that it happened in Parthia or Afghanisthan (as the modern critics would have it), it is most strange that they looked for Thomas' tomb and Thomas' converts in South India, as they actually did. Considering the cumulative weight of all these different lines of evidence, it might seem that the mission of St. Thomas in South India is as satisfactorily proved as the great majority of events in India's ancient history.

Note on Bibliography.

Among the writers who have denied that St. Thomas came to South India are Milne Rae, a former professor of the Madras Christian College, in his *Syrian Church in India* (1892), Richard Garbe, professor at Tubingen, in his *Indien und das Christentum* (1914), W. R. Philipps, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1903-04), and Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., in the *Cath. Ency.*, vol. XIV. Among those who have affirmed it are Paulino, in *India Orientalis Christiana* (1794), Claudius Buchanan, in his *Christian Researches in Asia* (1814), Reginald Heber, in his *Journal*, Yule in his edition of Marco Polo, A. E. Medlycott, in his *India and the Apostle Thomas* (1905), Dahlmann, in his *Die Thomas Legende* (1912), A. Wath, in *Der Hl. Thomas der Apostel Indiens* (1925), Farquhar, in his two papers in the *Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library* (1926-27), and Father Hosten in various writings. Other works on the subject will be found among the footnotes. Dr. Mingana, the Syriac archivist, has brought out useful documents relevant to the subject in his *Early Spread of Christianity in India* printed in the *Bulletin* of John Ryland's Library (1926), but he adopts a non-committal attitude regarding the question of St. Thomas. Of the above writers, only Buchanan, Medlycott and Hosten studied the South Indian tradition on the spot. Buchanan, a pioneer Protestant missionary, after

[11] About the Muhammadan testimony, see *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Art: *Manichæism*). The Malabar tradition is that many families apostatized, and that when the first Syrian Colonists came (sometime in the middle of the fourth century) the Christian families (called *Tarsai*=orthodox, *Syr.*) were few and in a desolate condition. Some identify Mani with Manikavasagar, the Tamil Saiva devotee, but this is not convincing.

laborious researches, arrived at the conclusion that " we have as good testimony that Apostle Thomas died in India as that Apostle Peter died in Rome." (*Christian Researches* (1814), p. 135.) Bishop Heber, who died in South India, was even more sure about it. " It may be as readily believed," wrote he, " that St. Thomas was slain in Meilapur as that St. Paul was beheaded in Rome or that Leonidas fell at Thermopylae." (*Indian Journal*, II, 178.)

Vincent Smith, the famous historian, was at first sceptical about the Apostle's journey to South India but later, when he came into closer contact with the authorities, he wrote as follows :—" I am now satisfied that the Christian Church of Southern India is extremely ancient, whether it was founded by St. Thomas in person or not, and that its existence may be traced back to the third century with a high degree of probability. Mr. Milne Rae carried his sceptism too far when he attributed the establishment of the Christian congregations to missionaries from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates in the fifth and sixth centuries." *Early History of India* (1924), p. 250. Elsewhere he says :—" My personal impression, formed after much examination of the evidence is that the story of the martyrdom in Southern India is the better supported of the two versions of the Saint's Death." *Oxford History of India* (1923), p. 126. Had Smith been able to examine the testimony of Syriac fathers, now available in English, and had he studied Malabar tradition at closer quarters, it is possible that he would have gone much further in his affirmation of St. Thomas' connection with India.

The reason why many scholars are so sceptical about the matter seems to be (1) the iconoclastic attitude towards traditions introduced by the modern Prussian School of historians; (2) the imperfect acquaintance with sources which are not available in the European languages and a general disbelief in them ; and perhaps (3) a natural disinclination to believe how India, which lay outside the Roman empire and is identified with Hinduism, should possess the tomb of one of the twelve apostles of Jesus, a privilege which only one place in Europe and no other place in the world can claim. One wonders how many events in the history of the first century A.D. in India or elsewhere are better attested than the preaching of St. Thomas in South India.

THE DATE OF THE COMPILATION OF KAUṬALYA'S *ARTHA-ŚĀSTRA* (484-510 A.D.)

BY PRAN NATH, D.Sc., PH.D.

ONE of the most difficult questions in ancient Indian history is that of the date of the *Kauṭaliya artha-śâstra*. Controversy on the subject continues, no convincing or satisfactory solution having been arrived at. Most European scholars think the work was compiled in the Gupta period, while Indians generally hold that its author was *Câṇakya*, a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya. In *A study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India* I took it as representing the earlier Gupta period. Further study of the *Artha-śâstra* makes me think that it was probably composed between 484 and 510 A.D. The reasons for this conclusion are the following :—

1. The author of the Artha-śâstra lived somewhere near the seacoast.

A careful perusal of the *Artha-śâstra* shows that the author has selected a small territory, called *janapada*, approaching in area nearly to a modern *tahsîl*. The first chapter of the second part deals with its colonization (*janapada-niveśa*); the second with the distribution of land (*bhûmic-chidra-vidhâna*) ; the third with its protection by the erection of forts (*durga-vidhâna*) ; the fourth with the buildings, roads, ditches, gardens, store-houses, and so forth, within the forts; and the remaining chapters with the administration of the *janapada* and *durga*.

NOTE.—The following abbreviations have been used :—

Kauṭalya's *Artha-śâstra*, Saṃskṛta text, Mysore, 2nd edn. = K.S.

Trivandrum edn., 1924-25, edited with a commentary by Gaṇapati Śâstrin = Gaṇapati.

The *Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, 4th edn. (1924) = Smith.

English Translation of the *Artha-śâstra* by Dr. R. Shamasastry, 1st edn. = E. T.

German Translation by J. J. Meyer = Meyer.

The following features of the *janapada* throw some light on the date of the *Artha-śâstra* :—

(1) Kauṭalya lays down that "the interior of the kingdom shall be watched by Vâgurika, Śabara, Pulinda, Caṇḍâla and Araṇya-cara" (wild tribes).

In interpreting this passage it appears to me that wild tribes have been confounded with persons armed with some sort of traps, whereas the object of Kauṭalya appears to have been to utilize the local wild tribes for purposes of defence. When trusted, the wild tribes are extraordinarily faithful. They will not budge from the place where they are stationed, and will risk their lives in the performance of the duty assigned them. That is the reason why in some States such men are still appointed as treasury guards. It is plain from the instruction of Kauṭalya that one of the wild tribes near the capital were the Vâgurika, now represented by the Bâgri tribe, also known as Baoria or Badhak. The editor of the *Tribes and Castes of the C. P.* states that their origin is obscure, but they seem to have belonged to Gujarât, as their peculiar dialect still in use is impregnated with Gujarâtî. They are still found in considerable numbers in Gujarât and Central India.[1]

According to Ptolemy the Pulindai or Pulindas used to live to the north of Avantî (modern Ujjain), which according to his map and that of Lassen was surrounded on the west by Surâṣṭra, Kaccha, Mahârâṣṭra and Koṅkaṇa, on the south by the Vindhya and Satpura ranges, on the east and south-east by Mahâkośala and Gondiana and on the north by Râjpûtânâ. The well known Śavaras, who are mentioned in Vedic literature, lived in juxtaposition to the Pulindas, and the Caṇḍâlas are now represented by out-caste tribes. All of these were *araṇyacara* or forest-dwellers, who occupied the forests on all sides of Avantî.

(2) The second feature of Kauṭalya's *janapada* is that it was situated somewhere near a seacoast abounding in ports. In the chapter dealing with the *nâvadhyakṣa* (superintendent of ships) we read as follows :—

"The superintendent of ships shall examine the accounts relating to navigation, not only *on oceans and mouths of rivers*, but also on *lakes, natural or artificial*, and rivers in the vicinity of *sthânîya* and fortified cities. Villages on seashores or on the banks of rivers and lakes shall pay a fixed amount of tax (*klrptam*)—Merchants shall pay the customary toll levied in *port towns*—Those (—?) fishing out *conch shells and pearls* shall pay the requisite amount of hire (*naukâhâṭakam*) or they may make use of their own boats—The superintendent of ships shall strictly observe the customs prevalent in commercial towns (*paṭṭana*, 'port town'). Whenever a *weather-beaten ship* arrives at a *port town* he shall show fatherly kindness to it. —Ships that touch at *harbours* on their way may be requested the payment of toll. *Pirate ships* (*hiṃsrikâ*), vessels which are bound *for the country of an enemy* as well as those which have violated the customs and rules in force in *port towns* shall be destroyed."[2]

The words and passages which I have italicized above point to a country abounding in (1) seaports, (2) ships sailing for pearl fishery and (3) pirate vessels. The section dealing with *ulka-vyavahâra* (regulation of toll-dues) discloses that conch shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls and coral were important items of import.[3]

At the time of famine, the king was advised to remove himself with his subjects to the seashore or to the banks of rivers or lakes (*samudra-saras-taṭâkâni vâ saṃśrayeta*.[4] During drought or epidemic the worship of the sea (*varṣâvagrahe—mahâkaccha-pûjâḥ—kârayet.... Tena marko vyâkhyâtaḥ. Tîrthâbhiṣecanaṃ mahâkacca-vardhanaṃ kârayet*)[5] was considered efficacious and was entrusted to hermits who had committed an offence (*mahâkaccha-vardhanâni râjñaścareyuḥ*).[6]

2. Kauṭalya's king and his dominions.

The section treating of the duties of the *sîtâdhyakṣa* is very important, as it deals with the management of crown lands. *Sîtâdyakṣa*, according to Meyer, p. 177, means "Der Aufseher über die königlichen Ackerländerein," *i.e.*, the officer in charge of the crown lands

[1] Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, ii, 49-69.
[2] Shamasastry's English translation, pp. 139-40. The italics are mine.
[3] E. T., p. 124.
[4] K. S., p. 208.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

(*svabhûmiḥ*), the existence of which a recent writer also confirms. He says that these lands were "owned by the state and cultivated under the direct superintendence of the state (*sîtâdhyakṣa*)."[7]

The officer in charge of the crown lands was required to punish those who neglected their fields and produced less than the standard fixed by the government. According to Dr. Shamasastry the passage *teṣâm karmaphala-vinipâte tat-phalahânaṃ daṇḍaḥ*[8] means that "any loss due to the persons shall be punished with a fine equal to the loss.[9] But it has not been pointed out how this loss was to be reckoned, unless there was some sort of measure of normal produce. It appears to me that a standard produce per bigha (*pârideśa*) was fixed, varying with the agricultural circumstances of important tracts and that this is what is referred to by Kauṭalya: *ṣoḍaśa droṇaṃ jâṅgalânâṃ varṣa-pramâṇamadhyardhamânûpânâṃ deśavâpânâṃ ardha-trayodaś Âśmakânâṃ trayoviṃśatir Avantînâm amitam Aparântânâṃ Haimanyânâṃ ca kulyâ-vâpânaṃ ca kâlataḥ.*[10] Dr. Shamasastry thinks that this passage means that "The quantity of rain that falls in the country of Jâṅgala is 16 *droṇas*; half as much more in moist countries (*anûpânâm*); as to the countries which are fit for agriculture (*deśa vâpânâm*) 13½ *droṇas* in the country of Aśmakas; 23 *droṇas* in Avantî, and an immense quantity in western countries (*aparântânâm*) the borders of the Himâlaya, and the countries where water channels are made use of in agriculture (*kulyâvâpânâm*."[11] This cannot be correct, as will be shown presently. The point escaped the attention of Ganapati Sastri; but Herr Meyer, while following their translations in the main, suggested a new point about *anûpânâm deśavâpanâm* in a footnote.[12] The translations and the commentary in respect of the above passage are not accurate for the following reasons:—

(i) *Varṣa-pramâṇa* may mean a rain gauge, but here it means the standard of produce for the year. The *droṇas* in the passage refer to the standard share of produce fixed for the crown lands situated in the different countries.

(ii) *Haimanyânâṃ* does not mean the borders of the Himâlaya. According to Apte, *haimana* signifies wintry or cold. *Kulyâvâpa* denotes the crop irrigated by well, tank or water reservoir. *Haimanyânâṃ ca kulyâvâpânâṃ ca kâlataḥ* may be translated as "the crop grown in winter and irrigated (by well, tank, lake or water reservoir) should be ascertained according to the time."

(iii) *Amitam Aparântânâṃ* has been translated as "immense quantity in western countries." The meaning appears rather to be "the quantity of produce of the Aparânta *janapadas* is not known (or not ascertained)." According to my interpretation the whole passage means: "The annual measure (of produce to be taken as the king's due) is 16 *droṇas* in the country of Jâṅgala; 24 *droṇas* in moist (marshy or low) countries fit for agriculture; 13½ *droṇas* in the *janapadas* of Aśmaka; 23 *droṇas* in Avantî; the quantity in Aparânta is not measured; the crop grown in winter and irrigated (by well, pond, tank, lake, etc.), should be ascertained according to the time." Whatever may be the correct interpretation of *varṣa-pramâṇa*, so much is indisputably clear that Kauṭalya's king possessed landed properties in the following countries:—

I. Aparânta.
II. Aśmaka.
III. Avantî.
IV. Jâṅgala.
V. Anûpa deśa.

I. *Aparânta.* Herr Meyer and Ganapati Sastri both agree that *Aparânta* refers to the country of Koṅkaṇa. Haran Chandra Chakladar in his book, *Social Life in Ancient India: Studies in Vâtsyâyana's Kâmasûtra*, writes:—"As regards the location of the province, the commentary says that Aparânta country was situated near the western sea. It is now generally considered to be "Northern Koṅkaṇ with a capital at Śûrpâraka (now Sopara),

[7] V. R. R. C. Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 165. [8] K. S., p. 115.
[9] E. T., p. 127. [10] K. S., pp. 115-16. [11] E. T., p. 127. [12] Meyer, p. 178 n.

but very often the name appears to have been applied to designate a much wider region from Malabar to Sindh " (p. 87).

II. *Aśmaka.* According to Apte, Aśmaka is the name of a country in the south " probably an old name of Travancore." Herr Meyer and Dr. Shamasastry have both taken it to be Mahârâṣṭra.[13]

III. *Avantî.* This is the well known country of Mâlwâ, with its capital at Ujjain.

IV. *Jâṅgala.* Desert countries, probably the tracts adjacent to Mâlwâ on the north and north-west.

V. *Anûpa deśa.* Marshy countries. Possibly the name refers to the *janapadas* settled along the banks of the Narmadâ. The country was full of marshes and swamps. According to N. L. Dey it referred to the lower part of Mâlwâ, with its capital at Mhow near Indore, or to the country of the Haihayas. (See Geographical Dictionary, ed. 1899.)

If we take all these countries into consideration together, we find that they would form a political unit including Koṅkaṇa, Kaccha, Surâṣṭra, Sindh (Aparânta), some parts of Râjpûtânâ (Jâṅgala), Mâlwâ, with its capital at Ujjain (Avantî), the tracts along the banks of the Narmadâ and Tâptî (Anûpa-deśa) and Mahârâṣṭra (Aśmaka).

3. Historical evidence about the existence of the political unit referred to by Kauṭalya.

According to V. A. Smith, " The so-called 'Western Satraps' comprise two distinct dynasties, ruling in widely separated territories. The Kshaharâta satraps of Mahârâshṭra, with their capital probably at Nâsik in the Western Ghâts, who had established their power at some time in the first century after Christ, were destroyed by Gautamîputra, an Ândhra king, in or about 126 A.D., their dominions being annexed to the Ândhra monarchy. The second satrapy of the west, founded by the Śaka Chashtana at Ujjain in Mâlwâ, late in the first century after Christ, was immensely extended by Chashtana's grandson, Rudradâman I who at some date between 128 and 150 A.D., and probably before 130 A.D., conquered from Gautamîputra's son, Pulumâyi II, all or nearly all the territory which Gautamîputra had taken from the Kshaharâtas a few years earlier. The power of Rudradâman I was thus established not only over the peninsula of Surâshṭra, but also over Mâlwâ, Cutch, Sind, the Konkan, and other districts—in short, over Western India. The capital of Chashtana and his successors was Ujjain, one of the most ancient cities of India, the principal depôt for the commerce between the ports of the west and the interior, famous as a seat of learning and civilization, and also notable as the Indian Greenwich from which longitudes were reckoned."[14]

The small empire of Ujjain continued to be governed by Śaka satraps up to the time of Chandragupta II. The satrap Rudrasena sent an embassy to the emperor of Magadha. However, the latter was not satisfied : he annexed the kingdom of Ujjain. "The greatest military achievement of Chandragupta Vikramâditya was his advance to the Arabian Sea through Mâlwâ and Gujarât, and his subjugation of the peninsula of Surâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâr, which had been ruled for centuries by the Śaka dynasty, of foreign origin, known to European scholars as the Western Satraps."[15] After the death of Samudragupta the history of the Ujjain kingdom is not known. There is no doubt that in 458 A.D. Skandagupta defeated the Hûnas and took possession of the peninsula of Surâshṭra (Kâṭhiâwar)."[16] " About 465 A.D., a fresh swarm of nomads poured across the frontier, and occupied Gandhâra, or the north-western Panjâb, where a 'cruel and vindictive' chieftain usurped the throne of the Kushâns, and 'practised the most barbarous atrocities."[17] But the province of Mâlwâ continued from 484 to 510 to be governed by Budhagupta and Bhânugupta, who occupied a dependent position and were afraid of the Hûna chieftains.[18]

From the above description it is clear that the Mâlwâ empire continued as a political unit from 126 A.D. to 510 A.D. Kauṭalya's *Artha-śâstra* must fall within this period.

(*To be continued.*)

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[13] E. T., p. 127 n.; Meyer, p. 178, n. 3.
[14] Smith, *E.H.I.*, p. 308.
[15] Smith, *E.H.I.*, p. 307.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 327.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 328.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 332.

A BUDDHIST PARALLEL TO THE AVIMÂRAKA STORY.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH

No. 536 of the Buddhist Jâtaka stories (Kuṇâla-jâtaka; V, 412 ff. of Fausböll's edition) has for its theme the natural wickedness of women. The bird-king Kuṇâla delivers in it a long address on this subject to the cuckoo-king Puṇṇamukha and others, and in the course of it, mentions among the wicked women known to him, the princess Kuruṅgavî who, though in love with Eḷakamâraka, sinned with Chaḷaṅga-kumâra and his disciple Dhanantevâsî. The story referred to by him is related in full by the author of the *Jâtakatthavaṇṇanâ* (p. 428 ff.) and is as follows :—

King Brahmadatta once fought with and killed in battle the king of Kosala. He then took his kingdom and also his chief queen, and made her his chief queen, although she was pregnant at that time. Some time later, this queen gave birth to a handsome boy-child, and thinking that, if the boy grew up there, king Brahmadatta might at some time have him killed because he was the son of his enemy, she bade the nurse cover the child with a piece of cloth, and to carry it to the burial-ground and abandon it there. This was done; but the child's dead father constituted himself its guardian deity and impelled one of the goats grazing there to take compassion on the child and to go and suckle it frequently. The goatherd, seeing the goat going and coming frequently, followed it and found the child; and being childless, he took it home and gave it to his wife. She began to love it and to bring it up on goat's milk; but from that day onwards, the goats of the goatherd began to die by twos and threes every day; and he, apprehending that, if he kept the child, the whole herd would die, abandoned it in his turn by placing it in an earthen vessel and casting it adrift in a river. This vessel was found and the child rescued by a Caṇḍâla, who, being childless, adopted it and brought it up.

The child grew up into a handsome boy, and after he was sixteen years old, he used to go with his father every day to the king's palace and work there. He was there seen by princess Kuruṅgavî, the handsome daughter of king Brahmadatta; and the two fell in love with each other and carried on an intrigue unsuspected by others.

In course of time, this became known, and the king, becoming exceedingly wroth, was deliberating about the punishment to be inflicted on the daring Caṇḍâla youth. The king of Kosala, the guardian deity of the boy, then possessed the boy's mother and made her say that the boy was not a Caṇḍâla but her own son born to the king of Kosala, that she caused him to be abandoned in the burial-ground soon after birth, etc. Brahmadatta, on hearing this, questioned the nurse and others, and being convinced that the boy was in truth not a Caṇḍâla but the son of the Kosala king, gave his daughter to him in marriage. He was also named Eḷakamâraka because the goats had been killed by him.[1]

Brahmadatta then sent Eḷakamâraka with an army to Kosala to rule there; and because he was uneducated, a teacher named Chalaṅga-kumâra was also sent with him to instruct him in the arts and sciences. Eḷakamâraka made him his *senâpati*; and Kuruṅgavî committed adultery with him and also with his servant Dhanantevâsî, by whose hands Chalaṅga-kumâra used to send her presents of clothes, jewels and other things.

Leaving out of consideration the last paragraph, it will be seen that the story related in the Jâtaka° is essentially the same as that described in the *Avimâraka-nâṭaka*. *Avimâraka* and *eḷakamâraka* both mean 'goat-killer'; and in the play, as in the story, Goatkiller, who passes for a Caṇḍâla youth, sees and falls in love with princess Kuraṅgî or Kuruṅgavî (her name is given as Kuruṅga-devî in two of the MSS. used by Fausböll), who too falls in love with him and is given in marriage to him by her father after it becomes clear that the youth is not a Caṇḍâla, but is in reality the son of high-caste parents.

[1] This is somewhat obscure; for the author of the Jâtaka° has not on any occasion said that the boy had killed goats. The reference perhaps is to the circumstance of the goats of the goatherd dying after he took home the abandoned child.

There is thus no doubt that both the play and the story are concerned with the same persons and incidents, as likewise are *Kathâsaritsâgara*, 112, vv. 89-108, and the Jayamaṅgalâ commentary on Vâtsyâyana's *Kâmasûtra*, 5. 4. 14. There are, however, differences in detail between all these versions of the story, and I shall point out some of them here :

1. The hero is called Eḷakamâraka in the Jâtaka° because goats were killed by him, and Avimâraka in the Nâṭaka (because he killed a demon named Avi) and the Jaya° (because he was so strong even as a child that goats and sheep died when grasped by him).

The Kathâ° does not give his name, but merely calls him Mâtaṅgakumâra or Caṇḍâla's son.

2. The heroine is called Kuraṅgî in the Nâṭaka and Kathâ° ; her name is not given in the Jaya,° while in the Jâtaka° she is called Kuruṅgavî or Kuruṅgasundarî.

3. There is nothing said in the Jâtaka° about Goatkiller's saving the life of the princess. The other versions, however, make out that he saved her from an elephant. This incident took place in a park in the city according to the Jaya° and the Nâṭaka, and in a forest according to the Kathâ°.

4. The Nâṭaka and Jâtaka° make out that Goatkiller married the princess according to the Gândharva form ; the Jaya° too seems to suggest the same, while the Kathâ°, on the other hand, makes out that the marriage took place regularly.

5. Goatkiller's real father was the king of Kosala according to the Jâtaka° ; according to the other three versions, it was Agni, the god of fire.

6. Goatkiller's mother was a Brâhmaṇa maiden according to the Kathâ° and a Brâhmaṇa's young wife according to the Jaya°. According to the Jâtaka°, she was the chief queen of the king of Kosala (and of king Brahmadatta), and according to the Nâṭaka, the queen of Kâśirâja.

7. Goatkiller's foster-father was a *Śabara* according to the Jaya°, while, according to the Kathâ° and Jâtaka°, he was a Caṇḍâla. According to the Nâṭaka, he was a Kṣattriya, who temporarily, for the period of a year, was a Caṇḍâla.

Of these four versions of the story, that of the Jaya° is most free from supernatural elements ; it is more natural than the other three versions, and seems to be nearest to the original form of the story. The versions of the Nâṭaka and Jâtaka°, on the other hand, seem to diverge widely from the original story. That of the Nâṭaka has in it a great number of supernatural elements ; and there can be no doubt that they are, mostly, due to the author of the play, and have been introduced in order to embellish the plot. The divergences in the Jâtaka°, on the other hand, seem to be due to what may be called the habit of caricaturing, which the Buddhist writers indulged in when rewriting Brâhmanical stories[2] ; compare, for instance, the story of Kṛṣṇâ and the five Pâṇḍavas related by the author of the Jâtaka° on V. 426-7 of Fausböll's edition and the story of the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis related in the Ghata-jâtaka (no. 454 ; IV, p. 79 ff.).

Regarding the name Avimâraka or Eḷakamâraka, the explanations given of it in the above-cited versions are hardly satisfactory. It is difficult to believe that there was a demon who was named Avi ; and it is equally difficult to believe the far-fetched explanation given in the Jâtaka° that Eḷakamâraka was so called because two or three goats belonging to the goatherd used to die every day after he took home the abandoned child. Similarly, the explanation given in the Jaya°, too, is not very credible.

The reading *Eḷakakumâra*, therefore, that is found instead of *Eḷakamâraka* in two of the MSS. used by Fausböll (the same two MSS. as contain the reading *Kuruṅgasundarî* instead of *Kuruṅgavî*) is of interest in this connection. *Eḷakakumâra* means 'son of goats' ; and not only is it very common for infants separated from mothers (or of mothers who have no breast milk) to be brought up on goat's milk, but we find it explicitly said in Kathâ°, 112, 105 :

[2] Compare in this connection Albrecht Weber's observation, *Die Jaina haben die brahmanischen Sagen durchweg nach freier Willkür umgewandelt und ihren eigenen Phantasieen angepasst* made on a similar occasion on p. 474 of his *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften in der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. II.

tatas taṃ prâpya caṇḍâlair ajâkṣîreṇa vardhitaḥ, that the abandoned child was brought up on goat's milk. It seems to me, therefore, under the circumstances, that it is not too far-fetched to conjecture that the name of the hero of the story was originally Avikumâra and that this was in course of time corrupted into Avimâraka and explanations then invented in support of the corrupted name.

SCRAPS OF TIBETO-BURMAN FOLKLORE.

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from vol. LIX, page 187.*)

3. Temple Guardians.

"On either side (p. 53) of the great doorway [at Gyangtse] are two great images representing in all the four great guardian deities of the four quarters of the world. The Tibetans believe that by placing these fearsome images at the entrance hall no evil spirit can enter into the temple itself to disturb the pious monks at their prayers within."

Temple guardians are everywhere the rule in India, and in Burma the giant *chinthè* guardians of Pagodas are ubiquitous and very prominent.

In *E.R.E.*, III, 26, it is said: "The people of Burma regard guardian spirits with mixed feelings. They look to them for support and safety in all conditions of life, and at the same time consider them to be decidedly capable of infinite mischief. They occupy a place midway between the indifferent beneficent spirit and the actively malignant spirit. The predominant feeling towards the guardians is that they have to be kept in a good temper. Guardians are of course infinite in their variety, as everything connected with mankind and his environment has its guardians."

4. Mountain Spirits.

"The natural grandeur of Chumolhari (p. 46) has impressed itself even upon the stolid Tibetan and he worships the mountain as a goddess, as the fair lady of the everlasting snows, and on its sides they believe dwell the gnomes, the demons, and the goblins who play such an important part in Tibetan folklore."

As regards Burma, it is stated in *E.R.E.*, III, 22, that "there is a distinct worship or propitiation of spirits representing Nature generally among all the tribes, in addition to that of the individual, familiar or tribal guardians. There are everywhere national Spirits of the Sky, the Sun, and Moon, Rain and the Flood, of the Fell, the Forests and Trees, and Agriculture. But the tendency to localize the National Spirit is everywhere visible, and in reality the national spirit is hardly to be differentiated from the tribal."

The attitude of the educated Burmese towards the non-Buddhist spirits they revere is conveyed in a letter from a Burman printed in vol. XXIX, *ante* (1900), p. 117: "I have to state that Buddhism and Brahmanism have certain beliefs in common, in consequence of stories handed down from father to son. The wild tribes, which have not received the Religion of Gaudama [*i.e.*, Buddhism] are quite as strong in this primitive faith. Not only has every human being, but also every conspicuous object and every article of utility a guardian spirit. When people die it is said that they become spiritual bodies requiring spiritual food, and in order that the spirits or *nats* may not harm the living, the latter make certain customary offerings to them. Some persons, who have familiar spirits, make annual offerings to the *nats*, and before making an offering a small bamboo or plank house is built in a grove or near a mountain, wax candles are lighted and minor offerings are made. These festivals are generally performed in Upper Burma. When the ceremonies are over a pot of water is poured out slowly on to the ground while repeating certain prayers."

An explanation of this phenomenon is offered in *The Word of Lalla*, 90: "Time, conquest and philosophy have brought this about in India as a growth out of the original instinct [of monotheism], which the old Aryans managed many centuries ago to implant in the population at large. . . . For the aboriginal tribes their spirits, in the general body of which the

Hindu gods and the Muhammadan saints are included: for all, a large body of occult superstition that comes to the surface in legend and folklore, and in the daily ceremonies connected with domestic and public events, and is based on the varied beliefs and practices of the aborigines, with whom the Aryans have come in contact from time to time in the course of a very long period. It is these superstitions and the rites based on them that most prominently strike the eye of the visitor from outside and thus are apt to mislead him as to the true thought, religious aspirations and mental calibre of those who practise them."

5. Kinchenjanga.

"Kanchendzonga [p. 66], which means the great glacier Treasure-house of the Five Precious Substances, is the object of great worship in Sikkim, and it plays an important part in Sikkimese Buddhism. Special ceremonies and sacred dances are held in its honour, some of them very old, dating from a long time before the introduction of Buddhism into Sikkim, and there are dark stories told that in the olden days these ceremonies were accompanied by human sacrifices made to the spirit of the mountain."

"[January 18th, 1923] at sunrise (p. 77) we saw the beautiful sight of snow falling on the top of the Kanchendzonga Range. The mountain is such an important part of the Western horizon of so many parts of Sikkim that there is little wonder it is regarded as the guardian spirit of the country."

6. Demon Haunts.

"We were forced (p. 97) to camp on the broad even-surfaced summit of the pass [between Sikkim and Tibet, near the Chumiomo Peak], a formation which is peculiar, so far as is known, to this pass. The natives believed it to be inhabited by dark and terrible demons, who bring disaster upon every one who stops there."

In Burma this type of belief is spread far and wide. "The most widely spread nature cult of all is that of the forest and tree *nats*. All the wild tribes dread them, and the most characteristic superstitions of the people of the cultivated plains are related to them. Every prominent tree, every grove, every area of jungle, besides the forest in general has its special *nat* (*seikthâ* in Burmese), often with a specialised name." (*E.R.E.*, III, 23.)

7. Images.

"The images (p. 53) inside the temple [at Gyangtse] were equally interesting. . . . . The principal image was that of the historical Buddha. . . . . Strangely enough such images are rare in Tibet, as the Tibetan prefers nowadays to worship at the shrine of some purely mythological deity, one of the so-called non-human or Dhyani Buddhas."

In Burma images of the Buddha [*i.e.*, the Mânusha Buddha of Mahâyânism] are very common. See Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, ch. XVII. Nevertheless, as in Tibet, there are also innumerable images, set up all over the country, of the mythical *nats*, which are revered by the people and have no real connection with Buddhism in any form. See Temple, *The Thirty-seven Nats, passim.*

As the Buddhism of Tibet is Mahâyânist the following passage from *The Word of Lalla*, pp. 88 f., is of interest here, as explanatory of the images of the Buddha there. In Mahâyâna Buddhism "there is an Âdi-Buddha (original Buddha), who is an eternal self-existent being and is represented by the three corporeal bodies of Buddha—ethereal, celestial, and terrestrial—each in five forms derived from Buddha himself, his three acknowledged and well-known, though mythical, predecessors and his looked for successor. By his contemplative power (*dhyâna*) the Âdi-Buddha created the five Dhyânî Buddhas, who are unconnected with this world, and dwell in thoughtful peace in Nirvâna, here a 'Heaven.' Each Dhyânî Buddha has a wife and a son, a Dhyânî Bodhisattva, who, too, has never been a human being. Each Dhyânî Bodhisattva has a wife and a son, a Mânusha Buddha, incarnated in this world and given a wife. . . . . Siddhârtha Gautama (Shâkhya Sinha), *i.e.*, Buddha himself, as a man, was a Mânusha Buddha." In Tibetan iconography are to be found images of all the above mentioned spiritual beings.

III. RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS.

1. Rosaries.

" We constantly met pilgrims making a circumambulation (p. 178) of the whole monastery [of Shigatse] in the prescribed clockwise fashion. As they did so, some returned their prayer-wheels and others told their rosaries—the rosary, generally with 108 beads—being much valued by every branch of Tibetan Buddhism. Some of the devotees were making the round at great speed, while others stopped to make frequent prostrations."

2. Scapegoat.

" The other means of conquering disease [p. 314] especially recommended was to purchase some animal destined for slaughter and set him free. It is believed that illness comes as a punishment for past misdeeds, and the saving of life is so meritorious that it will counteract all past evil, and therefore do away with the cause of disease."

3. Circumambulation Sunwise.

" As we passed down the village street (p. 173), I felt so stupified by the prospect of another long afternoon's march that I scarcely noticed a *möndang* or prayer-wall in the midst of the street, and started to pass to the right of it. I had still my dark goggles on and so the old man, believing implicitly in the story that I was still half blind as the result of the snow, shouted out to me that the prayer-wall existed and that I was passing it on the wrong side. This startled me into my senses and I quickly swerved to the left, passing the sacred wall in orthodox fashion. In Tibet respect to a person or thing is shown by always keeping it on one's right-hand side. In circumambulating any religious edifice—and this is considered an act of great merit—it is proper always to pass round from left to right, clockwise, which is also the direction in which the prayer-wheel should be turned. Any deviation from this rule is considered an act of outrageous blasphemy."

" Following the example of my companions (p. 39) I dismounted from my pony as we passed the walls and turned each wheel, but I noticed one or two other passers-by were not as punctiliously religious as ourselves though they were scrupulously careful to keep on the right side."

" The great Chokang (pp. 269, 270) or Cathedral [at Lhasa] is the holy of holies for all Tibetans and Mongolians. . . . . Running round this block is the principal street of Lhasa, called the Parkor-ling or the Inner Circle. The practice of circumambulating or walking around a sacred building is held in high regard in Tibet as a method of acquiring merit, and it is the custom of every pilgrim, who comes to Lhasa, to make the circuit twioe daily, once in the morning and once in the evening, always of course from left to right."

" This meant we had to go along (p. 275) the Inner Circle [at Lhasa], the great market roadway which runs around this group of buildings [the Chokang and its surroundings]. Along this road we passed in the prescribed left-to-right fashion, always keeping the central group of buildings on our right."

" We had now to return to our residence. . . . . But we did not go back the way we came. To have done so would have been (pp. 279, 280) to go in the wrong direction from right to left, keeping the Cathedral [at Lhasa] on our left, and so we completed the Inner Circle, going along the South side to the Western end."

4. Pilgrimage.

" A great sturdy (p. 174) *drokpa* (shepherd) fell in with us and journeyed with us a good part of the way. . . . . He was nearly six feet tall and carried a long sword, and was extremely fierce-looking. . . . . He confessed that in addition to looking after his flocks on the Chang-Tang he had frequently acted as a brigand and had amassed quite a little fortune that way. Recently he had fallen very ill, and believing his disease to be a punishment from the gods, he had decided to come on a pilgrimage to Shigatse and thereby wipe out his sins without in any way having to get rid of his ill-gotten gains."

"I overtook (pp. 250-251) and passed a number of travellers (to Lhasa) on foot. Most of them were obviously pilgrims of great poverty. . . . . One such pilgrim attracted my especial attention, as he was measuring his distance along the ground. He would stand up straight, his hands stretched above him, and then prostrating himself along the ground, would mark the place to which his finger-tips extended. He would then step to this point and go through the same process. When I came near he stopped and begged me to give him some money, saying he was a pilgrim, who in expiation of certain past misdeeds, was making a pilgrimage in this slow laborious fashion to Lhasa. He added that he had started his journey from Shigatse and had just been a year on the road. He had been supported all this time by the donations of pious travellers, who had passed him. I tossed him a small coin and then went on."

In Kashmir there is a place of Hindu pilgrimage, Lake Gangabal, to which similar laborious pilgrimages are occasionally made.

"Said I : no pilgrimage like the Gang.
Said he : no pilgrimage like the knees.
Said I : love in ardent worship flung
Is a greater pilgrimage than these."—*Word of Lalla*, 232.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

ORDEAL IN CHINESE FOLKLORE.

The following unfinished story was sent to me from Chaio-Tso, Honan, in September 1930, by an English engineer, who has been resident in China for 30 years. It is, however, probably a tale of Central China, as the narrator, an educated man who is Chinese accountant of a large English firm, came from the Yangtse in that central part of the country. He has been mixed up with foreigners for many years, and told the tale in English, but my informant says that "he evidently believed in the truth of it." The narration was interrupted towards the end by happenings in the unsettled state of that unhappy land, and the teller is not now in a condition to finish the tale, but enough has been told to explain the Chinese view of the Ordeal, and so to make it worth publication.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE ORDEAL.

A rich man had four sons all married, and one daughter, also married. The four sons died without issue, and their widows put their heads together, for when the old man died his money would go to the daughter and they would have none. Moreover, the money would go to people with another name. "This is bad Joss."

The result of the meeting was that they determined to persuade a young and pretty sister of one of them to marry the old man, so that there might be a son to inherit and keep the money in the name. They also knew that they were more likely to get something from the young wife than from their sister-in-law.

Their plan was successful in every way. The old man died leaving an infant son as the heir to his property. The daughter, furious at being done out of the money that she expected, said that the infant could not possibly be the child of her father, as he was too old to have a son. She took the case to the Courts.

The four daughters-in-law asked the young mother whether the child was really the son of the old man. She assured them that he was and expressed indignation that she could have done anything wrong.

The case came on in due course, but as there was no actual proof except the word of the mother, the magistrate determined to try the test that never failed. But he first asked the eldest daughter-in-law if she consented, for if the test proved the infant to be illegitimate, she would lose her head, as she was the defendant in the case brought by the daughter. The eldest daughter-in-law expressed her willingness for the test to be made, and the usual formalities were carried out.

The old man's body was dug up. His knee-cap bone was removed and was put into water, and then a drop of blood from the baby was also put into it. All looked to see the result. If the child were really the offspring of the former possessor of the knee-cap bone, the blood would immediately flow towards the bone, but if not, the blood would go in the opposite direction. In this case the blood did not go to the bone. The daughter triumphed; the daughters-in-law were discomfited and the eldest was docked of a very good head.

The three remaining daughters-in-law attacked the baby's mother, accused her of lying and of having caused the death of the eldest. The mother however persisted that she had done no wrong and

repeated her assertion that the baby was in truth the old man's son.

On this assurance the second daughter-in-law asked for another trial of the blood and bone test. She was warned of the consequences of failure, but still preferred her request. The second test had the same result as the former one, and the second daughter-in-law was deprived of her head. More recriminations of the mother followed, with more assurances on her part that the child was indeed the son of the old man.

The third daughter-in-law then asked for a retrial. The magistrate began to smell a rat. Two had already staked their heads on the child's legitimacy and a third was willing to do so. He therefore ordered that first the test should be made between the old man's bone and his own undoubted daughter. The bone was put into water and the daughter supplied the drop of blood; but once again it did not flow towards the bone as it should have done, although there was no doubt of the relationship.

The daughter then confessed that she had changed her father's body for that of another man, as she expected the test to be made, and naturally the baby's blood would not flow towards the bone of someone who was not his father.

The story was interrupted at this point so that the narrator never told if the daughter lost her head also.

BOOK-NOTICES.

WARREN HASTINGS AND PHILIP FRANCIS, by SOPHIA WEITZMAN, M.A., Ph.D., with an Introduction by Ramsay Muir, M.A. 9×5½ in.; pp. xxx+400; with map and 2 illustrations. Manchester University Press, 1929.

The so-called "Regulating Act" of 1773 (13 George III, c. 63) was the first attempt of the British Parliament to deal definitely with the administration of our affairs in India; but the lessons to be learnt from the results of that legislation have not been sufficiently realized or remembered. This measure enacted that the administration of Bengal should be conducted by a Governor-General and a Council of four, in accordance with the votes of the majority of the Council, the Governor-General being given no power of overruling the decision of such majority. Hastings, already Governor, was nominated Governor-General, while General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Philip Francis, sent out from England, and Richard Barwell, one of the members of the existing Council in Bengal, were appointed to be the new Members of Council. Of these, Clavering and Francis had never set foot in India before. How Francis from the very first took up an attitude of opposition and hostility towards Hastings, and how he was supported by his two military associates, who were little more than pawns in his hands, is well known. Francis, a man of remarkable abilities and inordinate ambition, "had received early practice, intensive in character, in the art of scurrilous writing and malignant denunciation," as Miss Weitzman expresses it, and was "steeped in the political philosophy of his day." Wholly ignorant of Indian conditions, he perversely persisted in applying to questions of Oriental administration principles begotten of such training. For some three years, till both Monson and Clavering were dead, this conflict paralysed the government of the country. For another three years Francis carried on the fight, until he realized he could not gain his end in Calcutta. Leaving India in 1780, he continued with renewed energy to carry on the offensive in England by vigorous pamphleteering, poisoning the minds of the authorities against Hastings and encouraging his enemies to persecute him. Miss Weitzman has, with great industry, revealed much new material (in particular the hitherto unpublished documents in the "Robinson Collection" at Eridge Castle) that throws further light upon the sinister activities of this extraordinary man. She has properly avoided dwelling unduly upon the personal features of the drama, while she has succeeded in keeping prominent before her readers the fundamental issues at stake. She has shown how the principles advocated by Francis, which he succeeded in persuading politicians in England to accept, were in great measure given effect to, as, for instance, in the India Act of 1784, in the policy of abstention from diplomatic relations with Indian states, and in the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, carried through by Cornwallis in the face of wiser counsels. She has traced the important hand that Francis played in the impeachment proceedings and his influence with Burke, as no historian had previously done. "Thanks to Francis," as Mr. Ramsay Muir writes in his appreciative and exceptionally discerning introduction, "the greatest of all English Governor-Generals of India was the only one who received no honour from his sovereign"; and "the distorted picture [of Hastings] which was first conceived by the malignity of Francis, and then painted in lurid colours by the noble but fevered genius of Burke, has been perpetuated by the cocksure dogmatism of Macaulay." In the correspondence now printed for the first time, among other interesting points, the sidelights cast upon the relations between Francis and Clive will, we expect, evoke some surprise.

Miss Weitzman is to be congratulated on the publication of what is a valuable, and in many respects admirable, piece of work. The acumen and grasp of historical perspective disclosed impel us to wish for more from her pen.

C. E. A. W. O.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1928, published by the Kern Institute, *Leyden.* $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in.; pp. xi+141; with 12 plates and 11 illustrations in the text. Leyden, E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1930.

This is the third annual issue of this valuable publication, and we need only add that it maintains in all respects the high standard to which the first two issues have accustomed us, creditable alike to the editors and to the publishers. A special word of praise is due to the excellence of the plates. It is gratifying to learn that the Institute has received additional financial aid, which, we trust, will ensure its publication annually.

In addition to the bibliography proper, which is remarkably full and accurate, the editorial board, following the plan announced in the initial volume, prefix an introductory chapter dealing with some of the most notable works of archæological research carried out. They are particularly fortunate in being able to publish a most interesting account contributed by Dr. J. Barthoux of the salient features of the excavations conducted by him at the Buddhist site of Haḍḍa, the Hilo of Hsüan Tsang, about 5 miles south of Jalâlâbâd in Afghânistân, a site to which Honigberger and Masson had drawn attention nearly a century ago. Here during the years 1927-28 some hundreds of *stûpas* and many thousands of statues and statuettes have been unearthed, disclosing the site of "a vast ancient city surpassing even the capital of Gandhâra in archæological interest." Many of the smaller *stûpas*, which had become buried under debris, were found in excellent preservation up to the springing of the dome. "After having drawn and measured the details of two hundred such buildings, we have come to the conclusion," Dr. Barthoux writes, "that, apart from the Greek orders, the artists have employed practically every architectural element known to them: their pilasters preserve Achæmenian reminiscences, whereas the bas-reliefs sometimes remind one of Sasanian art. ......It may, indeed, be maintained that the art of Haḍḍa constitutes a real synthesis of all our artistic conceptions and a meeting-place of all known schools........Yet, it must be admitted that this art is indubitably Hellenistic." The plastic art more especially reveals masterly execution, testifying to the æsthetic and technical abilities of the artists. Many of the stucco heads (some of which are beautifully reproduced on plates IV and V) are in a wonderful state of preservation. Scholars will eagerly await a detailed report, with map and plans, of these remarkable excavations.

Another interesting note is devoted to "The Wooden Walls of Pâṭaliputra." According to Megarthenes, as quoted by Strabo and Arrian, the Mauryan city of Pâṭaliputra was surrounded by wooden walls crowned by 570 towers. Traces of these wooden walls, or palisade, were first discovered in 1876, when what is now known as Mangles' Tank was being re-excavated. McCrindle tells us that the workmen discovered "at a depth of some twelve or fifteen feet below the swampy surface the remains of a long brick wall with a line of palisades of strong timber running near and almost parallel to it, and slightly inclined towards it." Waddell's inquiries in 1892 showed that similar old timbers had been found 10 to 15 feet below the surface at three other sites, one of which was near Bulandî Bâgh, where Spooner in 1915 found two slanting beams, one 9 or 10 feet north of the other, and in 1916 the remains of what he described as "a curious wooden house," with a slanting wall of timber on the west side, and at 22 feet below surface level, a flooring of squared beams. He found that the width of the double line of uprights, inside which lay the flooring, was about $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet, measuring from the outside faces, and that the upright timbers went down some 5 feet below the flooring. He also found remnants of planking that had been laid upon the uprights on their outer face. It was thought possible at the time that at this particular spot he had struck the remains of one of the 'towers' mentioned by Megasthenes. The flooring was then roughly traced for a distance of 350 feet eastwards. More recent excavations have since traced the double row of upright timbers for a distance of some 700 feet; and it now appears that, besides the flooring there had been a roofing of heavy beams laid across, as indeed Spooner, to my knowledge, had been inclined to suspect. Plate VI reproduces two clear photographs of the remains of these old "wooden walls," which afford such striking testimony to the accuracy of the Greek ambassador's account. The remarkable state of preservation of these old *sâl* beams, after the lapse of more than 22 centuries will at once strike the observer; yet the seven massive platforms, or "foundation piers," formed of *sâl* logs some 30 feet in length uncovered at the Kumrâhar site in 1913, on the south side of the "pillared hall," were even in more perfect condition, having been deeply buried at a uniform level, and so less exposed to variations of temperature and moisture.

We are, further, supplied with a preliminary note on the results of Professor Ernst Herzfeld's recent investigations on the Kûh-i-Khwâja rock island in the Hamûn, described by Sir Aurel Stein in vol. II of *Innermost Asia.* More thorough excavation has, we are informed, enabled the professor to assign the remains to two definite periods, viz. (1) the epoch of the Śakas, and (2) the third century A.H. All the mural paintings, of which more specimens have been secured, belong to the first period, and contain Achæmenian, Græco-Bactrian and pre-Sasanian elements. Furthermore, we are told, Professor Herzfeld connects the epical personality of Rustam with the great Śaka ruler Gondopharos.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE DATE OF THE COMPILATION OF KAUṬALYA'S *ARTHA-ŚÂSTRA* (484-510 A.D.)

BY PRAN NATH, D.Sc., PH.D.

(*Continued from page 112.*)

4. Prâg-Hûṇaka-Gândhâra Countries (484-510 A.D.)

The capture of the north-western Panjâb by the Hûṇas dates from 465 A.D., when Skandagupta succumbed to them. The Hûṇa conqueror Toramâna established his authority in Mâlwâ prior to 500 A.D. and when he died, about 510 A.D., he left a sufficiently consolidated dominion to his son Mihiragula. "All Indian traditions agree in representing Mihiragula as a blood-thirsty tyrant, 'the Attila of India,' stained to a more than ordinary degree with the 'implacable cruelty' noted by historians as characteristic of the Hun temperament."[19] In these circumstances the conquered kings took good care to see that none of their subjects gave any cause for offence to these foreigners. This was perhaps the reason for enacting a law punishing heavily any who abused the Hûṇas and their country. Kauṭalya writes:—*Tena śrutopavâdaḥ, vâgjîvanânâṃ kârukuśîlavânâṃ vṛttyupavâdaḥ Prâj-jûṇaka* (Prâg-Hûṇaka according to Gaṇapati Śâstrî). *Gândhârâdînâṃ ca janapadopavâdâ vyâkhyâtâḥ.*[20] Herr Meyer and Dr. Shamasastry both failed to grasp the meaning of *Prâj-jûṇaka or Prâg-Hûṇaka.* Gaṇapati Śâstri, in his commentary on the above passage, writes: *Prâgghûṇaka-gândhârâdînâṃ Hûṇakâ nâma janapada-viśeṣaḥ Kâmagiryuttarato vṛttirudîcyaḥ tasyapûrvâvayavaḥ prâgghûṇakâḥ* (vol. II, p. 104). Both convey the same meaning, *i.e.*, the eastern Hûṇa *janapadas* and the Gândhâra countries.

The *Smṛti* of Yâjñavalkya does not contain any such item; indeed it contains very little about defamation. Kauṭalya is clearer and contains better material so far as this section is concerned. It is interesting to note that the *Artha-śâstra* and the *Yâjñavalkya-smṛti* both finish the section in a remarkably similar manner.

This reference to punishment for abusing the *janapadas* of Hûṇas and those of Gândhâra would seem clear proof that the *Artha-śâstra* was compiled between 484 and 510 or 528 A.D. when the kings of Mâlwâ were exposed to attack by the cruel Hûṇas. Apparently the Hindu rulers did not like to give any chance of complaint to the Hûṇa chieftains.

5. The Countries of the Mâlwâ Empire fulfil the conditions of Kauṭalya's *janapadas.*

(1) *Pearl fishery.*—The pearl centres according to Kauṭalya were:

(A)

(*a*) Tâmraparṇi (a river in the Pâṇḍya country).
(*b*) Pâṇḍyakavâṭa (a mountain known as Malayakoṭi in the Pâṇḍya country).
(*c*) Pâśâ (river ?).
(*d*) Chûrṇâ (river near the village Murachi in the Kerala country).
(*e*) Kûlâ (a river in Siṁhala).
(*f*) Mahendra (a mountain in the Eastern Ghâṭs).

(B)

(*a*) Kârdama (a river in Persia).
(*b*) Srotasî (a river falling in the sea of Barbara).
(*c*) Hrada (a pool of water known as Śrîghaṇṭa in a corner of the Barbara sea).

(C)

Himavata (Himâlaya).

From the above classification it is clear that the important areas of the pearl trade were only two, *viz.* (1) The southern extremity of India, and (2) the sea of Barbara. It appears to me that people used to go to fish for pearls in the Barbara sea in their own boats as well as in ships belonging to the king from Bhṛgukaccha and other ports situated on the shores of Aparânta, Kaccha, Surâṣṭra and Sindh. With these identifications the section on

[19] Smith, *E.H.I.*, p. 336. [20] K. S., p. 194.

Nâvadhyakṣa (officer in charge of ships and boats) appears to be quite intelligible and correct. Boats employed on pearl-fishing did not sail from Patna.

(2) *Setu and Setu-bandha.*—Again, a careful perusal of the *Artha-śâstra* shows that the *janapadas* described by Kauṭalya abounded in marshes, swamps, natural as well as artificial lakes and water-reservoirs. He uses the word *setu* to denote these lakes. Herr Meyer took the word in the sense of water-reservoir. Dr. Shamasastry failed to hit upon the meaning, and thereby marred his English translation. Kauṭalya used the term *sahodaka-setu* for natural pools and lakes,[21] while embankments made by villagers across marshy tracts were called *setu-patha* and *setu-bandha*. They served as boundaries and also as roads for passing from one side to the other. Their destruction was prohibited and severely punished (*setu-vana-patham ṣaṭchataḥ*).[22]

These swamps and pools of water were used for fishing purposes [23] during summer and also for growing vegetables, rice and fruits, when patches of land dried up in that season.[24] Famines never visited these watery regions. (*Nityânuṣakto hi varṣa-guṇa-lâbhaḥ setuvâpeṣu.*)[25] Where there was no water the king was advised to put dams across small rivers and encourage others to do the same.[26] (*Anudake kûpasetu-bandhotsân sthâpayet, puṣpa-phala-vâṭamśca.*)[27]

Natural water pools, lakes and marshes were considered to be the property of the king. For five years no taxes were collected from those who erected dams and stored water.[28] The revenue derived from the *setus* formed an important item and was recorded under the same term, *i.e.*, *setu*.[29] The country of Magadha may have had marshes and lakes, but there is no historical data available in that connection. On the other hand, Kauṭalya's description of the *sîtâdhyakṣa's* duties furnishes abundant evidence of the existence of *setu*. There are many reservoirs in the Mâlwâ country.

Smith, in his *Early History of India*, records the construction of a lake by Pushyamitra in Girnâr, which "endured for four hundred years, but in the year 150 A.D. a storm of exceptional violence destroyed the embankment, and with it the lake. The embankment was then rebuilt 'three times stronger' than before by order of the Śaka satrap Rudradâman, who has recorded the history of the work in an inscription which is the only known epigraphic record containing the names of Chandragupta and Aśoka Maurya.

Notwithstanding the triple strength of Rudradâman's masonry, it too failed to withstand the fury of the elements ; the dam again burst, and was repaired once more in 458 A.D. by the local governor serving under Skandagupta."[30] In the same manner it is stated that "The Chandel princes were great builders, and beautified their chief towns, Mahoba, Kâlanjar, and Khajurâho, with many magnificent temples and lovely lakes, formed by throwing massive dams across the openings between the hills. In this practice of building embankments and constructing lakes the Chandels were imitators of the Gaharwârs, who are credited with the formation of some of the most charming lakes in Bundelkhand.[31] Dr. Smith goes further by recording that "The great Bhojpur lake, a beautiful sheet of water to the south-east of Bhopal, covering an area of more than 250 square miles, formed by massive embankments closing the outlet in a circle of hills, was his [Bhoja's] noblest monument, and continued to testify to the skill of his engineers until the fifteenth century."[32] From these notices it is clear that the country stretching from Girnâr up to Bundelkhand was full of tanks. It was within this area* that the Mâlwâ empire was situated ; and so it satisfies Kauṭalya's test in this respect also.

21 K. S., p. 299, l. 2.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 171, l. 6.
23 K. S., p. 20, l. 18.
24 *Ibid.*, l. 17.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 307, l. 5.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 173, l. 15 ; p. 56, l. 13 ; p. 49, l. 2.
27 *Ibid.*, p. 141, l. 7.
28 *Ibid.*, p. 170, ll. 1 and 2.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 59, l. 15.
30 Smith, *E.H.I.*, pp. 139-140.
31 *Ibid.*, p. 406.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 411.

* NOTE.—There were pearl fisheries also on the southern shores of the Gulf of Kachch. The term *setu-patha* might perhaps include causeways across the swamps of the Ranns.—JOINT-EDITOR.

(3) *Alexandria.*—Kauṭalya writes that coral came from Alakanda (*pravâlakaṃ Âlakandakaṃ*).[33] Mr. Surendranâth Majumdâr Śâstrî, in his notes on Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, remarks that Kauṭalya is silent about Alakanda, but he mentions the Barbara river and the Barbara sea, as also the river Srotasî as a source of pearls. A lake named Śrîghanṭa in the centre of the sea of Barbara has also been mentioned by him. Now, combining these bits of information, we find that the country of the Barbaras was on the west or north-west frontier of India, and that it stretched up to the Arabian Sea. In it there was a lake not far from the sea. Alakanda stood at the mouth of the river falling into the sea. The above description of Alakanda fits well with that of "Alexander's Haven." Dr. Smith has shown, on the authority of Major Raverty, that the large lake at the mouth of the river where stood Alexander's Haven still exists and is called Samârâh.[34]

Alexander came to India during Chandragupta's time. If Kauṭalya was his minister, is it possible that he would have recognized a name which Greeks gave to a part so recently and have associated it with a particular kind of coral found there ?

(4) *Privilege of coining.*—Hindu princes prior to the Christian era were never fond of exercising their privilege in respect of coinage. Coins were issued according to the demand of the market by trading guilds. Punch-marked coins are examples of this. Historical data support this view, as not a single coin of Chandragupta or Aśoka has been yet discovered. Contrary to this, Kauṭalya considers coining to be the prerogative of a king and prescribes severe punishments for those who try to manufacture coins. This seems to be the result of foreign influence.

(5) Kauṭalya's *Artha-śâstra* advocates ideals and culture which are non-Indian. This may be due to the fact that the Mâlwâ empire for a long time remained under the influence of Greeks, Śakas and Hûṇas. Fish and meat-eating became common. Sending of wine by a lady to her lover as described in the *Artha-śâstra* may be a Persian custom, later on adopted by the people of Mâlwâ. Divorce and separation were not despised. All these facts go to show that we shall not be far from the truth if we accept the date of the *Kauṭalîya Artha-śâstra* as falling somewhere between 480 and 510 A.D.

LIFE OF RISHI PÎR PANDIT PÂDSHÂH.

A Great Hermit of Kashmir.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, ŚRÎNAGAR, KASHMÎR.

(*Continued from page 98.*)

To this Rishi Pîr wrote the following reply :—

سالکان راه بادیهٔ طریقت بطریقی طے کرده اند که اصلا گرد گمراہی بدامن شان نه نشسته است - خار ذلالت بدامن آنهان نه خلیده است - خدا که ہست و بود و باشد — (بیت)

شریعت گو طریقت جو حقیقت رو باید بود ∴ که قند و روغن و گندم به جمیعت شود حلوا

"The travellers passing over the desert of religion have traversed [it] in such a manner that neither the dust of losing their way has ever settled on, nor the thorn of degradation has ever pierced, the hem of their garment ; because God was, is, and will be.

[*Couplet.*]

"One should be a preacher of the laws of religion, a searcher after religion [and] sincerely devoted to religion,
As sweetmeat is made by the combination of sugar, clarified butter and wheat [flour]."

Rishi Pîr meant to say that, if Mullâ Shâh dived deep into the cardinal principles of religion he would get a true perspective of it and, having thus emerged from the whirlpool of doubts, would find no difference as regards the theory of *One* Indivisible Real Essence pervading through all that was, that is, and that ever will be.

[33] K. S., p. 78.

[34] Smith, *E.H.I.*, p. 109 and n.

Aurangzeb once (probably in 1663 A.D., when he was in Kashmîr) told Ṛishi Pîr that whenever he was eating his meals, blood came into his sight, and requested him to explain why this was so. Ṛishi Pîr told him that it was the blood of innocent Sarmad whom he had put to death. Sarmad was a renowned Ṣûfî ascetic and a pantheist, who used to go about naked, singing his own smooth-flowing verses, which breathed not only the mystic fervour of the Ṣûfî, but also a lofty spirit of catholicity, rising above the wrangle of sects and cherishing the truth inherent in all creeds. One day (about 1647 A.D.) he was walking by the palace at Delhi, loudly singing a song. Aurangzeb's daughter, Zebu'n-nisâ', a gifted poetess and patron of literary men, looked out from a balcony to hear him. Sarmad beheld her and bawled out:

چهار چیز غم از دل برند کدام چهار

There are four things which dispel sorrow from the heart: what four?

Zebu'n-nisâ' replied:

شراب و سبزه و آب روان و روے نگار

Wine, a green sward, running water and the face of a beautiful woman.

Aurangzeb, who was sitting at a window in an adjoining room, overhearing these indelicate verses, angrily remonstrated with his daughter on her frivolity. She then changed what she had just said and told him that she had answered to the query of Sarmad thus:

نماز و روزه و تسبیح توبه استغفار

Prayer and fasting and rosary and repentance craving grace.

Then the emperor upbraided Sarmad, asking what business he had to wander about near the palace where his *zanâna ḥarîm* were living. He was arrested, and order was passed that he should be hanged. Sarmad made a pathetic appeal to those who were present, in the following verses:—

اے دیده وران اہل ہوشید
در چارۀ کار من بکوشید
جانان را بمن بیارید
این مردۀ تنم بدو سپارید
گر بوسه زند به دو لبانم
ور ....

O intelligent, clever people!
Try to render help in my affair.
Bring my sweetheart to me;
Entrust to her this dead body of mine.
If she kisses my two cheeks
If................

After uttering this much he fell down insensible. The ministers present at this tragic scene told the emperor that Sarmad was quite innocent. Several learned scholars who were present wondered what Sarmad had intended to add after the word ور ('or'). Jami, who was among the learned poets there, said it was:

ور زنده شوم عجب مدارید

If I revive to life do not wonder.

The ministers thereupon requested the emperor that Zebu'n-nisâ' might graciously be asked to kiss Sarmad's face. He agreed, and accordingly Zebu'n-nisâ' kissed Sarmad; when, lo! he came to life again. Aurangzeb then pardoned him.

After a while, Sarmad, in his usual naked condition, passed in front of Aurangzeb at a time when he was saying his prayers. The emperor got very angry at being thus disturbed.

As an uncompromising monist, Sarmad denied the existence of Matter, and felt no shame about anything pertaining to his body. He fearlessly addressed the emperor thus :

آن کس کہ ترا تاج شاہنشاہی داد
مارا ہمہ اسباب پریشانی داد
پوشیدہ لباس ہر کہ را عیب است
بے عیبان را لباس عریانی داد

He who has invested thee with the emperor's crown
Clad me completely in the garb of distress.
He put dresses on all whom He saw sinful ;
On the sinless He conferred the robe of nakedness.

A bench of Muslim theologians sat in judgment over Sarmad and doomed him to be hanged. Sarmad mounted the scaffold singing extempore verses in a lofty strain of Ṣûfiism :

شرم برہنہ پائی ہوس الفتی ندارم
بہ سریر پادشاہی اسکندر و سلیمان
ببراے صبا پیامے سر من فتاد گویان
کہ شما ملک دولت من ملک بینوائی

I feel no shame for bare-footedness nor desire for
Alexander's and Solomon's kingdom and throne ;
O breeze, convey a message that my head fell exclaiming
That you are the emperor of an empire and I the emperor of poverty.

To return to the main narrative. Ṛishi Pîr told Aurangzeb to remember the contents of the two following Persian couplets :—

زشت و زیبا ہرچہ بینی دست رو بروے منہ
عیب صنعت گر نمائی غیبتِ بر صنعت گراست

گرچہ ملت مختلف شد ہیچکس محروم نیست
باغبان را در چمن ہر گل برنگ دیگراست

Lay not the hand in disapproval on anything you see, be it good, be it bad :
To call the handiwork faulty is to find fault with the craftsman.
Though there are different religions, none is forbidden :
The gardener has flowers of different colours in the flower-bed.

Ṛishi Pîr then invoked the spirit of Sarmad and beseeched him to excuse Aurangzeb. Thereafter the emperor no longer saw blood in his food. Ṛishi Pîr also advised him that he should earn his own daily bread by some honest manual labour and not take anything for his own food from the public treasury. Thenceforth the emperor began to work during his leisure hours as a scribe of the Qurân, and whatever money he got for the copies made, he lived thereon.

One day a Muhammadan woman, who had faith in Ṛishi Pîr, came and invited him to a feast at her house. He accepted the invitation and went to her house at the appointed hour. A Brâhmaṇ priest accompanied him. The woman, simple-minded as she was, had cooked the food herself and she brought two platefuls, setting one before him and the other before his companion. Ṛishi Pîr only touched the plate and, thanking his hostess, assured her that it might be considered as eaten, and asked her to take it away. The Brâhmaṇ, however, began to eat the cooked food without any scruple, when Ṛishi Pîr at once stopped him. On his return, Ṛishi Pîr spoke sorrowfully to his disciples that this fool had lost his caste by partaking of food cooked by a Muhammadan. A poet has sweetly moralized from this incident thus :—

ہر کہ نیت بست بر زنار خود زنار بست
ہر کہ شک آرد بد است نارد کلید دین بدست

Whoever pinned his faith to his sacred thread wore it truly.
Whosoever entertaineth doubt is bad : he will not get the key of religion into his hand.

The Brâhmaṇ expressed profound regret for his folly, and then Ṛishi Pîr made him perform a *prâyaścit* ceremony before he was taken back into the Hindu fold.

Once some Muhammadans were betting about jumping over a deep and wide ditch at Harî Parbat, but none would come forward to do it. Nânak Shâh, one of the chief disciples of Ṛishi Pîr, happened to pass by at the time, and he jumped clean over it twice. He won the wager and, after making a bow towards the goddess of Harî Parbat, went away. The people were amazed at his feat, but taunted him for bowing before a stone. He repeated to them the following two couplets in Persian, and asked them to ponder over their meaning :—

زانکہ ہندو زندہ دایم بت پرستی میکند ∴ مردہ سوزد محو گردد زیر بار سنگ نیست
فی‌الحقیقت بت پرستی کارویار ننگ نیست ∴ ہیچ مومن بعد مردن غیر یار سنگ نیست

As a Hindu ever performs idol worship in his life,
He, when dead, is burnt and consumed and is not [placed] under the burden of a stone.
In truth idol worship is not a shameful practice.
No Muslim, after dying, is without the load of a [tomb] stone.

There was a saint in the time of Ṛishi Pîr whose name was Zuy. He used to practise *yoga*, which he, of course, kept hidden from the people. He was very shy and for this he was nicknamed Zanâna ('feminine') Zuy. He was believed to be a simpleton. One day Ṛishi Pîr, who knew his worth by inspiration, went with a large number of disciples to his house to pay respects to him, but when Zanâna Zuy heard of his coming, he inferred that people had come to know of his practising *yoga* (as Ṛishi Pîr would not come to pay respects to an ordinary man). He lay down and made his soul part from his mortal coil. Soon after Ṛishi Pîr reached the house and was very much grieved at not being able to see him before he died.

One day Ṛishi Pîr went to Bhori Kadal to collect his fixed presents in cash from the Bhoras. They did not want to pay, and in order to put an end to his frequent calls, they gave him a pill of over half a tola of opium to eat. This he swallowed. There was a milk-seller on the spot, who, out of love for him, poured milk mixed with sugar and almonds into his mouth. The opium, however, produced no effect on him. Soon afterwards a fire broke out at Bhori Kadal, and all the houses and shops of the Bhoras were destroyed : only the shop of the milk-seller was saved. The chronogram of this fire is آتش زر گیر ('the fire of the collector of money'), *i.e.*, 1138 A.H. (V. S. 1726).

Once Ṛishi Pîr was told by his aged mother that she desired to go and bathe at the Sunda Brârî (Trisandhya), an intermittent spring in Brang pargana, but that she was unable to go there on account of old age. He told her that she might go to the neighbouring *ghâṭ* of the Jhelam with him, and he would cause her to bathe in the water of Sunda Brârî. She went with him and, on reaching the *ghâṭ*, he bade Sunda Brârî appear in the following Persian couplet :—

چہ قدرت سندہ براری را نیاید
بہ استقبال شاہنشاہ ریشی

What power [has] Sunda Brârî that she will not go forth
To receive Shâhân-shâh Ṛishi ?

As soon as he uttered this couplet the water gurgled out from the parapet wall of the *ghâṭ* and began to flow into the river. His mother then bathed in it, after which it ceased to flow again.

One day Nânak Shâh came running to Ṛishi Pîr and told him in distress that his mother had suddenly died and requested that she might be revived to life. He replied that a person whose span of life had come to an end must die, but his mother could be brought to life again, provided he was willing to give some years to her from his own life. Nânak Shâh replied that he would give fourteen years to her from his own life. Ṛishi Pîr then told him to go back and crack fourteen water-chestnuts near her head and eat their kernels, and she would revive and live for fourteen years more. Nânak Shâh did as he was told. His mother revived, and she did not die until fourteen years had passed.

There are current many other stories of miracles worked by Ṛishi Pîr from time to time, but I have not given them here for fear of lengthening this article too much.

In his old age Ṛishi Pîr lost the power of walking : he crawled about on wooden sandals; or else he was carried in a palankeen by his disciples. He died at the age of sixty years at Śrînagar on the 6th of the dark fortnight of Baisâkh (the lunar day and month of his birth) V.S. 1754 (1697 A.D.). He was cremated at the Bhaṭṭayâr *ghâṭ* below the 5th bridge. One of his wooden sandals was preserved as a relic. The fellow of this had been lost in his lifetime (1672 A.D.) in a conflagration by which 2,100 houses were destroyed, and about which a poet composed the following couplet :—

آنچنان آتش ز قهر ایزدی آن شب فروخت
هم ده وهم دو هزار و هم نود خانه بسوخت

Such a fire raged by the wrath of God that night
That ten and two thousand and ninety houses were destroyed.

The other sandal is still preserved on a throne at his shrine. This shrine was rebuilt by Paṇḍit Nand Râm Tikû. It was destroyed by fire, but was reconstructed by Munshî Tilak Chand and is still standing.

In spite of four centuries having elapsed since Ṛishi Pîr lived, his memory still endures and will defy the flight of time, as mankind likes to remember the great and saintly men and women who have departed. They supply a spiritual bridge between Being and Becoming. The Hindus still have faith in his spirit as a resolver of difficulties. Whenever a man has a desire for something or is in some trouble, he vows to deliver at his shrine a cash present of 14½ *puntshu* (a *puntshu* being equal to two *bahaganis* and one *bahagani* equal to eight *kauṛis*), and, conformably to his vow, pays the cash as soon as his desire is fulfilled or his trouble is surmounted. This is called *mushkil âsân*. The priests of the shrine give in return some roasted rice, a loaf of bread and some *ispand* (wild rue), after consecrating them by the touch of the relic of the Pîr. The amount of the present and the things given in return were fixed by Ṛishi Pîr himself in his lifetime.

Ṛishi Pîr had one son named Rahânand, who, out of affection, was called Rahnawâb. After his father's demise he gave up the world and became a recluse. Rahânand had twin sons, named Lâla Paṇḍit and Kâshî Paṇḍit. Lâla Paṇḍit carried on the duties of a pious householder, but Kâshî Paṇḍit, fired by the love of God, became an ascetic and went away to Jodhpur, where he died.

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROF. S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

(*Continued from page 88.*)

Betteelà, Beatelle.—Mr. Crooke could not find anything earlier than the example from Correa (1566), but the word appears to have been in use about fifty years before that date, as will be seen from the following quotation:

[*c.* 1516.] "From this port of Dyo [Diu] the Moors of Chaul take away every year a great number of pieces of fine muslin for turbans. . . They have also many fine Calicos and Roman turbans; these three kinds of cloth are woven in this Kingdom."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. by Dames, I, 161. Mr. Dames says that the words used in the original for fine 'muslins' and 'calicos' are *beatilha* and *beirame*. He accepts the derivation from 'Beatas' and refers for comparison to the modern English use of 'nun's veiling.' See also his note, *ibid.*, p. 129.

Bish.—Tavernier speaks of aconite as "Vez Cabouli" (a kind of root) and his "Vez" is without doubt meant for 'Bish.' (*Travels*, ed. Ball, II, 21.) Barbosa also refers to it in a passage which it may be permissible to quote, as Mr. Dames' elucidation of it is not quite satisfactory:—

[*c.* 1516.] "In this country [Dehli] are certain trees, the root whereof is called *Braechagua*, and is so poisonous that it kills everything that eats it: and the fruit of the same tree, which is called *Miralexy*, has such virtue that it destroys all poison, and gives life to every poisoned man who eats it."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I, 233-4.

Mr. Dames suggests that 'Braechagua,' which is spelt 'Baxarague' in the Spanish version, is a corruption of *bâzârî-bang*, the name by which the seeds of henbane are known in the Panjâb bâzârs. I venture to say with some confidence that it stands for the *bachchnâbh* or *bachchnâg*, etc [Sans. *vatsanâbha*], of Yule's article. We have only to insert an *n* between the *h* and the *a* in 'Braechagua' to make it approximate as closely to 'Bachchnâga' as we can expect from such a source.

There can be also no doubt that *miralexy*, which is *nirabixy* in the Spanish and *nirabix* in Ramusio, is, as Mr. Dames says, *nirbisi*. Of *Aconitum heterophyllum*, Dr. Watt says that it is "one of the non-poisonous forms, and is called "*atis*, *ativika*, *patis*, etc. (Sanskrit *ati-visha*), (which might be rendered 'antidote'), but in the more eastern sections of its area, it receives the name of *nirbisi*—a name more correctly indicative of *aconitum palmatum*."—*Commercial Products of India*, p. 19). Elsewhere Dr. Watt says that *nirbishi* means 'free from poison' (*bish*), but that the word is often confused with *nirvisha*, which signifies 'antidote to poison' (*Ibid.*, p. 20). Barbosa's statement that both poison and antidote are found in the same plant is, of course, an error; but he is right in so far that there is a 'non-poisonous form' which is believed by the common people to possess curative and *antidotal* properties and that this form is known as *nirabixy* (miralexy).

Black Partridge.—In this article, Sir Henry Yule translates the supposed call of the bird, *Khudâ terî qudrat*, as 'God is thy strength.' This is hardly correct. *Qudrat* (قدرت) means 'divine power,' 'creation,' 'the universe,' 'nature,' according to Fallon; and that writer appositely quotes the following line from Banârasî:

Terî qudrat ke âge koî zor kisîkâ chale nahîn, 'Against thy strength, O Lord! all strength is vain.' The literal meaning of the words must therefore be 'Lord! Thy power!' which may be elliptical for 'Lord! This [*scil.* the creation] is the manifestation of Thy power.'

Bombay.—Yule's earliest English quotation is from Fryer, 1673. Here is an earlier mention:

[1626.] "Anchered five miles off Bumbay, we thinkinge our enimye the Portugall had bene there, but he was not theare with anie shipps. October 13. We and the whole fleete, both English and Dutch, went into *Bumbay*, and came to an anckor in 9 fatham."—*English Factories in India* [1624-29], ed. Foster, p. 142. See also *ibid.*, pp. 155, 197, 217, 219, 220, etc.

Bound-hedge.—This is one of the words added by Mr. Crooke, and his earliest, or rather only, illustration is from Wilks (1792). But the word occurs frequently in Orme's *Military Transactions*. In connection with the events of 1760, Orme writes:

[1760.] "The bound hedge of Pondicherry, besides its natural defences of trees and thorns is strengthened by four redoubts."—*Op. cit.* ed. 1803, Book XIII, vol. II, p. 665. And again:

"Colonel Coote was not embarked for Bengal, when the news of the success against the bound hedge arrived at Madras." *Ibid.*, p. 679. See also *ibid.*, pp. 256 and 680.

[1794.] A bound-hedge is thus described by Dirom in the Glossary appended to his *Narrative of the Campaign in India*:

"Bound-hedge. A broad strong belt of planting, chiefly the bamboo tree, the prickly pear and such other trees and shrubs as form the closest fence. Most of the forts and villages are surrounded with such a hedge and the large forts have a bound hedge that encloses a circuit of several miles as a place of refuge to the inhabitants of the adjoining country against the incursions of horse."

Yule suggested that it was a corruption of 'boundary-hedge,' but Mr. Irvine marks this with a query (*Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 262). Perhaps 'Bound' means closely packed, or interwoven, so compact as to be impenetrable.

Brinjarry, etc.—(Yule's earliest example from an English source is dated 1793.)

[1628.] "The necessity of getting funds to pay their sugar merchants, being *banjarres*, and therefore can not stay for their monies, has induced them to pledge the gold, for Rs. 8,000 at one-half per cent interest."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Sir W. Foster (1624-1629), p. 270.

Budgerow.—This word occurs at least thrice in Baranî's history, which was completed in 1358 A.C.

[c. 1280.] "He [Ghiyâsu'd-dîn Balban] resolved to march against the rebel [Tughril] in person and ordered a large number of boats to be collected on the Ganges and the Jumna." *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, 115.

Here the word for boats is بجره *bajra*—*Bibl. Indica* Text, p. 85, l. 1.

Again, we read on the same page that

"An immense fleet of boats was collected," etc.

Here also the word in the original is بجره (p. 86, l. 3).

Lastly, he writes of Sultân Jalâlu'd-dîn Khaljî (c. 1295 A.C.)

و بهفدهم رمضان سلطان بر بجره نشسته در کره رسید

(Text, p. 231, l. 10.) "On the 17th of Ramazân, the Sultân reached Karra in a *bajra* (boat). See also *ibid.*, p. 86, l. 6.

Buncus.—(The earliest quotation in *Hobson-Jobson* from an English writer is dated 1711.)

[1673.] "From thence I went to observe the town [Tanore] : : : : a double row of cottages opened their shops of wares which consisted of pepper, turmerick : : : : *Bunco*, i.e., tobacco and hubble-bubble canes, the product of this coast." J. Fryer, *East India and Persia*, ed. Crooke, I, 135.

The word is rightly derived from the Malay *bungkus*, a 'wrapper,' 'bundle,' but the resemblance between this and the Sanskrit *bandh kosha*—*bandh* = 'bound,' and *kosha*, 'sheath,' a 'surrounding cover,' 'any investing sheath' (Wilson, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.) is so close that it is impossible not to be struck by it.

[c. 1669.] "The poore sort of inhabitants, vizt., the Gentiles, Mallabars, etc., smoke theire tobacco after a very meane, but I judge original manner, onely, the leafe rounded up, and light one end, and holdinge the other betweene their lips, and smoke untill it is soe farre consumed as to warme their lips, and then heave the end away; this is called a *bunko*, and

by the Portugals a *Cheroota.*" Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Sir R. C. Temple, p. 97.

Bungy.—There are at least two other derivations besides the one mentioned by Yule. Dr. John Wilson thought that the name meant the 'Broken People'; others have said that it signifies 'scrapmen or livers on broken meat.' Lastly, it has been traced to *bhang*, to 'break,' to 'split,' as their regular trade is the making of baskets and other articles out of split bamboos. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Gujarât Population, IX, 334, note.

Bus.—[1503-8.] "Our Captain answered. '*Besbes* Mosi,' that is 'Enough, Enough.' I will not know more."—*Travels of L. Varthema*, trans. by Badger, pp. 29-30.

This is perhaps the earliest example of the occurrence in a European author of an expression now common in Anglo-Indian mouths.

Bylee.—Under this word the following may be quoted as early examples of the use of the word to indicate the driver of the vehicle.

[1626.] "The 'tziurewardar' [*jalaudâr*] attends only to his horse, the *bailwân*, or carter, to his cart and oxen; the *farrâsh*, or tent-pitcher, attends to his tent on the way . . . ." Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie*, trans. Moreland and Geyl, p. 61.

[1631.] "They [*scil.* the servants in India] stick so closely to their own task that they think it sacrilege to touch the work of another servant even with one of their fingers . . . . The *seluidares* [*jalaudâr*] only care for horses: the *Billewâni* for the carriages and carts in which one travels."—De Laet, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, trans. J. S. Hoyland, p. 89.

Cadjan.—Yule's earliest reference is of 1673. The following is earlier, with quaint spelling:

[1626.] "The same daie we landed 300 men, Englishe and Dutch [in Bombay] and burnt all their *kittjonns* howses, and tooke the greate howse, with two basses of brasse and one fakon of iron."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1624-9), p. 143.

Cajeput.— [1626.] "Spikenard grows wild in the mountains and is not sown. The plants grow a handbreadth high and are closely intertwined; they are called *koilte kie.* Spikenard is here considered to be a valuable medicine or drug, particularly for stiffened limbs; it is rubbed down with oil, smeared on the limb, and allowed to dry; it produces warmth, and expels the cold. The spikenard is the flower or upper shoots of the *kuitekie.*"—Pelsaert, *Jahângîr's India*, trans. Moreland and Geyl, p. 45.

Mr. Moreland says he has "failed to trace the name, which is not to be found in the botanical records of Kew." I venture to suggest that 'Koilte Kie' or 'Kuite Kie' is a corruption of *Kâyu putih*, the Malay name of *Lignum album.* The Gujarâtî name even now is *kâyukuti.*

Calyan.—Mr. Crooke suggests that the Callian Bondi of Tavernier is a corrupt form of 'Kalyân Bandar.' But this is an error. It is, as Mr. Irvine has pointed out, Kalyân-*Bhiwandi*, "six miles north of Kalyân and in the same district." See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XIV (Thâna), pp. 45, 113; and *Storia do Mogor*, II, 144, where Manucci speaks of "Galiani and Beundi in the country of Shiva Ji."

Cambay.—There is considerable difference of opinion about the derivation of the name of this town. The latest and perhaps most preferable etymology is that of Dr. Bühler. He thinks that 'Stambh' must be taken as one of the many names of Shiva and that 'Stambha-tîrtha' means the 'shrine of the pillar-shaped Shiva.' He adds that Shiva is also called 'Sthânu,' which means 'post or pillar.'—*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. VI (Rewâ-Kânthâ), p. 212.

Catamaran.—[1622.] "Last night a letter came from Masulipatam in great haste per a cattamar or jengatha from Petapoly."—*English Factories*, ed. Foster, 1622-4, p. 143. See also *ibid.*, 1624-9, p. 284; also *ibid.*, 1637-41, p. 74.

Chit, Chitty.—[1608-11.] "At last, I got his cheet for some [part of the debt], though with great abatements; esteeming halfe better secured than to endanger all."—William Finch, in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, 130.

[1623.] " The reason why the bakers, etc., have not come down is the behaviour of the 'screivas,' etc., in custom house who will not give them a chittee without some feeling [feeing ?]."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster, 1622-23, p. 265. See also *ibid.*, 1624-1629 p. 191.

Chouse.—The earliest English example given by Yule is from Ben Jonson's *Alchemist* (1610).

[1599.] " And there I staied about my merchandise, till the first of May, 1600, ... ; upon which day I passed from Constantinople to Scanderone, in Asia, where in the Company of a *chaus*, and some six other Turks, I tooke my voyage for Aleppo over land."—John Mildenhall, in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 53.

[1609.] " in which boate the Governer sent a chouse of his owne which was one of his cheife men."—*Journal of John Jourdain*, ed. Foster, p. 69. See also *ibid.*, p. 354.

Choky.—Yule says that the use of this word in the sense of 'chair' is almost peculiar to the Bengal Presidency—a doubtful statement. The word is employed with this signification in the *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*. In his description of an entertainment prepared for Akbar, by his foster-brother, 'Azîz Koka, the author writes :

[1570.] " Upon the last day, splendid offerings were presented to him. Arab and Persian horses, with saddles of silver, huge elephants with chains of gold and silver . . . . chairs of gold, and silver vases . . . . and other precious things beyond conception."—Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, V, 337. Here the word for 'chair' in the original is *chaukî* (چوکی). Lucknow lith. ed., p. 290, l. 7 from foot.

Chowky.—This is one of the many Hindî or Prâkritic words adopted by the Musalman officials of this country at an early date. It occurs in the history of Shams-i-Sirâj, which was completed about 1400 A.C. :—

" When the Sulṭân marched the second time for Thatta, many of his men . . . . went off with their outfits to their homes. On being apprized of this, the Sulṭân [Fîrûz Tughlaq] consulted his officers, who advised him to appoint sentinels, to prevent desertions."—Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, 329. Here the word for 'sentinels' is *chaukîhâ*, چوکیہا *Bibl. Indica* Text, p. 226, l. 5 ; also l. 12, and p. 271, l. 1 from foot.

Chowry.—Yule's first English quotation is of 1809. The following use of the term is two centuries earlier :—

[1632.] " A servant beatinge away the flyes with a chewra which is a horse taile on a handle."—*The Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 217.

Chucker.—Yule quotes from Barbosa under date 1516, but Varthema also refers to the same weapon :

[1503-8.] " Some of them [*scil.* Jogis] carry a stick with a ring of iron at the base. Others carry certain iron dishes which cut all round like razors, and they throw these with a sling when they wish to injure any person ; and therefore when these people arrive at any city in India, every one tries to please them ; for should they even kill the first nobleman of the land, they would not suffer any punishment because they say that they are saints."—*The Travels of L. di Varthema*, trans. Badger, p. 112.

Chunam.—Yule quotes Fryer, but here is an earlier use by an English writer :

[1583-91.] " And all the time which they [the Chinese] mourne they keep the dead in the house, the bowels being taken out and filled with chownam or lime, and coffined ; and when the time is expired they carry them out playing and piping and burne them."—Ralph Fitch, in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 42.

The word would appear to have come into use among Indian writers of Persian about the end of the fourteenth century, as it is used by Shams-i-Sirâj.

In his account of the removal and erection of the Aśoka *lâṭ*, he writes :—

[*c.* 1400.] "*When the pillar was brought to the palace* [in Fîrûzâbâd], *a building was commenced for its reception, near the Jâmi' Masjid . . . . It was constructed of stone and chûnam* [چون] and consisted of several stages of steps."—*Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* in Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India,* III, 352 ; Text, p. 310, last line : see also *ibid.*, Text, p. 125, penultimate line (=Elliot and Dowson, III, 299), and Text, p. 331, l. 12.

(*To be continued.*)

REMARKS ON THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.
Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from 1894 *to* 1903.

(*Continued from page 84.*)

12th January.—Arrived off West Bay of Katchall at about 7 a.m. Landed at Oalkolokwak, and took Census of the remaining villages of this island. Found the natives to be most friendly in spite of the infrequent visits paid by the Government steamer to this locality. Proceeded at 10 a.m. to the north-west of Camorta, anchoring off Puli Pilau at 1 p.m. Took Census of the five villages there and found that there were 28 Chowra and 4 Teressa settlers there and 4 Burman kopra-makers. Numerous recent tracks of wild buffaloes were seen near the villages, but no animals could be discovered, in spite of a search being made between 4 and 6 p.m.

13th January.—Left at 3 a.m. for Chowra. Proceeded on our way at 7 a.m. Owing to swell, could not land at Batti Malve.

Anchored in Sawi Bay at 1-30 p.m. Landed and found that Mr. Solomon had just completed the Census of the island. He reported that the only difficulties he had met with were at Lapati where the headman Edwin had proved very obstructive, misrepresenting the population of his village by no fewer than 412 persons, which caused much delay and trouble. He added that Edwin had been abetted in this by Sweet William and Chon, and that the two former had absconded and were in hiding. Only Chon, therefore, was produced and he was sent to the steamer in order that he might undergo a course of discipline at Port Blair.

The result of the Census is shown to be as follows :—

Islands.	1901								1883		
	Villages.	Huts.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Foreigners.	Villages.	Huts.	Population.
Car Nicobar	.. 13	748	1,126	999	704	622	3,451	181	13	..	3,500
Chowra	.. 6	130	172	178	100	72	522	..	5	94	690
Teressa	.. 11	112	179	165	158	122	624	12	8	109	571
Bompoka	.. 2	18	29	25	16	8	78	..	2	15	86
Camorta	.. 30	98	170	164	85	69	488	7	26	106	359
Nancowry	.. 13	48	93	86	24	21	224	..	14	78	222
Trinkat	.. 4	25	42	39	12	9	102	1	8	34	85
Katchall	.. 34	64	104	109	31	37	281	..	37	66	183
Great Nicobar	.. 15	25	42	35	6	4	87	..	23	45	138
Little Nicobar and Pulo Milo	.. 15	21	25	24	7	11	67	..	19	27	74
Kondul	.. 3	8	14	14	5	5	38	..	3	8	27
Total	..146	1,297	1,996	1,838	1,148	980	5,962	201	158	..	5,935

From these figures it appears that, on the whole, the population has remained fairly stationary since the last Census of 1883, and continued in 1885-6. With regard to Chowra, I am inclined to believe that the decrease is due not only to the fact that many of the natives have migrated to Camorta and other Islands of the group, but to the number of the children

9 3° 9 4°

NICOBAR ISLANDS.


Car Nicobar.

9° 9°

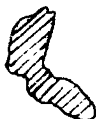

Batti Maly.

Geog. Miles 0 10 20 03 40

English Miles. 0 10 20 30 40


Chowra.


Tillangchong.


Teressa.


Bompoka.


Camorta.


Trinkat.

8° 8°


Katchal.


Nancowry.

Sombrero Channel.

Meroe

DENSITY

1 - 5

7°

now on the Island having been understated to the enumerators. Much of the increase shown in the Central Group and Teressa is attributable to immigration and very probably also to incorrect information having been furnished to the enumerators, either at this Census or the last one. As to the Shom Pen, it is still impossible to ascertain their numbers any more than it is at present to enumerate the Önges and the Jàrawas at the Andamans.

Saibu was appointed Chief of Malacca village in place of Iskol, who was lately sent to Port Blair for abetment of murder, and the prescribed certificate and uniform were presented to him. Having received from the Government Agent his diaries and returns, we returned to the steamer, which left for Port Blair at 4-30 p.m., and arrived here at 10 a.m. on the 14th January.

Captain A. R. S. Anderson's Report.

5th January.—Car Nicobar in sight at daybreak; at 8 we dropped anchor in Sawi Bay. After breakfast the Census Officers landed about half mile south of Mus, and at once directed their steps to Solomon's house. Ascending some 20 steps in the low cliff at the back of the beach we reached a well-beaten, broad, hard, earthen road with a sign-post directing us to "Temple Villa." Magnificent cocoanut trees, many fully 100 feet high, stretched on every side, and their boles formed the play-ground of vast numbers of the commonest Andamanese lizard *Gonyocephalus subcristatus*. Many of these I and some Nicobarese boys captured with a running noose tied in a shred of cocoanut leaf. Even when put round their necks the lizards do not fear this snare. After Solomon had been duly instructed regarding the Census operations, I inspected the meteorological instruments and found them and the houses containing them in good condition, except the thermometer shed, the northern roof of which was partly off—indeed, had never been put on from the mistaken idea that ample ventilation was required. The consequence of this has been that, when the sun is north of Car Nicobar, he sends his rays freely into the interior of the shed, and causes the thermometric readings to be considerably higher than those of the circumambient air. I instructed Solomon to have the shed re-thatched and the northern roof filled in, leaving a small hole only for ventilation.

The situation of the meteorological station at Mus is by no means good,—a wide clearing in a forest of high trees. The wind gauge must frequently register both wrong force and direction of wind, as the tree tops are considerably above the wind vanes. For the same reason the rain gauges must be erroneous. Unfortunately, there appears to be no other and unobjectionable site in Mus. I afterwards walked through the village of Mus and found that the most prevalent disease is, as is the case in the Laccadive Islands, itch. Both children and adults are affected, and some most severely. I instructed Solomon how to cure the disease, and gave him appropriate remedies. There is also a little *filariasis* among the people. The most striking feature of Mus is the large number and variety of fruit trees; for, in addition to cocoanut and pandanus, there are shaddock, pumelo, orange, lime, papaya and guava trees. Fowls and pigs breed very freely, and are extremely plentiful. Imported Indian cattle and goats flourish, but the latter are frequently killed by the village pariah dogs. A little cotton is grown and collected.

6th January.—This morning we reached Chowra, landed after breakfast, and I took the Census of the inhabitants of Pal and Raichafé. Here, alone, did I experience any discourtesy from a drunken Nicobarese man. As he was considerably interrupting the work, one of the policemen removed him from the *machan* under his hut and, with entire approval of the other inhabitants, laid him down in the shade of a tree at a sufficient distance from our operations. Thereafter the enumeration proceeded smoothly and swiftly. The inhabitants of Chowra suffer very greatly from *filariasis*. Of the eleven occupants of a boat that put off to us, no less than five were afflicted with the disease. One had *elephantiasis* of one leg, the other four sufferers had lymphatic swellings and enlarged glands in the groins; two of the eleven men were also affected with itch. From what I saw, from one-third to one-half the people are diseased.

At the bottom of each ladder leading into a Nicobarese hut on this island, is a large flat *sponge* to wipe the feet on, and, on hunting on the beach, I found very large numbers of these sponges at high-water mark, and in the afternoon found a few growing on the coral reefs fronting the island. Although most of the sponges are commercially useless, still some I saw were of value and one or two were of very fair quality and quite fit for bath use. A limited trade in this commodity might easily be established and is, I consider, well worth fostering. The Andamanese informed me that similar sponges are to be found on parts of the Andamans, and if so they are worthy of careful culture, and the matter of investigation. On the lime trees, but extremely difficult to see owing to their green colour perfectly harmonising with the leaves of the trees, and its yellow throat with the fruit, I caught a couple of *Calotes jubatus*. In the evening I visited the reefs fringing the island and got a few sponges growing on the stones.

7th January.—Reached Bengala in Teressa early this morning. Mr. Man at once landed and took Census. A large sign-board with the name of village inscribed thereon was also landed and hoisted into some cocoanut trees to serve as a direction to future mariners. When this work was accomplished we steamed to Kerawa, where we all landed. and at quarter to one. I, with a guide and Adolph, started off across the island to Aöang and Hinâm. The path. after leading for about three-quarters of a mile through the usual thick coast fringe of cocoanuts, pandanus and creepers, emerged on open grass-covered downs across which I walked quickly for over an hour. probably rather over three miles. The grass is mostly quite short, from 6 inches to 4 feet,—the usual length about one foot,—and consists of several kinds ; one with very fine, delicate leaves, another with coarse leaves like coarse *dûb* grass. On the upper parts of the down were very numerous pandanus trees, at places forming veritable pandanus thickets. In many places the forest and the grass land meet in such a perfectly straight line that human agency in the production of this grass land is very strongly suggested. The meeting of the forest and grass land takes place on the sides of hills, where sometimes forest, sometimes grass, covers their summits. In most places, however, the narrow and often very steep valleys descending from the grass land are clad right up to their tops with trees, although the trees on the top are merely rooted to rocks, and no difference can be seen between the soil bearing the trees and the adjacent soil producing merely grass. That the villagers do not consider the soil of the downs poor or unproductive, is proved by their enclosing parts of it with fences to form vegetable gardens, of which we passed several on our road. Finally, I was informed by a Nicobarese that they yearly fired the grass to keep the downs free from trees, which otherwise would spring up. For these reasons, I disagree with those observers who consider the grassy downs on Teressa at least natural and, with difficulty, explicable phenomena. In the margins of the forests, Nicobar imperial pigeons (*Carpophoga insularis*) were very numerous. On returning to the ship in the late afternoon some of the deep, well-wooded valleys in the middle of the island resounded with loud cries of the Megapode, the cry closely resembling the croaking of the bull-frog. Rocks formed in coral-seas were found to constitute the larger part of the hill to a height of at least 200 feet about midway between Bengala and Kerawa. I shot a Megapode as it flew into a tree with a cry of alarm, and it proved excellent roasted.

8th January.—Reached Bompoka early, and Mr. Man landed and performed the necessary Census operations. Thereafter, we left for Camorta and reached Nancowry Harbour in ample time to make all the necessary arrangements for the Census on the morrow and to visit the site of the old Danish Settlement.

9th January.—Started early, with Nicobarese guide in boat with Nicobarese canoes in tow, and landed at Domyau where I collected information regarding the number of inhabitants in Olenchi, Monak, Oal-ok-heak, Hoe-chafa, Fop-dak, and Domyau itself. With the exception of Domyau, the above names merely represented the sites of one or two huts. Behind Domyau there was a very large accumulation of oyster shells, forming a veritable kitchen-midden.

I then rowed some mile or mile-and-a-half eastwards to the narrow neck of land separating Nancowry from Expedition Harbour. The Nicobarese canoe was carried across the neck some 100 yards, and, after breakfast under the trees, I started for Hoau, about a mile distant, where I got information of the number of the inhabitants of the villages surrounding Expedition Harbour. The Nicobar imperial pigeon was very plentiful round the Harbour, and of the Andaman cuckoo-dove I shot one specimen for identification and saw several others of the same species.

In the evening I rowed round the southern part of Nancowry Harbour, where the most noticeable marine products are some very large digitate *alcyonaceæ* of at least two species. The stocks of these animals are frequently one to two feet in diameter, and the fingers at least one foot in length.

10th January.—Reached Oyau-tapah on east side of Katchall early, landed and took Census of Hoinipoh, Moih-payala, Tapain, Hoin-henpoan, Olenchi, Koila-tapain, and Oyau-tapah itself. Although we landed as early as seven, the headman was drunk, as were most of the other male inhabitants. After breakfast we walked some mile or more to a limestone cave in the forest, and at an elevation of perhaps 200 feet. The whole hillside is composed of weatherworn coral limestone, and the caves are merely unusually large cavities in this stone. At the entrance to the caves we captured two pit-vipers [*Trimeresurus cantoris* (?)]. One was so severely injured in his capture that he subsequently died. The other is still alive and, in spite of his enormous fangs and poisonous aspect, is unable to inflict fatal bites on a guinea pig. Earth-worms were very plentiful beneath the stones in the cave, and several were preserved in spirit. The bats (*Minsiopterus schreibersi*), which Ball noticed in this cave thirty years ago, are still there in large numbers.

On returning to the ship, anchor was at once weighed and we steamed over to Dring Harbour in Camorta, where the necessary Census work was done by Mr. Man.

11th January.—Reached Kondul and, while Mr. Man did the Census work and Mr. D'Oyly went off to board and examine a Chinese junk, I collected reptiles ashore.

12th January.—Reached Katchall West early, and, after taking the Census of the surrounding country, left at about 10 for Puli Pilau in Camorta. From this hamlet we walked southwards about four miles and, on reaching the open down country, were shown plentiful and recent tracks of buffalo, but although we waited till evening, we caught not a glimpse of the animals we were in search of.

13th January.—Reached Mus in Car Nicobar about 1 p.m., and after lunch landed, saw Solomon and his Census papers, collected some crabs under fallen cocoanut trees, acquired a living monitor (*Varanus sp.*), prescribed for some sick people, and left between 4 and 5 p.m. for Port Blair, where we arrived on January 14th soon after 10 a.m.

Mr. (now Sir) Hadley D'Oyly's (Bt.), Report.

5th January—Anchored in Sawi Bay, Car Nicobar, at 8-15 a.m. There was a big swell setting in from south-west, although the wind was east-north-east and the weather quite fine. Mr. Solomon came off from Mus village with six Nicobarese boys in a canoe. It was noticed that all these boys were suffering from itch. Solomon said that the disease was prevalent all over the Island. Captain Anderson advised Solomon to induce the people to take warm baths, apply sulphur ointment to their bodies, and wash their clothes in boiling water, and obtained ointment for the purpose from the ship's stores. The Census party went ashore at 9-30 a.m. landing through the surf in a canoe. The chiefs Scarecrow, Frank Thomson, and Fat Boy met the party. Mr. Solomon's house was visited and his school and the meteorological observatory were inspected. Fourteen boys were studying at the school, and went through some physical drill well. I noticed several foreign traders, one or two Muhammadans, but mostly Burmans, at Mus village; and was told by Solomon that there were about 200 on the Island making *kopra*, their vessels, seven in number, being away at Camorta or other Islands,

Handed over certificate for Saibu, new chief of Malacca, *vice* Iskol, who is undergoing imprisonment at Port Blair. Mr. Man gave directions to Mr. Solomon for taking the Census. The chiefs Offandi, Sampson and McPherson met us at Mus.

6th January.—Left Sawi Bay at 12 o'clock last night, and anchored off Sanenya village in Chowra Island at 7-45 a.m. Three or four canoes came off to us. The people seemed friendly enough and informed us that their headman Tamkoi was away on his annual visit to Nancowry. The Census party went ashore at 10 a.m., landing in canoes through the surf, which was not much. Having guides detailed, I proceeded to do my share of the work at Kotasuk and Olteak villages. Met Mr. Man and Captain Anderson at 1 p.m. at Sanenya and returned to the ship. At 4-30 p.m. I went ashore again to check the enumeration of the morning.

7th January.—Left Chowra at 5 a.m. and arrived off Bengala village on Teressa Island at 7 a.m. The headman, Gibson, with his wife and child came on board. He was under the influence of liquor. Mr. Man landed and took the Census of three villages near Bengala. The ship then went on to Keráwa further south on the same coast and landed Captain Anderson and myself. Procuring a guide I walked across the Island, about three miles to the village of Laksi on the West Coast, over high open lands covered with grass with Pandanus trees only, scattered about. Found the headman Wenechia away, said to be looking after a plantation of yams. Obtained information for the Census and returned to the ship, getting on board at 4-30 p.m. Remained at this anchorage off Keráwa for the night.

8th January.—Left Keráwa anchorage at 5 a.m., and arrived off Poahat village on Bompoka Island at 6 a.m., accompanied Mr. Man ashore to take Census of that village and of Yatkirana, the only two villages of this island. At 7-45 a.m. the ship left Bompoka for Nancowry Harbour, arriving there at 11-30 a.m. The Government Agent, Rati Lal, and headman Tanamara and others came off and reported all well. The Census Party went ashore in the afternoon and arranged for guides to visit the different parts of Camorta, Nancowry and Trinkat Islands the following day. Two *bagalas* from Bombay were lying in this harbour.

9th January.—I left the ship with three of the officers at 6-30 a.m. in a steam launch, towing a Nicobarese canoe, with guides. We first visited Hentoin village on the east coast of Camorta. The tide being low I had to walk over a coral reef for about 200 yards partly under water. Took the Census of this village and of four others to the north on the same coast. Three others, which were in existence at the Census of 1883, were found to be abandoned. Then proceeded in the steam launch from Hentoin across to Trinkat Island, making for Okcheâka, the principal village there. A Chinese junk was lying a mile off the shore opposite this village. The crew told us that the water was too shoal for us to proceed further. There was a fringing coral reef extending to a mile from the shore. The steam-launch was anchored and the party taken ashore in sampans by the crew of the junk. Even so there was difficulty as the boats were scraping over coral most of the way. I took the Census of Okcheâka and of the three other inhabited villages of this Island. Found that seven villages had been abandoned since the last Census. We got some imperial pigeon and teal shooting at a *jhîl* close to the landing place. The tide being high on our return to the launch, the passage over a mile of coral reefs was effected without difficulty in the Chinese sampans. We reached the ship in Nancowry Harbour at 4 p.m. Remained here for the night.

10th January.—Left Nancowry Harbour at 6 a.m. for the east coast of Katchall, where Mr. Man was landed at Kirehenpoan at 7 a.m., and Captain Anderson and myself at Oyautapah at 8 a.m. Moung Poen, the headman of all the villages on the east coast, was found to be very much the worse for liquor, and several men were lying in his hut intoxicated. We took the Census of the seven villages allotted to us and then returned to the ship and were taken to an anchorage off Hoinipoh village, where Mr. Man was picked up. At 11 a.m.,

Plate III.



Plate IV.



Plate I.



Plate II.



Captain Anderson, Captain Wilson and other officers of the ship, and myself landed and walked to some remarkable caves, 1½ miles inland and at a considerable height. The place is well worth a visit. The caves are of coral limestone formation, with stalactites. Illuminated by a ship's blue light, a most beautiful effect was obtained. Near Hoinipoh village was an enormous clump of the giant bamboo, the finest I have ever seen. The ship left Hoinipoh at 2-30 p.m. for Dring Harbour, where she arrived at 3-30 p.m. I went ashore with Mr. Man and Captain Wilson to take the census of the villages in the north-west of Camorta Island. Could not get all the information required about five villages at the extreme north, so it was decided to pay a visit there on the return journey from the southern group of islands. Captain Wilson and myself went for a long walk in the adjoining country to the north in search of wild buffalo. There were fresh tracks all over the place, but no animals were seen. The ship remained at this anchorage, Dring Harbour, for the night.

11th January.—Left Dring Harbour at 5 a.m. for Kondul, where we arrived at 12-30. Mr. Man landed to procure all information as to Great and Little Nicobar as well as this Island. I went off in the steam launch with Lieutenant Gray to visit a Chinese junk, lying off a village on Little Nicobar, five miles off. The Chinaman was found to be the *Ching Taung Fat*; Master, Fu Chow Pian. A vessel of 38 tons with a crew of 12 men. They had a license signed by Rati Lal, Agent at Camorta. A search was made of the junk with the help of two of the crew of the launch, but nothing contraband was found; we got back to the *Elphinstone* at 5-30 p.m.

(To be continued.)

A NOTE ON CERTAIN SIGNS INSCRIBED ON POTTERY FOUND IN ANCIENT FUNERAL URNS IN SOUTH INDIA.

BY PHARMACIEN-COMMANDANT NUMA LAFFITTE OF THE SERVICE DE SANTÉ COLONIAL.

DURING the years 1928-29 I explored round Pondicherry (French India), south of Madras, numerous beds of funeral urns, stretching from east to west for a distance of about twenty thousand yards. The results of this exploration will be published in a volume under preparation, and the finds will, I hope, be exhibited at the Colonial Exhibition being held in Paris during the current year.

What I call funeral urns are large receptacles made of ordinary half-baked earth, measuring about one yard in height and about two yards in circumference. Buried in the soil, these urns, when in good preservation, are covered by others, of equal dimensions, in reverse position (see Plate I, urn 17).

The presence of human bones and skulls in these urns is general. The bones at the bottom are accompanied by numerous red and black terracotta vessels. On the accompanying Plate II two skulls may be seen. The sizes and forms of these vessels are of great variety, and they are always of elegant shape. Stone axes and implements, and numerous kinds of iron arms and instruments are often found among the bones and vessels. Sometimes also there occur copper rings and beads of cornelian.

Among the vessels found during the course of my excavations some had signs engraved upon them, which were always conspicuous. These signs are engraved in the thickness of the coating only, but this does not prevent them from being quite distinct and visible in most cases on the photographs. I collected 27 of these signs. These are shown in Plate III, reduced to half the actual size. Plate IV reproduces a photograph of two of the vessels (scale one-fifth of actual size).

What is the signification of these signs? For a long time I thought they might be potters' marks, or might refer to the deceased himself. But a few weeks ago Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, who had seen my collection in Pondicherry, wrote to me from Calicut, that is to say, from the opposite coast of the peninsula, that he had there seen, in an ancient burial

ground, vessels, one of which bore signs bearing an exact likeness to the 14th on my plate (see Plate IV). The problem is therefore changed. It is not possible to suppose that a sign found on a funeral vessel near Pondicherry and the same sign found on a funeral vessel near Calicut can represent a maker's mark, or the name of the deceased. It might perhaps be an auspicious sign, intended for the protection of the deceased, or a religious sign. To go into the question more deeply, it would be necessary to examine the largest possible number of these signs, with photographs of the vessels bearing them and of the funeral urns or chambers in which they were found.

NOTE 1.—The third sign from the end (*i.e.*, No. 16) in the third row on Plate III was inscribed upon a vase found in a sarcophagus. This vase, instead of having two colours, red and black, is simply of a pale chestnut colour. Though this sarcophagus was found close to urns, there is no *a priori* reason for holding that it pertained to the same race as the urns.

NOTE 2.—The object of publishing this short paper is to induce other research workers to photograph as many as possible, not only of such signs but also of vases and funeral urns, so as to afford a basis for comparison and further discussion of these interesting signs or 'marks' and their meaning. The urns should be photographed (1) *in situ*, before being opened, (2) in course of being opened, and then (3) the contents should be photographed.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—The attention of our readers is invited to the article entitled "Megalithic Remains of the Deccan—a New Feature of them" by Mr. G. Yazdani, published at pp. 56-79 of the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society* for 1917, and particularly to the Diagram of 'Marks' facing p. 57. Several of the marks listed by Mr. Yazdani and depicted on his diagram will be found represented on Monsieur Laffitte's Plate III. Attention is also directed to the article by Mr. H. C. Ray on "The Indian Alphabet" at pp. 233-35 of vol. LIII (1924) of this Journal. Readers may also be interested, in this connexion to refer to the recent discoveries at Ras Shamra in Syria. (See *Antiquity*, December 1930, p. 464, and references quoted in footnote.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

JOURNAL OF FRANCIS BUCHANAN, kept during the Survey of Bhagalpur in 1810-11: edited by C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I. Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, 1929. Pp. xxxvi, 571.

Buchanan Hamilton was one of those men who worked incessantly and wrote voluminously through many years without any practical reward in his lifetime, though all his work was of the highest class and his accomplishments unusually wide and varied. He was appointed in the early part of the nineteenth century on the statistical survey of the old Bengal Presidency and wrote long *Reports* and *Journals* to accompany them, with many maps and drawings, which were all sent home in his name to the Court of Directors. The *Journals* were official diaries, recording the routes and distances travelled, containing also references as to objects of interest, and they are of exceeding value to the anthropologist.

Buchanan was, however, unfortunate in two matters. Nothing was printed from the *Journals* and *Reports* during his life, and he added Hamilton to his surname, so that eventually subsequent authors did not always grasp that "Hamilton was identical with Buchanan." Then in 1838 R. M. Martin obtained permission to use Buchanan's MS. material for his *Eastern India* (3 vols.), but though he thus compiled a celebrated book, it was badly put together and much of Buchanan's work was lost in the compilation. It is now due to the learning and industry of Mr. Oldham and the late Mr. V. H. Jackson that Martin's deficiencies are being gradually filled up. But they have accomplished more than that, because, being competent scholars, Buchanan's *Journals* are being reproduced in well edited forms.

The *Journal* under review is that of Buchanan's survey of the old District of Bhagalpur, and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society is to be congratulated on publishing it, for it runs, with Introduction, Notes and Appendices, to 297 pages of closely printed text. The reader must expect to find changes in the district boundaries since Buchanan's day, so that the area under his survey as the "Bhagalpur District" contains about half of that district as at present known and part of Monghyr and the Santal Parganas. In addition Buchanan enquired beyond the Indian frontier of Bhagalpur in Nepal and produced *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal and of the territories annexed to this dominion*

by the house of Gorkha. As Mr. Oldham says, "This book, like all Buchanan's work, is a mine of useful information, which has been largely drawn upon by subsequent writers."

In perusing the pages under review the reader has therefore before him a work of the first value—the original observations on a part of India, important historically among other things, for it is Aṅgadeśa, the land of the Aṅgas of the *Atharvaveda*, the *Râmâyaṇa and the Mahâbhârata*, to say nothing of the ancient Buddhist and Jain texts, the old Hindu geographers and the records of the Pâla and Sena dynasties. Its capital was the ancient Champâ or Mâlinî, with Modagiri (Monghyr) as its second city, and it played an important part at the time of the Muhammadan conquest and in the days of subsequent Islamic occupation, notably in those of Sher Shâh Sur.

Such a history is not only interesting in a high degree in itself, but it has had a remarkable effect on the population, and here Mr. Oldham ought to be quoted in a passage (p. xiv) worth remembering: "It has hitherto perhaps been insufficiently realized to what extent the martial Kṣatriyas of north-western and western Hindûstân moved eastwards under the pressure of continued shocks [from Muhammadan invaders] to seek their fortunes in new lands. Many of the oldest Râjpût families in Bihâr owe their local establishment to such migration. Scores of cases might be cited. * * * * Soldiers of fortune many of them, they brought in their train others. * * * Attaining control of large areas, these influences became widely disseminated and soon commenced to act as a solvent upon the religious and social customs of the primitive aboriginal inhabitants, conducting to the gradual disintegration of the old tribal organizations. We find these incomers first establishing themselves at convenient and pleasant sites in the immediate vicinity of the hills, extending their sphere of authority as opportunity offered. Within these spheres the aboriginal folk either accepted their superiority and control or else retired deeper into the hills. Those that remained would tend in the course of time to imitate, and eventually adopt, many of the practices of their overlords, the more conservative abstaining from contact and secluding themselves in the more inaccessible portions of the hills. Later on, when more settled government supervened under British auspices, infiltration from the Hinduized population of the plains around would increase in volume and pace. Then we arrive at the stage of which Buchanan was a witness, and of which he has given so many valuable records."

And the country which these mixed Aryans occupied was the home of aboriginal tribes, "representatives (p. xv) of two important peoples, who, if not distinct in race, are distinct at least in speech, namely, the Muṇḍâ and Dravidian families. The Muṇḍâ family of languages is represented chiefly by Sontâli, the language of the Sontâls, who are now spread over a greater part of the district that has been called after them. The Dravidian is represented by Malto or Maler, the tongue spoken by the Maler or Sauriâ Maler in the north-eastern part of the same district": the very name is Dravidian, hillmen, *malai*, Tamil, a hill. To these tribes must be added the Pahâṛiâs or hill-people, aborigines occupying the region known in Buchanan's time as the Jungleterry District, in the rule of which Augustus Cleveland made what was once a great name, largely, however, on the work of Capt. Robert Brooke, 1772-1774, and Capt. James Browne, 1774-1788, whose names Mr. Oldham most creditably brings forward.

Through the District thus inhabited Buchanan systematically travelled and surveyed, practically without maps to guide him through a large part of it, though the maps of the very capable James Rennell (1773-1779) were available for certain portions. The area covered was of "enormous extent when it is "remembered that a very large portion of it consisted of hills and jungle without any road communications, and unvisited hitherto by any European (p. xix)." Truly the modern enquirer has reason to be grateful to Buchanan for his work.

Descriptions of all sorts of places abound in his notes—Râjmahâl, Monghyr, Kharakpur, Teliyâgaṛhî made familiar by Sher Shâh Sur, the hot springs and the like, not forgetting the "invalid *thanas*," "stations," that is, composed of retired and invalided sepoys, settled in the Jungleterry Hills to "establish a kind of militia" to keep the wild hillmen in order. This was an idea of the Capt. James Browne above-mentioned, propounded in 1778; and it lasted till 1821, there being traces of these *thanas* in the latest *Survey and Settlement Reports*.

I fear I have not left myself space to remark on the *Journal* itself, and the innumerable points of interest therein, so conscientiously annotated by Mr. Oldham, but enough has been said to show the reader that in the *Journal* of Buchanan's Survey of Bhagalpur he will find much to reward his curiosity and to teach him, however well he may be equipped in matters concerning India.

R. C. TEMPLE.

HANDBOOK TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE PESHAWAR MUSEUM, by H. HARGREAVES. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ in.; pp. vii+111, with 10 plates. Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1930.

This is a revised and much enlarged edition of the *Handbook* published by the late Dr. Brainerd Spooner in 1909, which has been out of print for many years. Since that delightful little guide was issued the number of sculptures housed in the museum has been doubled, owing to the additions from the finds made during subsequent excavations by Dr. Spooner himself and by Sir Aurel Stein and Mr. Hargreaves at Sahrîbahlol, Shâhjî-kî-ḍherî, Takht-i-Bâhî and Jamâlgaṛhî. These accessions, which have been arranged in the halls and galleries and in some 37 additional

cases, have involved many extra pages of descriptive matter. Moreover, the acquisition of many sculptures illustrating legendary scenes not dealt with in the original guide has necessitated the expansion of the chapter (chap. II) devoted to the exposition of the legends that had grown up around the life of the Buddha, some fourteen more stories being included. The opportunity has also been taken to prefix a chapter on the History and Art of Gandhâra, which, though brief, is not the least attractive part of the handbook, and to add a short chronology, a bibliography of works referring to Gandhâra and a list of the excavations carried out in that area since 1902-03. Otherwise the general arrangement, so admirable in its conception, of Dr. Spooner's work has been preserved; and it is due to the memory of that brilliant scholar to add that but very few amendments have been found necessary in the explanatory matter as a result of more recent research in Buddhist art. To what extent the interpretation of the motifs in these Buddhist sculptures is due to the profound research and fine insight of M. Foucher will be obvious to all who are acquainted with the work of that great scholar.

One of the most striking facts emerging from the archæological and historical records of ancient Gandhâra and Udyâna is how the legends of the Buddha had, as far back as the days of the early Chinese pilgrims, *i.e.*, in the fifth to seventh centuries of our era, become associated with particular localities in this distant mountainous region, extending to the Kohistân on the fringes of the Hindu Kush, though it is most unlikely that the Buddha himself ever wandered so far afield from the lands of Magadha, Videha and Kosala. Was this due to the influence of the great emperor Kanishka, who, after his conversion to Buddhism, became such a zealous champion of the faith? As suggestive perhaps of such a genesis, we have an earlier parallel in the case of the still greater Aśoka, owing to whose unique prestige so many sites in other parts of India have been permanently associated with incidents in the life of the great teacher.

C. E. A. W. O.

STUDIES IN TAMIL LITERATURE AND HISTORY, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A. Pp. xii+324. Luzac & Co. 1930.

These "Studies" reproduce in book form a number of "stray writings" contributed by the author to various journals, learned and popular, in recent years. In three of the seven chapters he discusses the "Augustan Age" of Tamil literature, the Sangam poets and their works; another chapter is devoted to the mystic poets, Śaiva and Vaishnava, of later periods; the remaining three to administrative institutions, the art of war and social life in the Sangam age.

Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar, who is a Lecturer in Indian History in the University of Madras, handles the literary and traditional evidence with discrimination and good sense. On the vexed question of Sangam dates his conclusions, though quite reasonable, are not likely to be accepted yet as final. His series of parallels (pp.140–176) between Tiruvaḷḷuvar's *Kuṛal* and Sanskrit literature is a useful bit of spade work. His references (pp. 178—180) to the "prehistorical period" might well have been omitted, for neither he nor those whose views he quotes are archæologists. His account of early Tamil society, of town and village life, marriage and other customs, dancing, music and other recreations is important, and it is to be hoped that he will take an early opportunity to develop this line of research in greater detail.

The author's remarks on p. 45 regarding the want of properly edited texts of the Sangam classics deserve the attention of the University authorities. Tamil studies have made excellent progress during the past generation, as this book proves, and Tamil scholars have proved their competence. The time is ripe for the systematic editing of these national heirlooms to be taken in hand.

F. J. R.

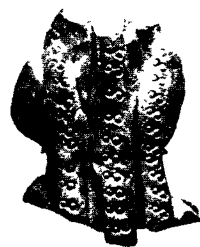
PAI-A SADDHA MAHANNAVO (Prakrita Śabha Mahârṇava).

We took occasion to review the first parts of this work in the *Indian Antiquary*. We welcome the fourth part and with it the completion of this important work by our friend, Paṇḍit Harigovindas T. Sheth of the Calcutta University. It is an undertaking of magnitude, and the work covers very nearly 1,300 pages. It has been well received by scholars and philologists, and is likely to be the means of advancing the study of Prâkṛit, and incidentally of Jain Prâkṛit literature. The last volume is provided with a critical introduction, written in Hindî, of Prâkṛit literature and discourses on the history of the development of Sanskritic languages, their classification and provenance. There is much that is of value in the introduction; and the dictionary itself is bound to prove very valuable to students of the Sanskritic languages and philology, apart from Jaina scholars. We congratulate the author upon the completion of such a useful undertaking by his own unaided efforts. It is to be hoped that the work will receive the encouragement that it deserves at the hands of the public, not to pay the author for the labour, which is impossible, but to encourage useful work of this kind by others, by diminishing the amount and the extent of the sacrifice that scholars so minded are called upon to make.

S. K. AIYANGAR.


I.M. 164-1929


I.M. 162-1929


I.M. 164-1929


I.M. 161-1929


I.M. 165-1929


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SOME INDIAN TERRACOTTA FIGURINES.

BY K. DE B. CODRINGTON.

ONE of the greatest problems in Indian archæology is the fact that the available evidence from the classical sites of the north, as excavated and reported by officers of the Archæological Survey, does not allow of an early dating for Indian culture. In the attempt to go beyond the archæological evidence, literature has been allowed too much weight: indeed, what may be called "literary antiquarianism" has dominated pure archæology. Furthermore, the loose dynastic chronology commonly adopted in India has too often been allowed to extend the confusion consequent on this critical laxity. For instance, the Archæological Department at various sites, such as Taxila and Bhîtâ, has not only made use of the term Mauryan, but has labelled certain groups of objects, considered to be stratigraphically allied, Pre-Mauryan and Primitive.[1] Now, the term Mauryan provides a sufficiently accurate chronology as far as it goes, but it can only be applied, archæologically speaking, to an extremely limited number of objects: that is to say, to certain rocks, pillars and caves, which are inscribed, and to a few stone sculptures and fragments that are akin to the capitals of the inscribed pillars in design and technique. Mauryan sculpture is usually discussed as a problem of foreign influence, Hellenic or Persian. It is at any rate distinct from the early Indian tradition of sculpture as exemplified by the railing-pillars of Bharhut, Bodh-Gayâ and Sanchi, and as developed in *Kushân* Mathurâ, and at Amarâvatî. There are, however, certain intermediate sculptures such as the Pârkham *Yaksha* which preserve the Mauryan technique (*i.e.*, its finely polished surface), but, otherwise, in themselves, must be considered as forerunners of the sculpture of Bharhut. With regard to sculpture, it is clear that the term Mauryan can only be applied justly to work that is comparable in design and technique with the Aśokan capitals. A proper knowledge of Indian pottery would doubtless enable us to speak of a "Mauryan culture," in the proper archæological sense, but at present we do not possess sufficient knowledge to do so.

In the face of this want of knowledge, the usual antiquarian inclination to accept an earlier rather than a later date, makes itself evident.

The problem of dating Indian terracottas is, therefore, admittedly one of the greatest difficulty. All that can be done is to compare them to the very few other terracottas which have been stratigraphically placed in a more or less definite period, or, where this is not possible, to compare them with the sculptures. Difference of material makes the latter procedure hazardous, but in most cases it is the only possible method of investigation. Because a terracotta is unlike anything else recorded, it must not be taken for granted, in the present state of our knowledge, that it is "Pre-Mauryan" or "Primitive." Exceedingly primitive clay-horses are offered to-day at certain Indian shrines, and rough clay toys have been popular at all times.

Four main groups of material for the direct comparison of terracotta figurines must be kept in view :—

I. Two figurines were found on the level of the brick floor, which lies two feet above the plinth of the southern of the two Râmpurvâ pillars.[2] The first is said to be a rabbit, but is more like an exaggeratedly plump cow. The body is hollow, the head, legs and tail being applied. The figure is three inches high and is said to be of "the rudest kind," although the fabric is not described. The second is a bridled horse, four inches high, the applied bridle and eyes being ornamented with impressed dots.

II-A. In the British and Madras Museums there are groups of figurines from Nîlgiri graves, mostly from pot-covers, some of which have been illustrated by Bruce Foote and in

[1] Recapitulated with regard to terracotta figurines by Salmony, *Rev. des Arts Asiat.*, No. II, V Année, p. 99. See also my criticism of this terminology at Bhîtâ in *Man*, 1929, No. 101.

[2] *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1907-08, figs. 1 and 2.

Plates XXXVI, XXXVII, and XXXVIII of Breek's *Primitive Tribes of the Nilgiris.*[3] These are roughly modelled figures of men, women and animals, dogs, horse, sambar, etc. The decoration of the pots, which are of complicated ringed forms, is accomplished by free use of stick-work, impressed as well as etched. The figures are modelled with the hands, only the details of the features, clothing and jewellery being sticked-in : necklaces, waist-belts and cloths are thus rendered by means of chevron- or cross-hatching, and the backs and horns of buffaloes are decorated in the same way. The spotted coats of dogs and the eyes of most of the figures, though not all, are rendered by means of impressed circles, a reed or tube of some kind having been used. One of the male figures wears the classic Indian double garland, the *channavira.*

B. A group of terracotta figurines was excavated near the surface at the Bhiṛ Mound, Taxila, among them a toy horse, 4½ inches long.[4] The eyes of this beast are incised with the same reed-like instrument, and are also probably applied to the head, but the illustration is not detailed enough to make this plain, and no technical description is given. The date ascribed to these finds is " late Mauryan."

C. A few fragmentary terracottas were excavated in the monastery-mound at Shâh-jî-kî-Dheṛî, a Græco-Buddhist site with Gupta surface-finds.[5] Among these, four are note-worthy. Fig. a. 8, Plate XV, which is apparently the " grotesque terracotta figurine No. 16 " of the list of finds, is a crudely moulded figure, which may well have been the handle of a pot-cover. The arms, which jut out from the shoulders, with no attempt at modelling, are broken off. The figure wears a conical cap. The nose is literally pinched out of the clay. The eyes consist of applied circles, cut with a reed-like instrument, the pupils being marked by small impressed dots. Round the neck is applied a close-fitting collar, ornamented with a single row of impressed dots. Fig. b. 6 of the same plate (No. 45 of the list of finds ?), the figure of a horse, has eyes produced on the same way, and also Fig. b. 1 (No. 19 ?). In the centre of the top row of objects illustrated on Plate XVI a, there is a terracotta elephant which does not seem to be included in the list of finds. Its eyes and a band, or crupper, which passes horizontally round the body, are rendered in the same way.[6]

III. At Basârh numerous terracottas were excavated, which are attributed in the Archæological Survey Report[7] to the " *Kushan*, *Sunga* and even the *Maurya* age," though it is confessed that the evidence for the attribution of certain strata at this site to the Mauryan period is not plentiful. A few of the many seals found are described as Mauryan on palæo-graphical grounds, but apart from the difficulty of comparing the script of clay seals with inscriptions in stone, the term " Mauryan " has always been very loosely applied in Indian epigraphy. One fragment of polished stone of Mauryan type was, however, unearthed. In squares V. 19 and V. 21 a number of figurines were found, which Sir John Marshall described as Śunga or possibly Mauryan, with Persian affinities. The alleged Persian affinities are based on certain winged figures, which, however, are purely Indian in type and detail. These attenuated figures, some of them on lotus-bases, are most closely related to the sculpture at Sanchi.[8] The treatment of jewellery, drapery, and, in fact, the whole pose is typical of the later work of the Early Period. They are very different from the robust work at Bharhut, and have nothing in common with the colossal *Yaksha* sculptures which are generally, and

[3] Brit. Mus. Breeks and Elliot Collections. My attention was drawn to these figurines by Mr. Bala-krishnan Nayar, who has catalogued them. See Foote, *Cat. Madras Museum*, Nos. 539 and 542.

[4] *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1912-13, p. 42, Pl. XXXIX e, 5.

[5] *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1910-11, p. 30, Pls. XV and XVI.

[6] There is a small group of terracotta figurines in the Louvre from du Mesnil du Buisson's excavations at Mishriffé, Homs, Syria, labelled *circa* third century A.D., which correspond very closely with these Indian figurines.

[7] *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1913-14.

[8] See my *Ancient India*, p. 33 (*stûpa* 3).

reasonably, regarded as being the forerunners of the sculpture of the Early Period, intervening between it and the work of the Mauryan period, which, as has been pointed out, is known to us only by means of the pillar capitals.[9] The little female head which is catalogued as: "Head and shoulders of a human figure standing *under a flowering tree.* Found B. 42 c. 2, 16′ 6″ deep; No. 518," is of the greatest importance.[10] Its actual context is not given in the report, but the depth at which it was found is extreme for the site. Salmony[11] points out that the alleged tree is really part of a complicated flowered head-dress; the moulded face and body, with its complex textile pattern corresponds closely with Fig. B, and it will be noted that the "flowers" of the head-dress are formed by impressed circles. No details of fabric are available. No. 409 of the catalogue is a figure of the same type, also moulded, but from a very much more complicated mould, the design being very naturalistically manipulated. The impression seems to have been taken and left untouched, all the details being in the mould. It was found at a depth of fifteen feet (B. 40 a).

A second group of figurines from this site are obviously of importance, though, unfortunately, they have been left unillustrated. In Z. 11, at a depth of five feet, Nos. 717 and 747, were found, and are described as figurines of coarse workmanship, the eyes being represented by circles. These occurred at the same level as a seal which is ascribed palæographically to the fourth century, though with what definite standard of comparison it is not stated. The terracottas found above this stratum are clearly fifth-sixth century. At the same depth in X. 15 were found Nos. 693 and 742, which are said to be of the same type, as also are said to be Nos. 641 and 642 from W. 17, depth 3′ 6″. In the latter area, a "Mauryan" seal, ascribed more definitely to third-first century B.C., was also found at a depth of 6′ 3″, but, it is said, out of context. The alleged *Śunga* (second century B.C.) terracottas of fine fabric, here ascribed to the late first century B.C., were found in V. 19 and V. 21 at a depth of four to six feet.

IV. Gupta fifth and sixth century terracottas are well represented. They have been found at Basârh in context with fifth century seals (A.S.R., 1903-04, Plate XXXIX), at Besnagar (A.S.R., 1913-14, Plates LVIII and LIX), and in large quantities at Bhîtâ (A.S.R., 1911-12, Plates XXV to XXVII). The actual fabric is seldom very fine, and according to the Survey Reports a red slip or paint is very commonly used as a surface finish. It is impossible to comment on these figurines as illustrated in the Survey Reports. It is evident that they follow the stone sculptures closely and are in fact often iconographical. In other words, they fall into known types and cannot easily be confused with earlier work. At Bhîtâ (Plate XXIII), the Survey classification, which seems to be based on what is, unfortunately, a very confused classification of the pottery, allocates a few figurines to the "Śunga-Ândhra" and Kushân periods.[12] Those illustrated would seem to be all crude examples of Gupta work.

Recently a large group of terracotta figurines appeared on the market, eventually finding their way into various museums. These Coomaraswamy compared to the terracottas of the so-called Indo-Sumerian culture of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, 4000-3000 B.C.[13] Certain of them are very primitive, in the sense that they are very crude. Coomaraswamy points out that his Fig. 1 wears the crossed garland, *channavira*, but he does not say that this ornament is essentially Indian and iconographical, and therefore does not hesitate to date the figure 2nd millenium B.C., under the title "Indo-Sumerian."[14] It must be noted,

9 Certain of the colossal *Yakshas* have the bright polish of the Aśoka pillars.

10 Plate XLV a. 11 *Loc. cit.*, p. 100.

12 *Man.*, 1929, No. 101. The Early Period terracotta plaque, Fig. 17 of Plate XXIII, is, of course, excepted. As also Figs. 29 and 31, animals' heads, which show the appliqué technique, and Fig. 40 hereafter to be discussed. Figs. 34 and 35 are late Gupta (sixth century).

13 Certain of these, which represent grotesque masks and women in *skirts*, and are of a light-red fabric, can only be regarded as modern.

14 *Boston Mus. of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Dec. 1927.

however, that at the moment the term "Indo-Sumerian" has very little reality for us and that this figure is not exactly parallelled by anything as yet extracted from the complicated stratigraphy of the two sites in question. Coomaraswamy also ascribes a high antiquity, under the title of Pre-Mauryan, to a group of terracottas which are distinguished by the fact that the faces are moulded, and from kindred, if not identical, moulds; and that much of the decoration is applied. Detailed descriptions of other figures of this group are given below. As has been said, Salmony points out that they have a close parallel in one of the many terracotta figurines from Basârh, which are all definitely of the Early Period (third-first century B.C.), being found in association with numerous seals. Just as Coomaraswamy's "Indo-Sumerian" figurine wears the iconographical *channavira*, so the dressing of the hair of these figures is directly comparable to the double and treble plaits of the Sanchi bracket figures; the likeness is undeniable.[15] Moreover, the moulded features are typically Indian, approaching to the Kushân model rather than to that of the early *Yaksha* figures.

Dr. Coomaraswamy attributes certain of these figurines to Taxila and Mathurâ, but, it would seem, upon no very certain evidence. They are certainly from northern India, and probably from north-western India. There is a small fragment of the upper part of a figurine in the British Museum which closely resembles them: this was found in the Bannu district. The following five figurines have been recently acquired by the India Museum, South Kensington :—

FEMALE FIGURINE. H. 5¾ in. W. 2½ in. I.M. 161—1929.

The material is a hard grey stoneware which has been well-fired, but in this case is very weathered. As with the following six figurines the technique used is threefold. The face has been moulded. The jewellery, head-dress (here missing), and hair have been modelled separately and applied. The features have then been worked over with a pointed instrument, and also certain details of the jewellery, which are further embellished with circular impressed dots. The figure is represented standing, but has been broken at knee-level. In front it holds in both hands what seems to be a bowl of fruit or rice balls (*piṇḍa*). It wears heavy bangles, a wide and massive belt, a long neck-chain and two necklaces. The applied details of the head-dress have fallen away, but the hair is dressed in three plaits tied at the bottom and ornamented with flowers or perhaps jewelled studs. This form of hairdressing is directly comparable with the fashions portrayed on the Sanchi gateways. The jewellery also accords with the known Indian styles of the Early Period (third-first century B.C.). In spite of the rather childish overlaying of the applied details, which are put on very much as clothes are put on a doll, the moulded features have nothing primitive about them.

FEMALE HEAD. H. 2¾ in. W. 2¾ in. I.M. 162—1929.

The fabric of this head is of a closer texture than that of I.M. 161—1929. There are also traces of a black metallic looking "slip," or rather paint of an oily nature. The head-dress and the final working-up is very much more complicated than in the last figure. The hair seems to be dressed in bicorn fashion, a head-cloth being draped over it, considerable care having been devoted to the representation of its decorated border and of its folds on either side. Some sort of frontlet worn above the forehead seems to be intended, although its appearance rather suggests negro curls. The figure seems to have been clothed in a highly decorative garment, which came up to the neck, and wore large disc earrings of a type common in the sculptures of the Early Period. The borders of the head-dress have been impressed with a reed-like tubular instrument, which leaves deep-cut rings with slightly depressed centres, a row of these having been made on two strips of clay, which have then been applied to the head. In the same way each of the larger circles has been cut and

[15] The same detail of multiple plaits seems to be preserved in two crude terracottas from made ground on the Scotforth Estate in Salem District. These are Nos. 192 K and 192 L of Foote's *Catalogue*, and are illustrated on Plates 21 and 22. The fabric is reported as "pale red.... coarse and very friable."

applied separately. This figurine is closely duplicated by Salmony's Fig. 4, Plate XXX. *Rev. des Arts Asiat.*, No. II, V Année. See also his Fig. 5, Plate XXXI, and Coomaraswamy's Fig. 3 (*loc. cit.*). All these heads are closely comparable with this head and with the other heads of this group, the same mould probably having been used for the face in each case. I.M. 165—1929 being the best impression. The existence of these duplicates and the state of the figures with reference to the falling away of applied parts suggests that their source was some sort of factory site.

FEMALE HEAD. H. $3\frac{3}{4}$ in., Greatest width $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. I.M. 163—1929.

The fabric of this head is the same as that of I.M. 162—1929. The figure is without arms, and has been broken diagonally across the waist. The applied head-dress, part of the hair-plait and jewellery have fallen away.

FEMALE HEAD. H. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., W. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. I.M. 164—1929.

The fabric of this head is identical with that of I.M. 162 and 163—1929. In this example the details of the moulded face are clearly shown. The lips, pupils and eyelids are all boldly cut ; the hair is naturalistically treated, being parted in the middle ; over it some kind of ornament is represented by two rows of raised dots, as also in I.M. 162—1929. The earrings have fallen away. The three plaits of hair are ornamented with impressed circles. There is a heavy necklace. The neck is very clumsily modelled, the result of the application of the moulded face to the modelled body. This head shows the surface finish admirably : it overlies the clay in a thin coat, which flakes away under the point of a knife. It is spread very evenly, but in places does not seem to penetrate into the interstices of the applied details. It is, indeed, somewhat thicker on the protruding surfaces, as if it had been brushed on, rather than achieved by dipping.

FEMALE HEAD. H. $3\frac{1}{3}$ in., W. $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. I.M. 165—1929.

The parted hair is clearly shown and above it some kind of coronet is represented as in the other heads. The triple plait is preserved, and the heavy double-coil of the right earring, but the left earring has been broken away. Parts of a heavy garland remain round the neck above the breasts ; this is ornamented with transverse bands of small impressed circles.

FEMALE HEAD. H. 2 in., W. $1\frac{1}{3}$ in. I.M. 166—1929.

The triple plait is ornamented with large impressed circles. The earrings are both broken away.

The appliqué technique of these terracottas and the use of impressed circles in the rendering of the eyes and decorative details, have been found to be common to widely spread groups of Indian figurines. Examples have been quoted (*i*) from Râmpurvâ, where they were found two feet above the plinth of a Mauryan pillar ; (*ii*) from the Bhiṛ Mound at Taxila, where they were found near the surface, a context which suggests the latter part of the Early Period (first century B.C.) ; and (*iii*) from Shâh-jî-kî-Dheṛî, a Græco-Buddhist site, continuing into the fifth century. These features also occur in the Nîlgiri figurines, with such convincing identity with the Northern Indian examples, that a late date and northern contacts must be admitted for the graves from which they come. It is difficult to suggest an end-point for this technique. It did not survive into the Gupta period, and, moreover, the bulk of the Kushân and Gandhâran figurines seem to be moulded. The Shâh-jî-kî-Dheṛî examples are, however, probably second century A.D. At Basârh the moulded technique prevails and the terracottas as a whole are finer, approximating very closely to the sculptures in stone : *circa* 100 B.C. is an acceptable date. The figurines under discussion partake technically of both these traditions, but they belong to the finer Basârh class, rather than to the more crude group. Their technique and the details of the hairdressing and jewellery, besides the Basârh parallel quoted by Salmony, all point to late second-first century B.C. as their date of origin.

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROF. S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

(*Continued from page 132.*)

Churruck Poojah.—Mr. Crooke has given references to some other old descriptions, but a very long and very graphic account, as also one of the earliest, is to be found in Barbosa :

[*c.* 1516.] "If any young maiden," he writes, "would marry a youth on whom she has set her fancy, she makes a vow to her god that if he will arrange for her marriage, she will do him a great service before giving herself to her husband. If her wish is fulfilled . . she tells him that before giving herself to him, she must offer to such and such a god to whom she has promised to make an offering of her blood. Then . . . they take a great ox-cart and set up therein a tall water-lift . . . at the end of which hang two very sharp iron hooks . . . They let down the long arm of the lift and push the hooks into her loins through skin and flesh. Then they put a small dagger into her left hand, and from the other end, cause the arm of the lift to rise . . . She remains hanging from the lift with the blood running down her legs, but shows no signs of pain, nay, she waves her dagger most joyfully, throwing limes at her husband."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, I, 220-2.

Tavernier also witnessed the rite at Mâlda on the 8th of April [1666] and has given a pen picture of what he saw.—*Travels*, ed. Ball, II, 254.

Cobra de Capello.—The following use of this word is older than the earliest (1523) in *Hobson-Jobson.*

[*c.* 1516.] "In this kingdom [of Cannanore] in some of the great rivers are found also certain great lizards which devour men . . . and in the land among the woods and thickets are found certain serpents which the Indians call Murcas, and we call them **Cobras de Capelo** (hooded snakes) for they make a hood over their heads. They are very poisonous." —*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, II, 83.

Cobra Manilla.—[*c*. 1516.] "There is yet another kind of snake even more poisonous [than the *Cobra de Capelo*] which the natives call *Madalis*. Such is their renown, that they kill in the very act of biting, so that the person bitten cannot utter a single word nor turn him round to die."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, II, 83. Mr. Dames says the name is 'Mandal' in the Spanish version and 'Mandali' in Ramusio, and that *Payyâna Maṇḍali*[3] is the name by which Russell's viper is known. Lockyer's explanation of the name is most probably an example of 'striving after meaning,' and seems to be founded on the fact that the Portuguese word for 'bracelet' is *manilha* (*Hobson-Jobson*, ed. 1903, p. 558).

Conbalingua.—This word rarely occurs in the writings of English travellers, and all the illustrative extracts in *Hobson-Jobson* are from continental writers. But it is found in Bowrey, who gives a long and very interesting list of the fruits of the Malay Peninsula :

[*c.* 1679.] "This countrey [Achin] affordeth severall excellent fruites, namely Duryans, Mangastinos, Oranges the best in India or South Seas, comparable with the best of China, Lemons, Limes, Ramastines [Rambutan] . . . Mirablines [Myrobalan], **Bolangos,** Monsoone plums, [*Zizyphus Jujuba* or *ber*], Pumple Mooses, &c., and the trees beare fruite both green and ripe all the yeare alonge."—*Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Sir R. Temple, p. 323. Here 'Bolangos' is evidently "a curtailment of 'Conbalingua,'" as the editor has pointed out.

Congee.—The first English writer quoted in *Hobson-Jobson* is Fryer (1673).

[1622.] "Have been endeavouring to procure the goods required 'butt all this tyme itt hath beene soe extreame raynes thatt neather beater cann beate, washer can give **Congee** nor

[3] Molesworth, in his *Marâthî Dictionary*, gives "*Maṇer* or *maṇyár*. A snake of a venomous kind, Cobra Manilla."—C. E. A. W. O., JOINT-EDITOR.

wee looke upon nill.' "—Letter from Aḥmadâbâd to Sûrat Factory, *English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1622-23), p. 109.

Cossimbazar.—'Castle Buzaar' and 'Cossimbazar' are both Anglicised and corrupt forms. According to Jarrett, the original name was 'Kâzihattah' (قاضی ہٹی), Qaẓi's Hâṭ, *i.e.*, Qâẓî's Market or Bâzâr, and this is the form which occurs in the *Aîn-i-Akbarî*, where Qâẓîhaṭṭa is listed as one of the *maḥals* of the *sarkâr* of Bârbakâbâd in Bengal.—Text, pp. 388, 404 ; trans. by Jarrett, II, pp. 120 and note, and 137.

Cowry.—Here are two English examples earlier than those quoted by Yule:

[c. 1610.] Nicholas Ufflet (who was with Hawkins) says: 'for your pice in Agra [you may have] 30 **Caures**, a kind of fish shell come out of Bengala.'—Quoted in *English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1630-33), p. 275 note, from *Factory Records, Miscell.*, vol. XXV.

[1632.] "And att Agra, they have little shells called *Cowrees*, whereof 50 or 60 to a pice accordinge to the Bazare."—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 311.

Crotchey, Kurachee.—The identifications of Arrian's Krokala and of As-Suyûti's Kîrakh or Kîraj with Karâchî are both exceedingly problematical, but there can be no such doubt about the following references to this town, which occur in the *Muḥiṭ* of Sîdî 'Alî Kapudan, which is so frequently quoted by Yule.

[1554.] "If you wish to go from Rasolhadd [our Rosalgat, *q.v. Hob.-Job.*, 769] to Diulsind, you steer E. N. E. till you come to Pasani or near it ; from thence to Dairai Barr, that is to say, E. by S. till Râs *Karâshî*, where you come to an anchor, waiting for the fishing boats with which you enter the port."

And again,

[1554.] "If you guess that you may be drifting to Jaked [Jagat] you must take beforehand your precautions and endeavour to reach from the Coast of Makrân, either the port of Kalmata or Kawâder or Kachi [Kij] Makrân ; Bandar Kawâder is the place where cocoanuts grow ; or you must try to go to *Karaushi* or Khor Diul Sind, that is to say, the port of Lâhori, to get rid of the fear of Jaked." *Op. cit.*, trans. Von Hammer, *JASB.*, 1836, pp. 459, 463.

I am not aware of attention having been drawn to these passages in any of the numerous works on Sind.

Cubeer Burr.—The Banyan tree described by Pietro della Valle is explicitly said by that author to have been within the environs of the town of Surat, but "on another side of the city" than the 'Gopi Telau'—the Tank or 'Poole of Gopi.' (*Travels*, ed. Grey, I, 35.) Mr. Grey must be, therefore, mistaken in identifying it with the 'Cubeer Bur,' because that well-known specimen of the *Ficus indica* is situated, as Sir Henry Yule correctly says, "on an island of the Nerbudda, some 12 miles N. E. of *Broach*," Broach itself being about 30 miles north of Surat. Thévenot explicitly says that the Banyan tree which was worshipped by the Hindus in Surat was a hundred or hundred and fifty paces from the Garden of the Princess, Aurangzeb's sister in that town.—*Travels into the Levant*, Eng. trans. of 1687, Part III, p. 25.

Cucuya, Cucuyada.—This word does not occur in Portuguese writers only. It is found in Thévenot, who has something new to say about its origin.

[1667.] "For avoiding any mischance that may happen upon that account, the Poleyas cry incessantly when they are abroad in the fields, 'Popo,' to give notice to the Naires who may be there not to come near. If a Naire hear the word 'Popo,' he answers (crying) **Coucouya**, and then the Poleya knowing that there is a Naire not far from him, turns aside out of the way, that he may not meet him."—*Travels into the Levant*, Part III (Eng. trans., 1687), p. 89.

Cuddy.—An early use of this word is quoted below :

" They being on board, their men in our mison shrouds, I left the deck and came into the **Kuddy.**"—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1651-4), p. 192.

Cunchunee.—Yule's earliest quotation from a European writer is from Bernier, but the word occurs earlier in Pelsaert as well as in Mundy.

[1626.] " Other classes [of dancers] are named 'horckenis and *hentsinis*, who have various styles of singing and dancing, but who are all alike accomodating people."—*Remonstrantie*, trans. Moreland and Geyl, p. 83. The learned editor suggests that " ' Horckenis ' may represent the sub-caste ' Harakiya ' and *Hentsinis* is presumably formed from ' hansna ' (to laugh) and may be a recognised description or merely a nickname." But ہڑکنی *huṛaknî* is given in Fallon's Dictionary and means ' a dancing girl or harlot ' ; and Mr. Crooke cites a proverb which runs thus :

Huqqa, Sukka, hurkani, Gujar aur Jât
In men aṭak kahâ, Jagannâth kâ bhât.

" Pipe, tobacco, courtesan, the Gujar and the Jât are all one, like the rice of Jagannâth's temple which all castes may eat together."—*Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces*, II, 448. See also *ibid.*, 498. I venture to suggest that ' Hentsinis ' is a misreading or copyist's error, and that Pelsaert wrote, or meant to write, *Kentsinis*, i.e., *kanchanîs ;* and that this is the correct explanation appears clearly from the following passage in Mundy :

[1632.] " There are also daunceinge wenches, of whom there are divers sorts, as Lullenees, Harcanees, *Kenchanees* and Doomenees (all whoores though not in soe publique a manner) beinge of severall Castes and use different manner of musick."—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 216.

Curnum.—Yule cites only a late use of this word. Here is an early one :

[1633.] " He promised to see that Carnam Vincota [*i.e.*, Veṅkaṭa] discharged his debt, but this is not yet performed."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster, 1630-33, p. 278.

Cuscuss, Cuss. [1632.] " In Agra men of qualitie, in tyme of heat, have little roomes accomodated after the manner called Ckusse Connaes, where they sitt Coole, haveinge also a great artificiall fanne of linnen, which hanges downe from aloft, and by pulling from without side, it swings forward and backward cawseing a great deale of ayre within side. Of theis Ckusse Connaes wee have one att the English howse."—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 191.

Deloll.—This familiar word is first found in a mutilated form in Varthema :

[*c.* 1510] " The merchants [in Calicut] have this custom when they wish to sell or purchase their merchandise—that is, wholesale : They always sell by the hands of the cortor or of the **Lella**, that is, of the broker."—*Travels of L. di Varthema*, trans. Badger, p. 168.

Dr. Badger suggests that ' cortor ' is a contraction of the Portuguese *Mercador* and that ' Lella ' is a corruption of *dallâl.*

Dewallee.—The earliest English illustration in *Hobson-Jobson* is of 1671, but there is a much earlier European description in Barbosa :

[*c.* 1516.] " No Nayre woman may go into the towns under pain of death, save once only in the year for which one special night is set apart. . . . On this night, more than twenty thousand women, all *Nayres* go in, for the most part, in Calicut. In their honour, the dwellers in the city set out many lamps in the streets, and the houses of the principal persons are hung with Carpets and decorated with rich fabrics."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, II, 50.

The translator says the special night is the *Tubâ-vâvu*, New moon day in the month of Tulâm (October-November), which corresponds to the Dîpâvalî season.

[1632.] " Then **Deewally,** a holly tyme among the Hindooes, when they sett Lamps and lights in their windowes and tarrasses, etts."—*The Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 220. See also *ibid.*, p. 146.

Dhoty.—In the illustrative quotations, *dhotî*, 'waist cloth,' and *doṭî* (Dutties), 'a coarse cloth for making and mending sails,' are mixed up together. The two words are quite distinct. The *t* in the first is dental, in the second cerebral. The first is derived from *dhonâ*, to 'wash,' cf. *dhobî* ; the second from the Pers. *do* or *dû*, 'two,' and *tah* (ته), 'fold,' 'ply.' *Dotâ*, *dotû* and *dotah* (دوتا دوتو دوته) are given by Richardson, and signify 'double,' 'two-fold' (*Persian Dict.*, *s.v.*)

Dhurna.—In the first series of these notes, I gave a description from Idrîsî. I now give a passage from Varthema, which bears an extraordinary resemblance to another from Ibn Baṭuṭa quoted by Yule, *s.v.* Doai.

[1503-8.] " And when any one ought to receive money from another merchant, ... they [*scil.* the people of Calicut] observe this practice. Let us suppose the case that some one has to pay me twenty-five ducats, and the debtor . . . . does not pay them ; I . . . . shall take a green branch in my hand, shall go softly behind the debtor and with the said branch shall draw a circle on the ground surrounding him, and if I can enclose him in the circle, I shall say to him . . . . three times . . . . 'I command you by the head of the Brahmins and of the King, that you do not depart hence until you have paid me and satisfied me' . . . . And he will satisfy me, or truly he will die there without any other guard. And should he quit the said circle, and not pay me, the King would put him to death."—*Travels of L. di Varthema*, trans. Badger, pp. 147-8.

Doai, Dwye.—The following two quotations would seem to support the suggested Sanskritic origin of this exclamation.

[1639.] " Where with much trouble wee gott the Bramins together, for the Seladar was fayne to send the harkara into their chambers with the King's **daray** er wee could gett them out. And after they were out hee gave them harsh words, with vild names commanding them and all the rest of the assemblie in the King's name not to goe out of the place till they had made a conclusion of our business."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1637-41), p. 175.

[1673.] " They set a **Deroy** on the Factory, which is a prohibition in the King's name for any one to have anything to do with them till that be taken off."—Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia*, ed. Crooke, I, 90. See also *ibid.*, pp. 91 and 251.

Doney, Dhony [Tony].—Mr. Crooke could find no illustration from an English author earlier than 1860.

[1622.] " The latter [the Dutch at Pulicat] sent one of their **tonyes** to overtake the *New Zealand* with the intelligence, and Mills sent a briefe note to the President by that conveyance."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1622-23), p. 154.

Doombur.—(The earliest use by an English author quoted by Yule is of 1828.)

[1632.] " Have provided a quantity of rûnâs, ... and 'a fewe dumba sheepe for your piscashes and howse provision.' "—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1630-33), p. 211.

Dubber.—(The earliest English illustration in *Hobson-Jobson* is of 1673.)

[1619.] " Have been prevented from sending **dubas** for the butter."—Thomas Kerridge at Surat to the Factors at Broach, *English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1618-1621), p. 123.

[1622.] " Butter and meal should be forwarded yearly to Batavia. The former must be put into casks, not sent in dubbers."—*Ibid.* (1622-3), p. 115 ; also pp. 8 and 257 ; and *ibid.* (1624-29), p. 13.

(*To be continued.*)

THE NAME OF THE KHAROṢṬHÎ SCRIPT.

BY JEAN PRZYLUSKI.*

AMONG the tutelary deities of the towns of North-West India, the *Mahâmâyûrî* mentions the *yakṣa* Kharaposta, whose name is rendered in Chinese as 'hide of donkey.'[1] *Khara* means 'donkey' in Indo-Aryan, but *posta* is wanting in Sanskrit dictionaries. While discussing the allied word *pustaka*, Gauthiot showed[2] that its origin should be sought in Iranian *pôst* (Avest. *pašta*, Pehl. *pôst*, Pers. *pûst*), 'skin' or 'hide.' Skt. *pusta* or *pustaka*, 'manuscript,' is derived from an Iranian word denoting 'skin' or 'hide,' because *pustaka*, was at first a 'manuscript on skin or hide,' the use of which spread from Persia to North-West India.

On the Lion Column at Mathurâ, we read the name of the royal prince 'Kharaosta Yuvarâja,' son of Mahachatrava Rajula and brother of Chatrava Śuḍasa. The name of the *yakṣa* Kharaposta and that of the *yuvarâja* Kharaosta[3] are doubtless superposable: the latter, like the former, means 'skin of donkey.'

Posta being a word of Iranian origin, the compounds Kharaposta, Kharaosta might not have been intelligible to uneducated Indians. It was therefore tempting to substitute for the second element of Kharaosta an Indian word understood by all, and this word might have been *oṣṭha* 'lip.' In fact, tradition knows of a *ṛṣi* called Kharoṣṭha, 'lip of donkey,' to whom the invention of the Kharoṣṭhî script was ascribed.[4] Kharoṣṭha, formed of *Khara*+*oṣṭha*, might well have been the Indian corruption of the Iranian compound Kharaosta: popular etymology might have replaced the ancient saint called 'Hide of donkey' by the saint 'Lip of donkey.'

If this be granted, the highly disputed question of the origin of the name of the Kharoṣṭhî script appears in a new light. If the name of the saint to whom the invention of this script was attributed is traceable to an original Kharaposta, the form *kharoṣṭhî* should have the same origin.

Historically, this induction is completely satisfactory. The documents in Kharoṣṭhî script, which have come to us from Central Asia, are often written on the hide of the camel or more rarely on the hide of the horse or of the donkey. Donkeys being particularly numerous in North India, their hide should have been used more commonly in this region than that of horses or camels. We can easily see that Kharoṣṭhî may have in the past denoted writing on the hide of the donkey, on *kharaposta*.

In a paper which provoked a sharp discussion, Mons. Sylvain Lévi had tried to prove that Kharoṣṭhî was derived from a geographical name Kharoṣṭra which itself is formed of *khara*+*uṣṭra* 'donkey and camel,' and which (according to Lévi) was an ancient designation of the town Kashgar. Two years later, without giving up his postulate concerning the origin of the word Kharoṣṭhî, M. Sylvain Lévi abandoned the connection he had proposed between Kharoṣṭa and Kashgar, and showed that Khotan had, equally with Kashgar, claims to be considered as the regular equivalent of Kharoṣṭra. This last word, in short, would denote the vaguely defined tract "which modern geography includes roughly under the name of Turkestan."[5]

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* A translation of the article published in French at pp. 43-45, *JRAS.*, January 1930, with the kind permission of the author and of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

1 Cf. Sylvain Lévi, "The Geographical Catalogue of the *yakṣa* in the *Mahâmâyûrî*," *JA.*, 1915, 33rd verse, and for the explanation of the name, p. 58 of the offprint; °*postá* of verse 33 should evidently be corrected to °*posto*.

2 *MSL.*, xix, 1915, p. 130.

3 On the elision of intervocal *p* in Prâkrit, cf. Pischel, *Gr. Prk. Sp.* § 186.

4 Sylvain Lévi, in *BEFEO.*, 1904, pp. 48-9.

5 Cf. *BEFEO.*, 1902. "The Script Kharoṣṭrî and its cradle," *ibid.*, 1904, p. 41.

It is unnecessary to discuss here the location of the 'Land of Donkeys and Camels' (Kharoṣṭra-deśa). It is enough for me to point out that the script called Kharoṣṭhî was not introduced into India from Turkestan, and that we could not therefore derive its name from a geographical expression denoting the regions of Khotan and Kashgar.

This does not mean that the speakers may never have confused Kharoṣṭhî and Kharoṣṭra. The plays of popular etymology are varied. Under a colloquial form like *kharoṭṭhî*, the normal equivalent of *kharoṣṭhî*, one could conceive as well a word like *kharoṣṭrî* as *kharoṣṭhî*; the former term would suggest *khara-uṣṭra*. In their ignorance of historical actuality, certain Chinese authors may have preferred *kharoṣṭrî*, which suggested the idea of the 'land of donkeys and of camels.'

Supplementary Note.[6]

While reviewing in *T'oung Pao*, 1921, p. 172, an article from the pen of R. D. Banerji on *The Kharoṣṭhî Alphabet* (*JRAS.*, 1920, p. 193 ff.), Mons. Paul Pelliot has noted: (1) that the Chinese transcription by Houei-yuan implies an original like **kharoštrag*; (2) that in the language of the Avesta we have *aoštra* by the side of *aošta* for 'lip'; (3) that we find a form *kharustr* in Mekhitar of Aeriwank. All this would show that, during certain epochs, forms like *Kharoṣṭra* were current and that they might have been explained as "lip of donkey" or otherwise. But the original value of the term *kharoṣṭhî* is quite a different problem, which could not be solved by popular etymologies like "lip of donkey" or "donkey and camel."

PRÂYAŚCITTA, OR HINDU IDEAS ON THE EXPIATION OF SIN.

BY BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

Prâyaścitta is a Sanskrit word, which has been taken over like many others into the modern Âryan languages of India. It is defined variously as 'penance,' 'expiation,' 'atonement,' 'punishment,' and so on. The idea expressed by all these different words is identical, the difference being only of degree rather than of kind. The word 'penance' in English means an ecclesiastical punishment imposed for a certain sin, or the suffering to which an individual subjects himself as an expression of his repentance; whereas 'expiation' in its strictest sense is simply an act for the atonement of a certain offence, crime or sin; and hence it is a purificatory rite. As for the other two meanings of *prâyaścitta* they need not concern us here in our present study.

Prâyaścitta may be, and is, demanded for all sins and crimes against the moral, religious and legal codes of the Hindus. Therefore to understand what *prâyaścitta* means it is necessary to have an idea of the Hindu conception of sin.

The *Laws of Manu* give us a detailed description of the different kinds of sins and crimes without making any very sharp distinction between a sin and a crime. According to Manu almost all crimes, at least those of a graver nature, are those which offend the dignity of a Brâhmaṇa. And the greater the enormity of the crime, whether real or imaginary, the more is the need of a *prâyaścitta*; and if the proper *prâyaścitta* be not performed the punishments meted out for such offences are often as severe as it is possible for the Hindu mind to conceive. In one place it is said that those who commit mortal sins (*mahâpâtaka*) spend a large number of years in dreadful hells of varying stages of torture, and then, when that term of punishment is finished, they are reborn in different insect and animal shapes[1]; and these punishments may easily be avoided by doing certain specified penances. Then Manu goes on to say that "he who steals gold will become a rat . . . . he who steals honey, a stinging insect; he who steals milk, a crow; he who steals sugarcane, a dog. . . . [and so on, through a long list]. . . . . He who deprives another of his property by force, or eats sacrificial offerings of which no sacrifice has been made, undoubtedly becomes an animal. Women who

[6] This additional note was communicated to me by Prof. Przyluski after the publication of his paper in *JRAS.*—L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar (translator).

[1] *Laws of Manu*, xii 54.

commit thefts bear corresponding guilt and become the females of the animals above enumerated."[2]

All the crimes mentioned above deal with larceny in some form or another, but there are others which are much more serious. According to Hindu law crimes may roughly be divided under three broad headings: crimes against the property of an individual; crimes against the person of an individual; and crimes against the honour of an individual. To the last group belong sacerdotal crimes and religious crimes or sins. An unfaithful wife, we are told, will become a jackal after death,[3] and publish her shame to the world by howling dismally at night. The soul of a Brâhmaṇa, who drinks forbidden spirituous liquors, called *surâ*, will enter the bodies of great and small insects, moths, carrion-eating birds such as vultures and so on, and destructive animals.[4] Men who take pleasure in inflicting pain become carnivorous animals; those who eat forbidden food become worms; thieves become creatures which devour their own kind, like fish.[5] But more heinous still are crimes committed against the dignity of the twice-born Brâhmaṇas. " He who kills a Brâhmaṇa, after a long process through different hells, is to be reborn as a dog, a pig, ass, camel, cow, goat, sheep, stag, bird," etc., and " the worst fate is reserved for those who commit adultery with the wife of a priest or teacher [in former times a priest or a teacher was always a Brâhmaṇa, and even today the office of a priest is reserved specially for a Brâhmaṇa]; their souls are to return hundreds of times into grass, shrubs, creeping animals with claws and cruel dispositions."[6]

But the religious books of the Hindus say that nearly all these crimes may be atoned for by the person committing them, and a complete or at least a partial remission of the punishments may be obtained. In fact, the same lawgiver says that a man who omits to perform an action prescribed by the *Śâstras*, or one who performs a blameable act, or one who cleaves to sensual enjoyments, is obliged to perform a penance[7]; and adds that penances are necessary for the sake of purification, because those whose sins are not expiated are born again with disgraceful marks.[8]

Whether, however, any of the penances prescribed are applicable to graver crimes committed intentionally is not quite clear. The probability is that they are not. In one place it is said plainly that there can be no *prâyaścitta* for intentionally killing a Brâhmaṇa,[9] but if the killing is unintentional the slayer must purify himself by erecting a hut in a dense and impenetrable forest and dwelling there for twelve years, subsisting on alms and making the skull of a dead man his drinking vessel.[10] And in modern India the unintentional slayer of a cow or a calf must live on charity for a period of three or five years, and is not allowed to utter a word, although there does not seem to be any objection to his making some inarticulate sounds. On the other hand, the slaying of a Śûdra is a comparatively petty offence in Hindu eyes; or rather it was till British justice changed the whole aspect. The only punishment prescribed for such an action is the same as for killing a dog, an iguana, a cat, a mungoose, a blue jay, a frog, an owl or a crow,[11] even though the killing be intentional.

Some of the *prâyaścittas* are severe in the extreme, as for example that for a Brâhmaṇa drinking spirituous liquor. If a twice-born intentionally drinks such beverages through delusion of mind, his penance is to drink it again boiling hot; only thus, when his body has been completely scalded by the boiling liquid may he be freed from his guilt[12]; or, he may drink a concoction of cow's urine, water, milk, clarified butter (*ghṛta*) and cowdung, or any one of these, boiling hot until he dies.[13]

[2] *Laws of Manu*, xii, 55-69, cited by B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale* (Paris, 1927), pp. 113 f.
[3] *Laws of Manu*, v, 164; ix, 30.
[4] Cf. *Laws of Manu*, xii, 56.
[5] B. Bonnerjea, *op. cit.*, 114, citing Manu.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Laws of Manu*, xi, 44.
[8] *Laws of Manu*, xi, 52.
[9] *Laws of Manu*, xi, 90.
[10] *Laws of Manu*, xi, 90, 73.
[11] *Laws of Manu*, xi, 132.
[12] *Laws of Manu*, xi, 91.
[13] *Laws of Manu*, xi, 92.

Manu makes a sharp distinction between intentional and unintentional sins. As a general rule lesser crimes, though intentional, may be atoned for by the performance of certain penances, except, as we have seen, the slaying of a Brâhmaṇa or of a cow. We are told that all sages prescribe a *prâyaścitta* for a sin unintentionally committed, and some declare on the evidence of the revealed texts that penances may be performed even for intentional sins. And further we hear that a sin unintentionally committed is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts, while intentional sins may be expiated only by special penances.[14]

Not only is there a distinction between intentional and unintentional sins, but also between actual and magical or actual and imaginary sins. The essence of the Hindu caste system as practised at the present day is not so much what he must do and what he must not do, but principally it is that he is forbidden to eat certain kinds of food, the chief of which is beef. A Hindu may still remain a Hindu in spite of all his contrary religious beliefs; he may be allowed to mix socially with whomsoever he pleases; he may scrupulously avoid attending any Hindu religious worship; and, if a Brâhmaṇa, he may even neglect to have his *upavîta*, (sacred thread), when he attains the proper age. There are *prâyaścittas* for all of these. But let him once eat beef, or even smell it, for the Sanskrit proverb says: *Ghrâṇaṁ arddha bhojanaṁ* (' Smelling is half eating '), and he becomes an outcaste for ever. Thus a well known case is mentioned of a certain Bengali family which lost its caste through having smelt forbidden food (beef) being cooked.[15] So strict is this rule about food taboos that it has been said that " the stomach is the seat of Hinduism "; and down to our own times it is a favourite custom of the Muhammadans to make a man lose caste by forcing beef down his throat. The question never arises whether the man so treated was a willing party to it; indeed it is of no importance, even if he resisted to the best of his ability, but the fact which remains indisputable is that he has tasted forbidden food, and is therefore, *ipso facto*, an outcaste. For such a crime as the eating of beef no *prâyaścitta* is possible. If, however, a man is made an outcaste for some other reasons, he may be reinstated into his former position by feeding a certain number of Brâhmaṇas, and by other similar means.

Many other articles of food are also taboo to the Hindus, but infringement against these taboos may be expiated. In one religious book it is said that food which has been allowed to remain for a certain length of time, that which has got cold, over-cooked, evil-smelling food, food cooked the previous day, leavings from others' plates, and uneatable food, such as certain meats and so on, are acceptable food only to the vicious.[16] And a European scholar, mentioning the food taboos of the Hindus, says: " *Für noch wirksamer als alle äussere Reinigungsmittel gilt der Genuss reiner Speisen; wer sich in Bezug auf seine Ernährung rein erhält, der ist wahrhaft rein, nicht der sich nur äusserlich mit Erde oder Wasser reinigt.... Doch sind nur den Brahmanen alle diese Getränke* [i.e., *surâ* and *madhu*, both spirituous liquors] *verboten; während der Ksatriya und Vaisya sie teilweise geniessen dürfen....Fleischessen und Alkoholismus stehen im Allgemeinen auf gleicher Stufe, doch wird ersteres Vergehen nicht zu den Todsünden gerechnet, und die Smṛtis enthalten noch manche Überreste von den vedischen Tieropfern und einer besseren Auffassung der Ahiṁsâ, welche gewisse Tiere für essbar erklärt. So besagt ein bekannter Memorialvers, dass man bei Empfang eines Ehrengastes, bei einem Opfer und zu Ehren der Manen ein Tier schlachten dürfe, sonst aber niemals. Daher sagt Vas.* 4.1, *ist das Schlachten von Tieren bei einem Opfer kein Schlachten im eigentlichen Sinn: bei M.* 5, 48, *Vi.* 51, 71, *ist freilich an die Stelle dieses Satzes der andere getreten: daher muss man den*

[14] *Laws of Manu*, xi, 45 f.

[15] B. Bonnerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 7, note[1], citing J. N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects* (Calcutta, 1896), pp. 119 f., S. C. Bose, *The Hindus as they are*, pp. 171-174, (Sir) H. H. Risley, *The People of India*, ed. 1915, p. 116.

[16] " *Yâtayâmaṁ gatarasaṁ pûti paryyuṣitaṁ ca yat*
Ucchiṣṭamapi câmedhyaṁ bhojanaṁ tâmasapriyam "—[*Śrîmadbhagavadgîtâ*, xvii, 10 (*Âryadharmmagranthâvalî*, part i, edited by Abinâścandra Mukhopâdhyâya, Calcutta, 1319 (Bengali era), p. 355).]

Fleischgenuss vermeiden.... Von vegetabilischer Nahrung soll man Knoblauch, Lauch, Zwiebeln, Pilze, auf dem Mist gewachsene Pflanzen meiden. Auch von unwürdigen Personen geschenkte, abgestandene Speisen, wie Überreste einer Mahlzeit, von unreinen Tieren oder Menschen berührte Speisen u. dgl. dürfen nicht genossen werden."[17] Further lentills are taboo to all good Brâhmaṇas, and it is forbidden to partake of food while standing or lying down, in a naked state, or in wet clothes.[18]

Another imaginary heinous offence committed by young Hindus in modern times in ever increasing numbers is going to foreign parts, but fortunately this offence can easily be expiated. A traveller is often believed to contract a dangerous infection from strangers, especially if the strangers are of an inferior caste ; and therefore, when, at the end of his sojourn in a foreign country, as for example Europe, he returns to his native place, he is required to submit to various purificatory ceremonies before he is allowed to mix freely with his kinsfolk, or before any one of his own caste may mix with him. In the vast majority of cases all he is required to do in order to be purified is to poll his hair—which may nevertheless be retained on payment of a certain sum of money—and by tasting the *pañcagavya* or the five products of the cow. In one case however certain Hindu ambassadors who were sent to England were required to expiate more rigorously. They were considered so polluted by coming in contact with strangers that nothing short of being reborn was held sufficient in their case. A golden *yoni* was made, and they were obliged to pass through it in order to be reborn ; and they came out stainless as newborn babes.[19]

As to what constitutes *prâyaścitta*, there are different forms of varying hardships. One of the easiest forms is the reading of certain ancient Sanskrit texts, but it is not quite clear which is the most efficacious. The *Viṣṇu Purâṇa* says that whoever listens to the history of Prahlâda is immediately cleansed from his sins, and that a man who hears this *Purâṇa* obtains the fruit of bathing in the Puṣkara lake for twelve years in the month of *Kârttika* (October-November). Equally emphatic, if not more, is the *Bhagavad-gîtâ* about its supposed efficacy in cleansing all kinds of sins. Here we are told that a man who attentively studies its eighteen chapters attains knowledge and thereafter salvation ; if he is unable to read the whole of it but reads only one half, there is no doubt but that he acquires as much virtue as is attained by the gift of a cow [to a Brâhmaṇa] ; he who reads only a third of it acquires thereby the fruit of bathing in the Ganges ; the diligent reader of a sixth part gains as much virtue as though he has performed the *soma* sacrifice ; and finally, he who reads only one chapter daily attains *Rudra-loka* and lives there happily for a long time.[20] And a little further on it is said that even if a great sinner is fond of listening to the *Gîtâ* he will attain *Vaikuṇṭha* and live there in peace with Viṣṇu.[21] Analysing the *Gîtâ* text we find that the gift of a cow is regarded as an expiation of the highest order, next to that comes bathing in the Ganges, and the third place is allotted to the *soma* sacrifice.

(*To be continued.*)

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17 J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* [*Gr. d. indo-arisch. Phil.*], pp. 157 f.

18 B. Bonnerjea, "Some Notes on Magic and Taboo in Bengal," *The Indian Antiquary*, lvii (Bombay, 1928), p. 111.

19 *Id.*, "The Power of Magic in Bengal," *The Indian Antiquary*, lviii (1929), p. 76 and note[13]. References are given there.

20 *Yo'aṣṭâdaśajapo nityaṁ naro niścalamânasaḥ*
Jñânasiddhiṁ sa labhate tato yâti paraṁ padam (10)
Pâṭhe' asamarthaḥ sampûrṇe tato'arddhaṁ pâṭhamâcaret
Tadâ godânajaṁ puṇyaṁ labhate nâtra saṁśayaḥ (11)
Tribhâgaṁ paṭhamânasta gaṅgâsnânaphalaṁ labhet
Ṣaraṣaṁ japamânasta somayâgaphalaṁ labhet (12)
Ekâdhyâyantu yo nityaṁ paṭhate bhaktisaṁyutaḥ
Rudralokamavâpnoti gaṇo bhûtvâ vasecciram (13)—[*Srîgîtâmâhâtmyam*, 10-13 (*Âryadharmmagranthâvalî*, pt. i, pp. 413 f).]

21 "*Gîtârthaśravaṇâsakto mahâpâpayuto' api vâ*
Vaikuṇṭhaṁ samavâpnoti viṣṇunâ saha modate"—(*ibid.*, 18 [p. 415].)

SCRAPS OF TIBETO-BURMAN FOLKLORE.

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from p. 118.*)

5. Offerings.

" At the same time (p. 26) he threw [from the bridge over the Tîstâ] a couple of copper coins into the river as an offering to the deities which dwell there."

" Burnt offerings of some sort (p. 282) play a part in all primitive religions. In Lhasa there is a striking instance of this. Some two miles to the south-west of the city on the very summit of a precipitous hill is a gigantic urn, in which very smoky incense is burned every day. It takes several hours to climb this hill, so the wealthier devotees prefer to pay various coolies to carry the incense up for them. But the merit acquired by the act belongs to the donor and not to the poor coolie."

In Burma offerings of many kinds on every sort of occasion are made to the ubiquitous *nats* : for details see Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, p. 238 f. [At boat races] " it is necessary to propitiate the guardian spirit of the river and votive offerings are therefore to be made. At the stern of each boat crouches a man, holding with outstretched arms a bunch of plantains, some cooked rice, flowers and betel for the soothing of the water kalpies. *Op. cit.*, p. 357.

In *E.R.E.*, III, 26, it is said that " the Kachins [of Burma] give an explanation of the object of animal sacrifices and of the common practice of consuming the flesh of the sacrifice. They say that when they are in trouble, their primeval mother Chang-kho demands the pigs and the cattle, or she will eat out their lives. So when they are ill, they say ' we must eat to the *nats*.' The Kachins have further an illuminating notion of being able to promise the sacrifice ordered by the *tumsa* (exorcist) at some future time, if it be not available when ordered. Here we seem to have the embryo of the idea leading to the pictures and effigies, in lieu of actual sacrifice, used by the Chinese and their followers in Indo-China. The principle of the sacrifice is to give a small portion of the animal or thing sacrificed to the *nats* and to devour the rest, or to eat up what has been temporarily devoted as an offering. Sometimes only the useless parts of the sacrifice are offered. . . . .Absolute sacrifice, though uncommon on any considerable scale, is not unknown. . . . .On a small scale absolute sacrifice is common enough."

Dropping trifling offerings into rivers, lakes and the sea is a common practice in India. *E.g.*, " Hindus, especially women, of Lower Bengal, on going on a pilgrimage by river or sea, generally drop a few coppers into the water as an offering to Buddha Udin [Badru'ddîn Auliâ of Chittagong] saying, ' *Daryâ kâ pânch paise, Buddhar, Buddhar* ' [the Sea's five pence, Badr, Badr]." (*Journal, Burma Research Society, XV*, 3.) See also pp. 11, 13 : " The song which Muhammadan boatmen sing on the Ganges, and which ends with the words ' *Sar-i-Gangâ, Pânch Pîr, Badr, Badr, Badr.*' Here we seem to have the origin of the women's custom . . . . of dropping coppers into the water on a river journey with the words ' *Daryâ ke pânch paise, Badhar, Badhar,*' where the Five Saints (Pânch Pîr) have become ' five pence ' (*pânch paise*), the Musalman's Pânch Pîr being no doubt due to the old and famous Pânche Dêva, the Five Gods of the Hindu domestic ritual of purely Indian descent." See also *The Word of Lalla*, 70.

6. Incense.

" A tiny sacred island (pp. 44, 45) in the middle of a frozen lake [at Pari] . . .Morning and evening was burned incense, the sweet odour of which appeared to frighten the dark demons of the night."

In Burma " incense sticks and scented wood are often burnt on stone altars, erected specially for such fire offerings [candles, tapers, lamps]." Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 189.

7. Ceremonial Dancing.

" The whole morning (p. 271) the market place [at Lhasa] was full of revellers of both sexes and from every part of Tibet. They were singing, shouting and dancing. The dancing

interested me particularly, as it was unlike anything I had seen before. Three or four women would gather and form a circle. Each woman had in her hand a leather strap strung with little bells, such as are hung on the necks of ponies in Tibet when a noble rides forth. The women would then begin to sing and stamp their feet rhythmically, at the same time jangling the bells which they held in their hands. Gradually numbers of men—strangers—would gather around, join in the song and stamp their feet in the same rhythmic fashion. Verse after verse would be sung and the stamping would go on for many minutes, until the singers were out of breath, or one of the women weary and jostled from behind would fall down. Then the party would break up, only, however, in most cases to form again a few yards further to the right, once breath and voice had been recovered. It was obvious that these parties were gradually making the way around the Inner Circle, . . performing the prescribed circumambulation of the Cathedral square. It was quaint to see them performing this holy rite in such an exceedingly jovial fashion."

In Burma "all propitiative ceremonies among the wild tribes end in drinking and dancing, and commonly in drunken orgies." (*E.R.E.*, III, 7.)

In *The Word of Lalla*, 172, it is remarked that ecstatic religious dancing is a very old practice in India and is there explained philosophically as a copy of the Dance of the Shiva —the Dancing Lord of the Himalayas—"typifying the course of the cosmos under His rule. It implies [philosophically] that the devotee has wholly surrendered the world and become united with Shiva [*i.e.*, the Deity, represented in modern Tibet by the Buddha]."

In the *Calcutta Review*, 1925, p. 71, there is an article by A. Somerville on "Queer Tibetan Customs," in the course of which he describes the Devil Dance thus: "In early Tibet there were two national dances which held precedence to all others, these were the 'Devil Dance' and the 'Lama Dance.' Of these, the 'Devil Dance' was certainly the more popular, and was originally a religious ceremony of the old Bon faith which flourished in Tibet prior to the introduction of Buddhism and was intended to propitiate the devils and various earth-demons, the worship of which formed the basic principles of the Bon ritual. Later it degenerated into a grotesque ceremonial dance, held principally at night, in which the performers disguised themselves in hideous masks representing various animals and demons, and careered wildly around a figure of Buddha or a huge bonfire, uttering wild cries and imitating as closely as possible the motions of the various animals they represented. The significance of these masks was explained by their facial expression and was intended by the Lamas to instruct the ignorant on-lookers in the basic principles of the Buddhist faith. Thus the man who lived a cruel life, would later, according to the laws of Karma and re-birth, as interpreted by the Lamas, return to this earth in the form of the beast or demon he most nearly represented. Gradually, however, with the ennobling influence of Buddhism and the introduction of a superior class of Lamas into the various monasteries all over Tibet, the popularity of the Devil Dance died out, but many of its rites, costumes, etc., were incorporated and the Lama Dance we see to-day is actually a co-mingling of the two."

He then goes on to remark: "The statue of the largest Buddha is brought out and placed a short distance from the Monastery, facing the entrance. In the centre is a shrine of 'good-luck,' composed principally of coloured thread, paper and flags. The worshippers advance towards this shrine, spray it with handfuls of rice or lay various votive offerings, such as fruit, milk, etc., before it.

"The dance now commences. Heralded with a flourish of trumpets, a clanging of cymbals and beating of drums, the Lamas, made hideous with their grotesque headgear, troop slowly out of the Temple and commence to circle slowly round the shrine of 'good-luck.' Gradually, with the music, the speed of the dancers increase. They work themselves up into a religious fury, whirling swiftly round and round, till exhausted, when with one accord they rush into the Monastery and the dance is finished."

8. Flags.

" In the middle (p. 26) of the bridge [over the Tîstâ] we found a number of paper prayers fluttering in the breeze. Toby brought out with him three such printed prayers, which he had carried with him, and tied them on to the others."

" On reaching the town of Pari the first thing we noticed was a tiny sacred island in the middle of a frozen lake. Hereon were erected prayer flags, which as they fluttered in the breeze wiped out the sins of man, according to the Tibetan belief " (p. 44).

" The Tibetan roofs [are flat and] are rendered picturesque by having placed at each corner the prayer tufts and prayer flags which flutter in the wind. Each flutter is as a prayer which rises to the gods and brings supernatural protection to the house and its inhabitants."

" The *chorten* or shrine [at Lhasa], which lay a few yards (p. 282) away seemed a special object of attraction for the women. Many of them came with little prayer cloths which they attached to the shrine; while others burnt small quantities of brush in the adjoining sacrificial urn."

In Burma, says Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 188, " Prayer flags . . . . . are made of paper, cut fancifully into figures of dragons, lizards, and the like, with embroidery work round their edges. In the centre is written some pious reflection or aspiration, and the offerers place it on the shrine. . . . There are other small flags or streamers made of coloured cloth, and some of them, especially those presented by Shans, are stitched with many plies, until they stand out quite stiff. Others are made of varnished strips of zinc. They have nothing written on them and stand simply for the advancement of the piety of their offerers."

9. Ragbushes.

" Just at the top (p. 236) of the pass [above the Brahmaputra Valley] we found two *chortens* or shrines. We added our stones to the little pile in front of each, and also tied a rag to the brush sticking out above the stone heaps. We recited a charm (*mantram*) in honour of the gods and rested a few moments."

Ragbushes are very common in India and indeed practically over the world. In *The Word of Lalla*, 726, we read: " The poison of Shaktism entered only too largely into Mahâyâna Buddhism . . . . The Mahâyâna system of spells was greatly extended by making the mere repetition of them efficacious, leading to the well-known prayer wheels and rags on trees and bushes, which repeated on behalf of the users the spells they contained indefinitely by mere mechanical agitation and fluttering in the wind."

10. Cairns.

" On many occasions (p. 48), as we went along the road, we passed by some shrine or sacred image. One of these, the famous Red Idol, as it is called, is quite imposing, and I noticed with particular interest the heap of tiny stones in front of it. As Tibet has no flowers to present to the idols, the Tibetan peasants will carry pebbles and heap them up before the image."

" Here [Pass near Kampa Dzong] we found (p. 126) another Gyatse and though no one was around we carefully followed Tibetan custom and added a stone to the little heap in front of the mountain shrine and called on the gods for protection."

11. Prayer-wheels.

" Let into the walls (p. 54) of the lower part of the pagoda [at Gyangtse] were a number of revolving barrels. These were the famous Tibetan prayer-wheels. It is the duty of every man, as he passes along, to stop and twist these wheels, causing them to revolve. By this exercise, it is believed, a man acquires an enormous merit, and by his pious efforts he is ridded of all his sins."

" The old man (p. 158) carried a prayer-wheel in his hand, which he kept constantly turning in his hand, thereby laying up an enormous merit for himself, and he occasionally ejaculated the sacred formula of Tibet: *Om mani peme hung*, spelt *Om mani padme hum*, to make up for delinquencies, which the prayer-wheel might have left untouched."

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

MUSSELL MAN.

The mistakes about the term Musulman, the Perso-Urdu plural of Muslim, are, as has been frequently noticed in this *Journal*, innumerable. Here is a new one from an American book, *The Raven, a Biography of Sam Houston* by Marquis James, Indianopolis, 1929. Sam Houston (pronounced Hewston in Texas and Howston in New York) was the hero of the great fight with the Mexicans in 1826, which ended in the erection of the Republic of Texas, finally annexed by the United States. In the Houston Public Library there is a letter by Houston himself, dated 18 December 1842, which is quoted by Marquis James in the book above indicated, p. 319. This heavily documented book, really a history of the founding of the State of Texas as one of the largest of the United States, is thoroughly American and like no other historical work that I have ever read. The letter quoted conforms to its general style. In it Houston writes: "He * * * says Lamer [then President of the Republic of Texas] is a Mussell man and Burnett [another provincial Texan] a hog thief. Then Esau's [Houston's negro servant] convives and guests disturb the neighbourhood with bursts of cachination."

R. C. Temple.

BOOK-NOTICES.

Ajanta: The Colour and Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajanta Frescoes based on Photography, with an Explanatory Text by G. Yazdani, M.A., and an Introduction by Laurence Binyon. Part I: Text, 12½ × 10 in., pp. 55, with map; Album containing 40 folio plates, of which 16 are coloured and 24 in monochrome. Published under the special authority of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. Oxford University Press, 1930.

Of the many wonders of India perhaps the greatest are the caves hewn in the solid rock of picturesque hill sides, dating from the third century B.C. onwards. Many of these are marvels from their great size and wealth of sculptural detail in their porches, pillars, verandahs and ornamental friezes; but the series of 29 caves at Ajanta are specially celebrated for their painted frescoes—the largest collection of Buddhist paintings known.

Three previous attempts had been made to copy the frescoes since they were discovered early in the nineteenth century. Major Gill worked there for some twenty years; but the results of his labour were destroyed in the fire at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1866. Again, in 1872 Mr. Griffiths, Principal of the Bombay School of Art, commenced to make copies, with the assistance of his pupils, and worked for many years. Unfortunately a great deal of his work was also burnt, but he published his well known work, *The Paintings in the Buddhist Caves at Ajanta*, in 1896 from the copies saved. Next, Lady Herringham, with a band of Indian artists, took up the task during the years 1909-11, and in 1915 published a portfolio of plates, mostly coloured, which gave the public a clearer idea of the wonders of the frescoes. Though most useful for comparison, and perhaps preserving some details that have since been lost, these necessarily lack the accuracy ensured by photographic reproduction possessed by the present splendid series of plates. To preserve what remains of these frescoes for future generations, H. E. H. the Nizam authorized his Archæological Department to have a complete photographic record prepared. The world of art is deeply indebted to the munificence of His Exalted Highness and the active encouragement of his able finance minister, Sir Akbar Hydari. The difficulties of the task were great. Artificial lighting had first of all to be installed, when the superb colouring at last became clearly visible; but many of the frescoes had become badly damaged, and others had to be cleared of the ill effects of previous injudicious handling. In fact the work is a great achievement for Mr. Yazdani and his coadjutors. The reproductions are extraordinarily successful, as we see from this first album, which contains 24 plates in monochrome and 16 in colour. Besides these magnificent plates, there is a volume of text (with a charming introduction by Mr. L. Binyon) describing and interpreting the scenes depicted, and reflecting the close and sympathetic study which Mr. Yazdani has so long devoted to the frescoes.

It is in the north-west corner of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, where the Indhyâdri hills form ghâṭs leading down from the Deccan plateau to the valley of the Tâptî, that the rock-cut caves of Ajanta stand in a long semicircle in the steep hill-face. Here in these lonely shrines, as in the sculptured marbles of Amarâvatî, we see the further flowering of purely Indian art in direct line of inheritance from the naturalism of Bharhut and Sanchi. Most remarkable is the unity of purpose in all these monuments of devotion to the Buddha. The history of the caves covers some 650 years. The Buddha remains human and great in his charity and self-sacrifice throughout the stories of his lives as told in the *Jâtakas*, depicted at Ajanta even as they are at Bharhut and Sanchi. These were tales, simply told for the people, of the perfections of Buddhahood, which Śâkya Muni had attained through his compassion for all sorrow and suffering during both his animal and human rebirths. We find them expressed with the same simplicity by the ancient artists of Ajanta in crowded scenes of movement and vitality, in which appear kings and courtiers, queens and princesses, the populace, birds and animals, trees, plants and flowers, and architectural

features of towns and palaces—truly life in all profusion, glowing in colour: yet we are told that only "lamp-black, red-ochre, yellow-ochre and lapis lazuli formed the principal colours."

Part I illustrates the frescoes of Cave I, one of the later caves. Art and Buddhism had learnt new modes of expression during the centuries of Ajanta's growth; but the ideal is still that of the Buddha, his renunciation, his infinite compassion for others, and that devotion which is the fulfilment of charity portrayed anew in the conception of the Bodhisattva. We have here Ajanta's supreme expression in the grand figure of the compassionate Bodhisattva, Padmapâṇi, a favourite name of Avalokiteśvara (Plates XXIV-XXVII). Golden-hued, as behoves Buddhist tradition, his form is graceful in its supple strength, as, slightly bending, he holds the lotus in his right hand, the begging bowl in his left, and looks down with pitying eyes upon men. The expression of his face recalls his vow, that he will never enter *nirvâṇa* until he has saved all living beings. He remains listening to the cries of fear and pain, the Bodhisattva of hope, the ever compassionate Protector of half Asia. His majestic figure dominates the scene, yet he is one with the people as he holds the begging-bowl towards them, that they may attain merit by giving to the perfect one. All the lower part of the fresco has peeled away, but fortunately the upper portion has been left to show that Buddhist painters have their place in the world's highest art. The other two great Bodhisattvas are more damaged. Of one (Plate XXX) there is left a beautiful arm and hand and part of the fine face. The pair of jungle folk (? Bhils) in the upper left-hand corner, however, are most lifelike, as they listen eagerly to the great Being from behind a palisade, through which a pair of wild fowl have poked their heads. The male figure has half mounted the barrier, and looks as if ready to vault over and fling himself at the Bodhisattva's feet, while the woman apparently expostulates with him. The fresco reproduced on Plates XXXI-XXXIII is far better preserved, except for the Bodhisattva's lower lip and neck. He differs much in both features and colour from the others, and would seem to belong to another race. The varied ethnical types portrayed at Ajanta are interesting and important. The female heads in this fresco are very pleasing, especially the two in the lower left-hand corner, one of which is shown in colour, enlarged, on Plate XXXII. This lady has a serene expression and beautiful hazel-brown eyes. Round her dark hair is a white band, which also appears on the female heads in the palace scenes. Many of these bands would seem to be made of flowers and leaves, worn in addition to the row of jewels across the forehead. There is much variety also in the colouring of the female figures, from nut-brown, olive or golden-brown and brick-red to paler shades—even an ashen-grey. Very effective is the pensive Rânî with a high, pierced gold crown and golden ornaments, which lighten up her olive-brown complexion most artistically. A note tells us that the apparent absence of covering on the upper part of the body is due to the reproduction, as the fine brush lines indicative of gauzy muslin are visible on the fresco. Very fine, diaphanous materials, such as the celebrated Dacca muslins, were used by the rich; and even on statues of the Buddha it is often difficult to see the lines of his garment.

Plate XXVIII (in colour) gives a highly imaginative and crowded, but well composed, scene of the temptation of the Buddha by Mâra and his host. The various emotions expressed in the faces of the assailants and temptresses are in marked contrast to the imperturbable serenity of the seated Buddha, whose right hand points downwards, as he calls the earth to witness the good deeds of his former lives. Various positions of the hands (*mudras*) appear on Plate XXIIIb, where a number of Buddhas may be seen seated or standing upon a lotus against a background of flowers. Buddhist iconography had greatly developed since its early beginnings in the symbolism used to represent the Buddha—the wheel of the law, tree, footprints or empty throne—at Bharhut and Sanchi.

Plates XIX and XXXV, among others, remind us of sculptured friezes at Boro Budur and of sculpture and art in Cambodia and China. The story of Ajanta closed about 650 A.D., but it still retains its place in the history of Indian art. Buddhism carried its art with its spiritual teaching far afield. The unifying effect of a great tradition—perhaps unique in India's history—has set its seal on the art of Indonesia and is recognized in that of Central Asia and China.

M. F. H.

Tenth and Eleventh Reports on the Search of Hindî Manuscripts for the years 1917-19 and 1920-22, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, B.A. 9½ × 6 in.; pp. xi + 511, and vii + 513. Allahabad, U.P. Government Press, 1929.

The systematic search for Hindî manuscripts was commenced in 1900, under the patronage of the Government of the United Provinces, by Bâbû Śyâmasundara Dâsa, whose name will ever be gratefully remembered by Hindî scholars for the splendid work done by him in connexion with the publications of the Nâgarî Prâcariṇî Sabhâ and as editor of the great Hindî dictionary called *Hindî-Śabdasâgara*. For the first nine years the work was supervised and reported on by Śyâmasundara Bâbû himself, and seven Reports covering that period were issued by him. Pressure of work, however, compelled him to hand over the task to others, with the result that the work fell into arrears. The 8th and 9th Reports dealt with the eight years ending with 1916. Fortunately the distinguished scholar Rai Bahadur Hiralal was ultimately prevailed upon to take

over the duties and get the work brought up to date. The two volumes now before us, which have been compiled under his supervision, comprise the 10th and 11th Reports, dealing with the research carried out during the periods 1917-19 and 1920-22, respectively. They are arranged upon similar lines: a short introductory chapter contains a summary of the results, the libraries and collections examined, the centuries and years (where noted) to which the MSS. pertain and the subjects of which they treat, the new authors and works discovered, as well as other points of special interest or importance. This is followed by two lengthy "appendices," viz., I—Notes on all the authors whose works were found, and II—Extracts from their works. Appendix III contains extracts from the MSS. of unknown authors, and Appendix IV a list (with authors' names) of MSS. composed after 1850, which, under the standing orders, did not call for report. Two useful indexes have been added, of (I) authors and (II) works.

The new MSS. discovered range in date from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, and refer to a great variety of subjects, religious works being predominant, but philosophy, rhetoric, erotics, history and medicine also figure largely in the lists. Among the most remarkable results of the inquiries made is the large number of works that have come to light, both in prose and verse, several being of special interest or merit, written by authors hitherto unknown. The examination of this mass of material has not only led to the acquisition of useful biographical and historical information, but has enabled the periods of many authors, which were previously doubtful or disputed, to be definitely established. Authors with the same name have been found to be distinct persons, while others have been found to be identical, though writing under different names.

Among important new finds recorded in the 11th Report are—a complete work by Vidyâpati entitled *Kîrtilatâ*; a complete (and probably the most reliable) text of the *Madanâṣṭaka*, attributed to Rahîm, the learned courtier of Akbar; an interesting work on the Dhâmî *panth* by Prâṇanâthâ, the founder of that sect; and a copy of Tulasîdâsa's *Bâlakâṇḍa Râmâyaṇa*, dating from 1604 A.D., which has a special value as being apparently free from interpolations.

C. E. A. W. O.

ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHÆOLOGY, TRAVANCORE, for 1104 M. E. (1929 A.D.) Government Press, Trivandram.

The territories of H. H. the Mahârânî Regent of Travancore form the most southern portion of the Indian Peninsula, and contain one of the densest populations therein, with survivals of some of the oldest forms of civilisation, and at the same time some of the most modern. This remotest part of India is also in some respects the most interesting to the student of anthropology in all its branches. It has produced, almost as a matter of course, a lively archæological report.

During the year under review the chief work undertaken was taking stock of the enormous number of inscriptions in the State—the collection up to date amounting to 1,231 lithic, 51 copperplate and 54 "cadjan," *i.e.*, palm-leaf inscriptions, making a total of 1,336. They relate to practically every dynasty that has ruled in South India and include 174 Christian and 3 Muhammadan inscriptions and are scattered about in 184 localities. The value of such work for historical purposes is beyond all doubt.

The Mutta (Maṭha) or Vedic Colleges of Travancore which are well endowed and are divided into three classes, purporting to study Vedic and Secular Philosophy and Vedic ritual, have received much attention. The Department is undertaking a thorough and comprehensive examination of their records. Here again its work can be made to be of the highest value.

Travancore is rich in mural paintings and architectural sculptures, usually illustrating Puranic legends, and here, if the Department will correctly photograph and otherwise reproduce them, much work of importance is before it.

Her Highness the Regent has a fine collection of coins, an armoury and a library. Among the coins are specimens of Roman coins—of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero—very valuable to show the time and duration of a famous sea trade. An examination and catalogue of these coins and of the armoury and library would be of the highest value to European students. As regards the Library the following extract is worth recording:—

"*Kanakkusâram* is a treatise in an ancient Malayâlam dialect, in the 5th book or chapter of which, entitled *Kalañju*, are treated the weights of gems, gold, pearls, etc., for ascertaining which the following table is given:—

1 nelmai	=	1 visatukkam
Then		
4 nelmai	=	1 kunni
2 kunni	=	1 mañjâdi
2 mañjâdi	=	1 paṇatûkkam
10 paṇatûkkam	=	1 kalañju

The Superintendent, Mr. Vasudeva Poduval, has interested himself in ordeals and oaths, and has produced two short appendices containing an account of each, which are of much interest for a public outside the borders of the Travancore State.

Travancore is a land of mountains and still waters and therefore of many attractive sites. A photograph of one such, Kaladgî, the birth-place of Shankarâchârya, is given as an illustration. Altogether we have in this modest report a document containing much that should attract the student of things Indian.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES ON INDIAN MAUNDS.

BY W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.

I. Introductory.

THE maund is perhaps the most treacherous unit which the student of Indian history has to interpret, for it may stand for almost anything from 2 to 82 lb., or occasionally even more. I have had occasion to evaluate a number of maunds which occur in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and for a moment I thought of making a complete study of the subject; but I quickly found that the early history would have to be pursued through a number of languages of which I know nothing, and that the subject calls for collective rather than individual work. As a beginning, I offer in these papers the facts which I have been able to collect from Persian, Portuguese, Dutch and English sources; and I have made bold to offer also a few guesses, in the hope that they may provoke students to gather additional facts from dated inscriptions, and from the literature of various other languages—notably Sanskrit, Bengali and Tamil—which will carry the subject further.

Maund[1] represents the Indian word *man*. The Portuguese first met this word on the West Coast, and, according to their regular practice, nasalised it and added their characteristic termination *-o*, giving *mão*, the form which appears continuously in their literature from the year 1513 onwards. English merchants, taking the word from Portuguese interpreters, and denasalising it, seem to have fused it with 'maund,' an English word which then meant a kind of basket, sometimes used as a measure; and, the original sense having become obsolete, the derived one now holds the field.

The origin of the Indian word must be left to philologers. The suggestion has been made that it is the Arabic *mann*, brought to India by merchants trading on the coast; but it has also been contended that a similar or identical Indian word, derived from the Sanskrit root *mâ* (measure), may have been already in existence when the Arab merchants arrived. The point might conceivably be cleared up by a study of early Indian literature: all I can say is that, if the Arabs brought the word, they did not bring the unit, for, as we shall see later on, their *mann* was about 2 lb., while the *man* found by the Portuguese on the West Coast was about twelve times as large.

Indian weights are nowadays commonly presented in a single scale, running from the *ratti* to the maund and its multiples. The literature, however, suggests that the two ends of this scale grew up independently, and were subsequently linked through the *tola*. The small units, constituting what may be called the jewellers' scale, were based on seeds,[2] and originally were not absolutely fixed; as Thomas showed, the *tola* (96 *rattî*) ranged from 168 to 186 gr. in North India in the sixteenth century, and its definition as just 180 gr. belongs to the British period. The upper part of the scale may be called commercial, and the larger units probably originated in some fact or facts connected with transport. In it 40 sers make one maund, and 20 maunds make a *bahâr*, candy, or *mânî*. To link up the two, all that is needed is to fix the number of *tolas* in one ser, a number which varies within wide limits, according to the size of the maund.

In the English literature there are occasional references to maunds containing more, or less, than 40 sers. All the cases which I have been able to study fall into two groups: either the divergence represents a trade-allowance, or it is due to the use of two denominations. Trade allowances up to 5 sers in the maund recur in the Dutch and English commercial records of the seventeenth century, and are doubtless older; a sale of cloves, for instance, at so much the 'maund of 42 sers,' meant that the seller made an allowance of 2 sers in the maund, or 5 per cent, not that the maund contained 42 sers in general. Again, one occasionally meets such a statement as 'here the maund contains 16 sers,' where the context shows that what is

1 *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*; *Dalgado*, *s.v.* Mão (I); *Oxford English Dictionary*, *s.v.*

2 *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.vv.* Ruttee, Tola; and E. Thomas's paper quoted there.

meant is that the *local* maund in question contained 16 *standard* sers. It cannot be positively asserted that every maund always contained 40 sers of its own denomination; but it is reasonable to assume this relation when the contrary is not expressly stated, while, if some other number is given, the context should be examined to see if the case comes under one or other of the two rubrics stated above, or is susceptible of any other explanation.

For readers of English the most convenient way of giving equivalents of the various maunds is to state them in pounds avoirdupois (lb.) and either a fraction of the lb., or the number of grains (gr. 7,000 to the lb.); ounces and drams are nuisances in this work, while indication of the number of grains is occasionally convenient, as it links up the maund in question to the troy scale as well as the avoirdupois. Other western units which may come before the student stand to the lb. in round figures as follows: kilogram, 2·2 lb.; Holland pound, 1·09 lb.; Portuguese 'new' *arratel*, 1·01 lb.; the 'old' *arratel* (of 14 ounces) was ⅞ths of the last figure.

Classification of the numerous maunds would be premature at this stage: it is the end, not the beginning, of the investigation. A few distinctions however can be drawn with advantage at the outset. When I write 'maund' without qualification, I mean a maund ruling in ordinary commerce, and not known to have been prescribed: 'official maund' means a maund known to have been prescribed by authority: 'special maund' means a unit, differing from the ordinary maund, used, in dealings in some particular commodity: 'retail maund' means a unit used by shopkeepers, but not by wholesalers.

In order to reduce the bulk of the footnotes, I shall assume that readers are familiar with the classics of the subject, such as *Hobson-Jobson* (new edition, London, 1903), Dalgado's *Glossario* (Coimbra, 1919-21), Prinsep's *Useful Tables* (issued by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1834), Elliot's *History of India* (London, 1867-77), the calendars of the India Office records (*Letters Received*, and *English Factories*), the Batavia *Dagh Register*, and the like. Other authorities will be cited in full once only, and thereafter in abbreviated form. All references to Indian texts are to the *Bibliotheca Indica* issued by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, unless some other text is specified. As the interest of these notes is not primarily linguistic, I have adopted generally the simplified transliteration used in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Many scholars have helped me generously with information on particular aspects of this enquiry. I hope all due acknowledgments will be found in the text or notes, but I must here express my gratitude to Dr. L. D. Barnett, to Sir Wolseley Haig, and to Sir Richard Burn, who have answered a large number of enquiries; to Mr. C. H. Rao, who furnished me with a detailed note on the maunds of South India; and to Professor S. H. Hodivala, who has been most generous in criticisms and suggestions.

II. Official Maunds.

I begin with the official maunds because the facts are clear and can be stated shortly. So far I have found these maunds only in the British[3] and Mogul periods, though there are some grounds for thinking that standardisation began with Sikandar Lodî. The fluctuating southern maund, which will be described in the next section, was standardised early in the British period at 25 lbs. for Madras, and 28 lbs. for Bombay, the latter figure, which was slightly too high, having been chosen as being one quarter of a cwt. More important, however, was the fixation in Bengal of the standard maund of 82 2/7 lb. The story is briefly that in 1833, when the rupee was being fixed at the uniform weight of 180 gr., the Assay Master at Calcutta urged that this rupee should be taken as the standard *tola*, so that a ser of 80 *tolas* would be exactly 2½ pounds troy, giving a maund of 100 pounds troy

[3] *Useful Tables*, 61 ff.; *Report of the Weights and Measures Committee*, 1913-14 (cited below as *Silberrad*, after the name of the Chairman).

(or 82 2/7lb). The proposal was accepted, the *tola* of 180 gr. was recognised in Regulation VII of 1833, and the equivalent maund was adopted for Government transactions, as well as by Calcutta merchants ; but its general vogue really dates from 1854, when its use was prescribed on the railway system.

In 1833 the local unit known as the bazaar maund contained just about 82 lb., so that this action was doubtless convenient for Calcutta and the immediate neighbourhood ; but all the same, it must, I think, be regarded as a tragedy. In the fluid conditions which prevailed a century ago, it would have been equally easy to link the Indian unit directly to either of the two great systems, in one or other of which India's foreign trade is carried on : in fact it was linked to a system already obsolescent, and of interest to nobody outside a mint. As a matter of fact, the standard ser worked out almost to a kilogram, the difference between the two being less than 7 per cent, and proposals have occasionally been made to eliminate this difference.

The Mogul official maunds were, like the British standard maund, based on the weight of a coin, but it was the copper *dâm*, not the silver rupee. In the literature the *dâm* is sometimes called *paisâ*, but the latter word is quite indeterminate, being applied to whatever copper coin was ordinarily used in any locality. Edward Thomas[4] calculated the weight of the *dâm* as 323·5 gr., and this figure fits in very closely with the approximate equivalents of the various maunds used in the Dutch and English commercial records, and shewn in the table given further on.

In interpreting these coin-weights, it has been usual to take them at somewhat less than the mint-weight, on the assumption that the coins used in weighing would be somewhat worn. This assumption seems to me to be open to criticism. Where the sellers provided the weights, as in the case of retail shopkeepers, it is safe to assume that some of them, if not all, used the lightest coins available. We know (Ziyâ Barnî, 318) that giving short weight was common in Delhi under Alâuddîn Khaljî, and it is by no means unknown in India at the present day ; the practice may reasonably be regarded as continuous. On the other hand, if it was, as it still is, usual for the buyers to provide the weights in what was formerly the most important class of transactions, the purchase of goods from peasants and artisans, it is reasonable to assume that the coins used were as nearly new as possible, if indeed their weight was not fraudulently increased. Francisco Pelsaert[5] described the 5-ser weight used in buying indigo at Bayâna in Jahângîr's reign as consisting of 152 *paisâ* (i.e., *dâm*) sewn in a bag of doubled cloth. In his time the Akbarî maund (30 *dâm* to the ser as explained below) was used as a special maund in this trade ; 150 *dâm* therefore made 5 sers, and hence there was a formal allowance in favour of buyers of 2 *dâm plus* the weight of the bag. It is safe to assume that the coins were new when placed in the bag by the buyers, to whose commercial astuteness Pelsaert renders due homage, and that they were packed so as to minimise friction while in use ; whether anything else was put surreptitiously into the bag is matter for conjecture. It seems to me to be best to take the new coin as the basis for calculation, and to allow for the fact that in any particular transaction the precise figure probably depended on the interests of the party who chose the coins.

Taking the *dâm* as 323·5 gr., the Mogul official maunds were as follows :—

	No. of *dâm* in one ser	Calculated wt. of maund.	Commercial equivalent.	Date of introduction.
		lb. gr.	*lb.*	
Akbarî ..	30	55·3200	55	Before 1595.
Jahângîrî ..	36	66·3840	66	1620.
Shâhjahânî ..	40	73·6600	74	1634, or a little earlier.
Do. ..	20	36·6800	37	1635-6 ; Gujarât only.

4 Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi.* London, 1871 (quoted below as *Thomas*).

5 *Jahângîr's India*, tr. W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, p. 16 quoted below as *Pelsaert*).

The commercial equivalents in this table are taken from numerous foreign business records, particularly those of the Dutch, who were very punctilious in putting such matters on paper. It will be noted that merchants usually took the nearest whole number, neglecting fractions ; but occasionally they used simple fractions, as when the Gujarât Shâhjahânî was taken as 36 2/3 lb. (*English Factories*, xi, 110).

I have not found in the chronicles any formal record to the effect that Akbar prescribed the unit which bears his name. The *Âîn-i Akbarî* (ii, 60) says merely : " from the beginning of the present reign it (the ser) was 28 *dâm*, and today it is 30." This passage will be discussed in a later section ; it is quoted here merely as showing that the 30-*dâm* ser was introduced in the course of Akbar's reign. The inference that it was officially prescribed is practically certain, but the fact is not formally proved. The corresponding maund was in general use over a wide area when Dutch and English merchants first came to India ; and it survived as a special maund used for certain commodities after it had been superseded in general use by the Jahângîrî. The most noteworthy survival was in the Bayâna market, where indigo continued to be sold by the Akbarî maund until late in the seventeenth century.

In the year 1619 Jahângîr was told[6] by a Hindu ascetic that according to the scriptures the ser ought to weigh 36 *dâm* ; I do not know the ascetic's authority for this statement, but Jahângîr accepted it, and the Jahângîrî maund dates from 1620 as a general institution, though possibly it had been introduced somewhat earlier for particular purposes.

The introduction of the Shâhjahânî maund has not been traced in the chronicles, but it was in use in Agra in 1634 (*Dagh Register*, 22nd October), and later commercial records show that its introduction was effective throughout the empire, except in the markets of Gujarât. At the time of its introduction Gujarât was employing a ser of 18 *dâm*, giving a maund of just over 33 lb. ; but Shâhjahân ordered the local ser to be raised to 20 *dâm*. This was done in Ahmadâbâd about the end of 1634, and in Surat in February, 1636, so that, to quote William Methwold, " now the maen of this place [Surat] is just the halfe of a maen Jehann [Shâhjahân], which consisteth of 40 seares, and every seare 40 pice weight." (*English Factories*, v, 156.)

I have not traced any definite origin of the Gujarât maund of 33 lb. which has just been mentioned. The fact that the corresponding ser was reckoned in *dâm* might suggest that it was prescribed by Akbar ; but it is more probable that the unit was much older, and that the ser was found to weigh just about 18 *dâm* when that coin became current in the course of the sixteenth century. As will be shown in a later section, the range of this unit was extensive, reaching as far north as the neighbourhood of the Jumna. This maund is familiar in commercial records from the time of William Finch, who, however, took it as 32½ lb. (*Letters Received*, i, 34.) Finch noted that a smaller maund of 27 lb. was also known in Surat, but its use there was exceptional; this smaller maund brings us definitely away from the region of official prescription, and is discussed in the next section.

A word of caution may be added on the risk of using any of these official maunds to interpret figures of a date earlier than that of their known introduction. The caution may seem superfluous, but I have seen a promising bit of research-work ruined by interpreting eighteenth-century figures in terms of the British standard maund, and it is well that students should always bear such risks in mind.

(*To be continued.*)

[6] *Memoirs of Jahângir*, tr. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, London, 1909–1914; ii, 108 ; also the Persian text, ed. S. Ahmad, Aligarh, 1864.

PRÂYAŚCITTA, OR HINDU IDEAS ON THE EXPIATION OF SIN.

BY BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

(*Continued from p. 154.*)

Expiation by means of mortification was till comparatively recent times largely practised. The principal forms were self-inflicted tortures by inserting an iron hook through the fleshy part of the back, and swinging on poles during the *Carak-pûjâ*; keeping one or both arms raised above the head or in a horizontal position for a certain stipulated period, which might, in extreme cases, extend over a few months; not uttering a word under any circumstances whatsoever, and so on. And the life of a modern Hindu widow is one long period of *prâyaścitta*, for who can doubt that the widowhood in her present life is the result of the crimes committed during a former existence on earth?

The *Viṣṇu Purâṇa* says of the Ganges that the sacred stream sanctifies all beings; and those who even at a distance of a hundred *yojana* (leagues) exclaim "*Gaṅgâ, Gaṅgâ*" atone for the sins committed during three previous lives. That the Ganges is still the very best river to bathe in there can be no doubt. Thousands of Hindu pilgrims go every year to Benares for no other purpose but to bathe in the river there,[22] and even at the present day all Hindu burning grounds are situated on the banks of the river Ganges, or, if that be impossible owing to its distance, beside a flowing stream. So necessary is this condition that "*Le fantôme d'un mort laissé sans sépulture tourmente les vivants jusqu'au jour où une corneille traîne au Gange ses ossements. Alors il entre dans la béatitude céleste.*"[23] Moreover mourners must bathe themselves in the Ganges after the body has been burned in order to purify themselves from the infection of death.[24] And for ceremonial bathing it is essential that the whole of the body and the head must be submerged under the water. Hence every time a bath is taken in the river the bather must duck down three times at least, and each time he mutters a short prayer. Finally it is by no means an uncommon sight to see pious Brâhmaṇas standing breast deep in water and reciting prayers. The idea in this ceremonial bathing is that as the stream water flows over the head, it must carry away bodily as well spiritual impurities.

The polling of the hair combined with ceremonial bathing is another well known Hindu *prâyaścitta*. Monier Williams writes in this connection: "It should also be noted that special religious shavings are performed at sacred places of pilgrimage on the banks of rivers, and are held very efficacious in purifying soul and body from pollution. Persons who have committed great crimes or are troubled by uneasy consciences, travel hundreds of miles to Prayâga (Allahabad), Mathurâ (Muttra), or other holy places for the sole purpose of submitting themselves to the tonsorial skill of the professional barbers who frequent such localities. There they may be released from every sin by first being relieved of every hair and then plunging into the sacred stream. Forthwith they emerge new creatures, with all the accumulated guilt of a long life effaced."[25] On the other hand, however, the shaving of the head and the cutting of the nails of mourners on the tenth day after a person's death is a purificatory rite performed because of the dangerous influence of death and the ghost to which they for a time had been exposed[26]; and it is hard to say if such shaving is simply a trick to escape the pursuing ghost as Frazer thinks.[27]

22 Cf. M., "In Benares zur Zeit der Wasserfeste," *Globus*, lxxx (1901), pp. 137-142.

23 R. Hertz, "Représentations collectives de la mort," *L'Année Sociologique*, x (1905-1906), p. 117, note[1].

24 I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere (*The Power of Magic in Bengal*, p. 81) that a bath in itself is regarded by the Hindus as a cleanser of both physical and moral impurities; in fact, the principal use of a bath is for the latter purpose.

25 (Sir) Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India* (London, 1883), p. 375. P. Finner ("Cerimonie funebri fra gli Indiani," *Strenna delle missioni della Compagna di Gesù per l'anno* 1922 [Supplemento al N. 24, 16 Dicembre 1921], p. 71) writes: "*Il barbiere s'accosta poi ai morto e gli rade completamente il capo e ne lava il corpo.*"

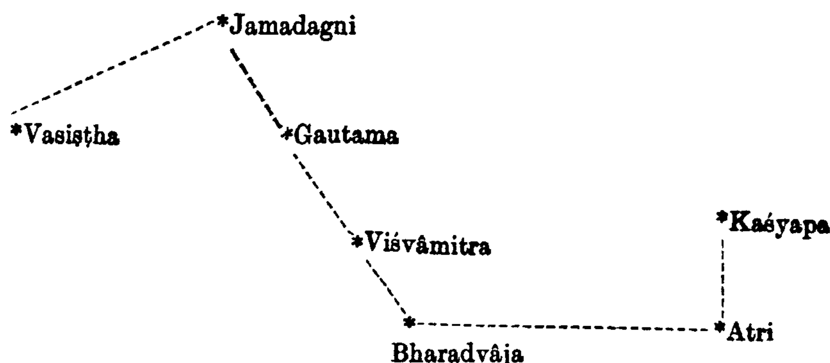
26 Cf. H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 426 f.

27 Cf. (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 285.

Pilgrimage to certain holy places is also considered to be a *prâyaścitta*. The most famous of these places of pilgrimage are Benares, Allahabad and Muttra. Besides these three, there are numerous other places, a list of which would take too much space. To give only a few examples, Puri,[28] Gayâ, Brindâvan, Baidyanâth, Dvârakâ, Râmeśvaram, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Kañjiveram, Tinnevelly, Cuttack, Kâlighâṭ, and so on, are all places where much virtue may be acquired by simply setting foot.

Last but not least, the *pañcagavya* as a means of purification is second to none in Hindu eyes. Much has been said about the sanctity of cows in Hindûstân, and cowdung has many uses, the chief of which is its supposed purificatory character. The *pañcagavya* is a collective name for the five products of the cow, *viz.*, urine, dung, clarified butter, milk and curds. In an ancient Sanskrit book the cow is extolled as an auspicious purifier, on whom depend the worlds. It is said that cows alone make sacrificial oblations possible by producing butter; cows take away all sins.[29] The productions of a cow are always propitious. Drops of water falling from the horns of a cow are productive of religious merit, and have the power to expiate all sins of those who bathe in or rub themselves with the drops.[30] Guilt, it is said, may be destroyed by rubbing the back of a cow; and giving a cow to eat procures exaltation in heaven.[31] In the urine of the cow dwells the Ganges; prosperity dwells in the dust rising from their couches, good fortune exists in cowdung, and virtue in saluting cows. Therefore, it is advised that every man should salute cows as often as possible.[32]

Besides *prâyaścittas* for special sins committed knowingly or unknowingly, there are periodical *prâyaścittas*. One of these is performed once a year at the time when a Brâhmaṇa changes his sacred thread and dons a new one in order to expiate all the accumulated sins committed during the past year. Another is known as the *Ṛṣi pancamî* (' seers' fifth '), which is essentially a woman's festival. Worship is offered on this day for sins committed unwittingly by reason of impurity. In this the seven brightest stars of the Ursa Major, viz., Kaśyapa, Atri, Bharadvâja, Viśvamitra, Gautama, Jamadagni and Vasiṣṭha are worshipped.



" The ceremonies are performed at noon. A woman must offer a *mantra* (magic spell) to the *âghâṭa* plant (*Achyranthes aspera*), clean her teeth with a twig one hundred and eight [i.e., 3 × 3 × 3 × 4] times, and bathe, if possible in a stream, dipping one hundred and eight times, otherwise at home, pouring one hundred and eight pots full of water over herself. The previous anointing is to be with sesamum oil, dried myrobalan dust, and earth, and she

[28] Speaking of the car of Jaggernaut, I had said (*L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 87; *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology* [London, 1928], p. 137) that Hindus were formerly crushed under the wheels of the car, believing thus to go to heaven. Since then I have found out my mistake. Some authorities have called this statement "a calumny." See *Chambers' Encyclopædia*, vi, 273.

[29] *Institutes of Vishnu*, (tr. by J. Jolly [*SBE*, vii, Oxford, 1880]), xxiii, 58.

[30] *Institutes of Vishnu*, xxiii, 59.

[31] *Institutes of Vishnu*, xxiii, 60.

[32] *Institutes of Vishnu*, xxiii, 61. Compare *The Sacred Books of the East*, vii, pp. 105 f.

must drink *pañcagavya*. Afterwards she should assemble with other women, and worship the seven seers as follows :

" Lucky symbols are drawn in colour on a board, on which is placed a copper vessel filled with clean water and wrapped in a new cloth. The eight small heaps of rice are made (for the seven and Arundhati) and on each heap is put a *supâri* nut [areca nut] or a *pavitra*, i.e., a ring made of *darbha* grass (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*). Coins, perfumes, flowers and rice are put in the pot, and all these are worshipped with *mantras*. Afterwards the officiating priest receives presents and his fee, and gives his blessing.

" On this day nothing grown from bullocks' labour must be eaten. An onion must be bitten into and then thrown into a stream."[33]

This festival is held on the fifth *Śuklapakṣa* (light half) of the month of *Bhâdra*[34] (August-September). According to some authorities this ceremony of expiation should be performed every year, whereas others are of opinion that if it be performed for seven consecutive years, enough virtue will be gained to last till one's death.

These expiatory ceremonies are for all sins : *mahâpâtaka* (mortal sins) as well as *upapâtaka* (venial sins). To the former belong killing a Brâhmaṇa, drinking wine, having carnal knowledge of a guru's wife, theft, and association with a person who has committed any one or all of these sins. To the latter, for which forgiveness is asked twice daily, belong untruthfulness, cheating, refusing to give alms to the deserving, eating garlic, onions and so on, or doing such things as are unworthy of a Brâhmaṇa. After performing these *prâyaścittas* the *pañcagavya* is tasted, or rather in modern times the *pañcâmṛta* or nectar consisting of milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar. The *pañcâmṛta* is a modern substitute for the *pañcagavya*, in which the objectionable ingredients, urine and dung, are left out. For smaller sins it is equally effective, the *pañcagavya* being reserved for the greater sins.

We see, then, that sin may be expiated by various means, all of which have a more or less magical character ; and sin itself is of a magical nature. It may be cleansed by bathing ; as the flowing runs over the body and carries away the dirt and dust, so is the heart purified of all pollution. The cow being sacred lends some of her sanctity to those using the products, for who can doubt that things which have been in contact with the cow must retain some of the sanctity of the cow ? Rebirth, too, is resorted too when all else fails, and the method employed for being reborn is symbolical. And lastly, we are told, that in order to expiate a certain sin it is of the utmost importance that the sin be revealed to all and sundry,[35] because each time a sinner tells his sins to another, his sins become less and less ; the hearer, so to say, becomes a partner to it, and finally the sin becomes so dissolved that it disappears altogether. In short, magic enters largely in all modern *prâyaścittas*, and true repentance has very little, if anything, to do with the expiation of sins. We may, therefore, be justified in saying that the Hindu *prâyaścitta* is nothing but a magical rite, widespread but little understood.

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33 M. M. Underhill, *The Hindu Religious Year* [*The Religious Life of India* ; Ox. Un. Pr., 1921], pp. 73 f. cf. pp. 71 f.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

35 " *Un peccato—si dice—non viene perdonato se non quando è giunto a conoscenza di tutto il mondo.... Così il peccatore rivela il suo peccato a tutti quelli que incontra, e sotto segreto perchè la notizia si propaghi più presto* " [Gille-Testore, S.J., " Le superstizioni indiane sotto il loro aspetto utilitario," *Strenna delle missioni della Compagnia di Gesù per l'anno* 1922, p. 39]. Presumably Father Gille-Testore's paper refers only to Southern India, where Hindus are much mixed with the aboriginal Dravidians.

AṬHABHÂGIYE.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

THIS word occurs in the Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka (*Ep. Indica*, V, 4; Hultzsch's *The Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 164) in lines 4-5 which read as—

hida Bhagavaṃ jâte ti Lummini-gâme ubalike kaṭe
aṭha-bhâgiye ca |

It is said in these lines that the village Lumbinî was made (by the king) *ubalika* and *aṭha-bhâgiya* because the Lord (Buddha) was born there.

Of these two words, the meaning of *ubalika* is undisputed; it is the equivalent of Skt. *udbalika* and means 'tax-free.' It also corresponds, as pointed out by Fleet (*JRAS.*, 1908, p. 477), to Kannaḍa *umbaḷi, ummaḷi, umbaḷige*, Tamil *umbaḷikkai*, and Telugu *umbaḷa, umbaḷi, umbaḷike*, all which mean 'tax-free land or village.'

About the meaning of *aṭha-bhâgiye*, on the other hand, there has been much dispute. (1) It was looked upon as equivalent to Skt. *artha-bhâgya* by Barth (*Journal des Savants*, 1877, p. 73, n. 2), Bühler (*Ep. Ind.*, V, 5) and Neumann (*ZDMG.*, 68, 721 ff.) and explained as 'partaking of riches,' the 'riches' being the hundred thousand gold pieces which, according to the *Divyâvadâna* (p. 390) Aśoka spent at Lumbinîvana. (2) Fleet regarded the word as equivalent to Skt. *aṣṭabhâgya* and explained it (*JRAS.*, 1908, p. 473 ff.) as 'entitled to an eighth share,' the eighth share being that referred to by Manu 7, 130 as leviable on grains. (3) In the opinion of Thomas (*JRAS.*, 1914, p. 391 ff.), the word represents Skt. *ardhabhâgya* and means 'paying half (of the usual amount to the royal treasury)'; while (4) in the opinion of Hultzsch (*op. cit.*, p. 165) *aṭhabhâgiye*=Skt. *aṣṭabhâgika* and means 'paying only an eighth share of the produce.' According to Hultzsch, 'bureaucracy triumphed against charity' and *aṭhabhâgiye* restricts the scope of the grant conveyed by the words *Lummini-gâme ubalike kaṭe* ('the village Lumbinî is made tax-free'), and imposes upon the village the obligation of paying an eighth share of the produce to the royal treasury.

These explanations do not seem to me to be satisfactory. (1) It is foreign to the style in which inscriptions are written to employ vague terms like 'partaking of riches.' As a rule, the inscriptions state clearly the exact amount of money donated as a gift. Again, the gifts of money recorded in Indian inscriptions are made not indiscriminately to all men, but to priests only, that is, to Brâhmaṇas, Jaina or Liṅgâyat *gurus* or Buddhist *bhikṣus*. The gift of 100,000 gold-pieces, therefore, stated in the *Divyâvadâna* as made by Aśoka in the Lumbinîvana must have been made to the Buddhist *bhikṣus* of some monastery established near by; it can in no way be regarded as made to the freemen of the Lumbinî village, and it would be incorrect to describe them as 'partakers of riches.' (2) Fleet's explanation too is unsatisfactory; for the eighth share of grains that he refers to is a tax payable to the king, and since the village is made *ubalika*, the freemen thereof will receive not only this tax but other taxes as well payable to the king, and the addition of the words *aṭhabhâgiye ca* is, in the circumstances, meaningless and unnecessary. (3) Similarly, it is shown by the word *ca* after *aṭhabhâgiye* in the inscription that this word refers to the grant of something in addition to the freeing of taxes; and hence the explanations of Thomas and Hultzsch, according to which *aṭhabhâgiye* restricts the scope of the gift conveyed by the words *Lummini-gâme ubalike kaṭe* are clearly untenable.

I propose therefore to make an attempt here to find out a more satisfactory explanation of that word.

As has already been indicated above, the king's making the Lumbinî village tax-free means the grant by him of that village, that is, of the revenues derived from that village, payable to the king's treasury, to the freemen thereof. Such grants of tax-free villages are recorded in innumerable inscriptions of later times; and it is instructive in this connection to compare the wording of some of them with that of the Rummindei inscription. I shall

therefore for that purpose reproduce here the relevant words of some of the inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*.

1. Inscription at Homma (IV, p. 10 ff.), dated 8th July 1380, recording the grant of a *sarvamânya* (i.e., tax-free) village by Baḷḷapa, governor of Hadinâḍu to Bhûtâṇḍi-hâruva : *â dêvara sthânika Bhûtâṇḍi-hâruvaṃ. . . .ḷige hiraṇya-dhârâ-pûrvakaṃ mâḍi Candrârka-târaṃ baraṃ sarvamânyav âgi*, i.e., 'as tax-free gift to Bhûtâṇḍi-hâruva trustee for the [image of that] god, with pouring of water and gold, to endure as long as the moon, sun and stars.'

2. Karakala-mâdahaḷḷi inscription (IV, p. 60 ff.), dated in 1497 A.D., recording the grant by Canna nañjarâja Oḍeyar of Ummattûru to Narasiṃhabhaṭṭa of a village : *â grâmavanu nimage sa-hiraṇyôdaka-dâna-dhârâpûrvakavâgi sarvamânyavâgi koṭṭu*, i.e., 'having given that village to you tax-free with pouring of water and gift of gold.'

3. Harihara inscription (XI. p. 13 ff.), dated 20th January 1562, recording a donation by Mârgasahâya-nâyaka to the Harihara temple : *Gaṅganarâśi emba grâmavanu sarva-mânya-jîrṇôddhârava mâḍi samarpisi*, i.e., 'having granted the village Gaṅganarâśi after making it tax-free.'

4. Puṭṭanapura inscription (IV, p. 14 ff.), dated apparently on 6th December 1546, recording the grant of a village by the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* (name defaced) to a Liṅgâyata *guru* of Ummattûru : *grâmada sîmeyannu nimage srvamânyavâgi koṭṭevu*, i.e., 'we have given to you tax-free the village [limited by the afore-mentioned] boundaries.'

5. Citaldrug inscription (XI, p. 4 ff.), dated 1st August 1328, recording a grant made by Baḷḷappa-daṇḍanâyaka and Siṅgeya-daṇḍanâyaka : *Beṇṇedoṇeyanu. . . .aṣṭabhô-ga-têjassvâmya-nidhi-nikṣêpa-siddha-sâdhya-jalapâṣâṇa-sahitavâgi. . . .sarvamânyavâgi*, i.e., 'the village Bennedone free of taxes and with *aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya, nidhi, nikṣêpa, siddha, sâdhya, jala*, and *pâṣâṇa*.'

6. Bêlûr grant of Harihara II of Vijayanagara (V, p. 211 ff.), dated in 1385 A.D., recording the gift of a village to some Brâhmaṇas : *grâmaṃ Ghaṭṭadahaḷḷîti samâkhyâ-śobhitaṃ dhruvam | Sarvajña-śrî-Harihara-mahârâja-purâkhyayâ || nidhi-nikṣepa-salila-pâṣâṇâ-gâmi-sâdhyakaṃ | siddhâkṣîṇayutaṃ câṣṭabhoga-svâmyâdi-saṃkulam || agrahâram imaṃ sarva-mânyam â-candra-târakam |*

7. Hulikere grant of Harihara II of Vijayanagara (V, p. 520 ff.), dated on 4th December 1378, recording the gift of a village to some Brâhmaṇas : *Jambûranu Honnalâpura-vâgi mâḍi. . . .â-catus-sîme-voḷag-uḷḷa nidhi-nikṣêpa-jala-pâṣâṇa-siddha-sâdhya-aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya-samasta-baḷi-sahita-vâgi sarvamânyavâgi koṭṭu*, i.e., 'having granted Jambûru as tax-free village after renaming it Honnalâpura, with *nidhi, nikṣêpa, jala, pâṣâṇa, siddha, sâdhya, aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya* and the revenues from all taxes within its four boundaries.'

8. Sâdahaḷḷi grant of Devarâya of Vijayanagara (IX, p. 106 ff.), dated 22nd November 1425, recording the gift of three villages to a Brâhmana named Keśava :. . . .*adât su-mano-haram | hiraṇyodaka-dhârâptaṃ sarvamânyâgrahârakam || â-candra-târa-bhogârtham akhilo-pâdhi-dûritam | nidhi-nikṣepapâṣâṇa-jala-śekharitântaram || catus-sîmodara-gatair aṣṭabhogair alaṃkṛtam | âgâminâm aśeṣâṇâṃ bhogânâm api bhâjanam || sthânam kariṣyamâṇânâṃ taṭâka-kṣetra-sampadâm |*

9. Muḍiyanûr grant of Bukkarâya of Vijayanagara (X, p. 135 ff.), dated in 1344 A.D., recording the grant of a village to Sômaṇa-Nâcaṇa the Telugu poet : *Penamâgaṇi-vikhyâ-taṃ sarva-sasyopaśobhitam | Bukkarâyapurâkhyâta-pratinâmnâ ca śobhitam || nidhi-nikṣepa-saṃyuktaṃ jala-pâṣâṇa-saṃyutam | akṣîṇy-âgâmi-sahitaṃ siddha-sâdhya-samanvitam || aṣṭa-bhogam idaṃ sarvamânyam â-candra-târakam | . . . .dattavân mudâ ||*

10. Nâgasandra grant (XII. p. 63 ff.), dated apparently on 18th November 1381, recording the gift of a village to Vidyâbhûṣaṇa-dikṣita by Cannappa Oḍeya, nephew of

Harihara I of Vijayanagara: *Sîgemâvina-halliyanu* .... *sa-hiraṇyôdaka-dâna-dhârâ-pûrvakaṃ mâḍi â-grâmada catus-sîmeyoḷagaṇa nidhi-nikṣêpa-jala-pâṣâṇa-akṣîṇi-âgâmi-siddha-sâdhya-aṣṭabhôga-têjas-svâmya-sahitav-ahanta â-grâmavanu sarvamânyavâgi êkabhôgyada agrahâravannu koṭṭaru*, i.e., 'with pouring of water and gift of gold, he granted Sîgemâvina-haḷḷi free of taxes and as an *agrahâra* enjoyable by one [person only], with *aṣṭabhoga-têjassvâmya*, namely, *nidhi, nikṣepa, jala, pâṣâṇa, akṣîṇi, âgâmi, siddha* and *sâdhya*, within the four boundaries of the village.'

11. Hassan grant of Kṛṣṇarâya of Vijayanagara (V, p. 4 ff.), dated 25th July 1515, recording the grant of a village to some Brâhmaṇas: ...... *Kittânê-grâmam uttamam | sarvamânyam catus-sîmâ-samyutaṃ ca samantataḥ || nidhi-nikṣepa-pâṣâṇa-siddha-sâdhya-jalânvitam | akṣîṇy-âgâmi-saṃyuktaṃ gaṇa-bhogyaṃ sa-bhûruham || vâpî-kûpa-taṭâkaiś ca kacchenâpi samanvitam* | .... *sa-hiraṇya-payo-dhârâ-pûrvakaṃ dattavân mudâ* ||

12. Harihar inscription (XI, p. 58 ff.), dated 6th November 1538, recording the grant of a village to the Harihara temple by Acyuta-mallapaṇṇa, governor of Acyutarâya of Vijayanagara: *Kundavâḍâbhidhaṃ grâmaṃ sarva-sasyâbhivṛddhidam* | .... *nidhi-nikṣepa-samyuktaṃ jala-pâṣâṇa-saṃyutam || akṣîṇy-âgâmi-saṃyuktaṃ siddha-sâdhya-samanvitam | sarvamânyam amuṃ grâmaṃ samasta-bali-saṃyutam* || .... *prâdâd âcandra-târakam* |

13. Hassan grant of Sadâśivarâya of Vijayanagara (V, p. 4 ff.), dated in 1561 A.D., recording the grant of a village to a Brâhmaṇa: *Kabbaḷḷinâmakaṃ grâmaṃ gṛhârâmopaśobhitam | sarvamânyaṃ catus-sîmâ-samyutaṃ ca samantataḥ || nidhi-nikṣepa-pâṣâṇa-siddha-sâdhya-jalânvitam | akṣîṇy-âgâmi-saṃyuktam eka-bhogyam sa-bhûruham || vâpî-kûpa-taṭâkaiś ca kacchârâmaiś ca saṃyutam* | .... *sa-hiraṇya-payo-dhârâ-pûrvakaṃ dattavân mudâ*

14. Siṅgâpura inscription (V, p. 18 ff.), dated 10th January 1381, recording the grant of a village by Harihara II of Vijayanagara to ten Brâhmaṇas: *upagrâma Mageha!!i saha Siṅgâpurasya catus-sîmevaḷagulla nidhi-nikṣêpa-jala-taru-pâṣâṇa-siddha-sâdhyagaḷemba aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmyavannu suṅka suvarṇâdâya davasâdâya saha* .... *sarvamânya-agrahâravâgi*, i.e., 'the village Siṅgâpura with its hamlet Magehaḷḷi as tax-free *agrahâra*, together with *suṅka*, revenue paid in money and in kind (grain), and *aṣṭabhoga-têjassvâmya* consisting of *nidhi, nikṣepa, jala, taru, pâṣâṇa, siddha* and *sâdhya* within its four boundaries.'

15. Citaldrug inscription (XI, p. 2), dated 18th May 1355, recording the grant of a village by the *mahâmaṇḍaleśvara* Mallinâtha Voḍeya to the temple of Siddhanâtha: *Cikkapuravanu jîrṇôddhâraṃ mâḍi â-purada catus-sîmey-oḷagaṇa akṣîṇi-âgâmi-nidhi-nikṣêpa jala-pâṣâṇa-siddha-sâdhya-siddhâya-hodake-haḍike-kâṇike-kaḍḍâya-biṭṭi-koṭṭaṇa-aliv-anyâya-suṅka-haṭṭidere-tappu-tavuḍi-pûrvâya-apûrvâyav-oḷagâda aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmyavanu sarvamânyavâgi*, i.e., 'the village Cikkapura as tax-free village, after renovating it, together with *aṣṭabhoga-têjassvâmya* including *akṣîṇi, âgâmi* [and other taxes named].... *apûrvâya* within its four boundaries.'

16. Hebbâle grant of Narasiṃhanâyaka and some others (V, p. 552 ff.), dated in 1665 A.D., recording the gift of a village to twelve Brâhmaṇas: *î-Dêvarahaḷḷiyemba grâmavanu* .... *â-grâmakke saluva catus-sîmey-oḷagâda gadde-beddalu-tôṭa-tuḍike-aṇe-accukaṭṭu-kâḍârambha-nîrârambhagaḷ emba aṣṭabhôgaṅgaḷannu nidhi-nikṣêpa-jala-pâṣâṇa-akṣîṇi-âgâmi-siddha-sâdhy-aṅgaḷ emba aṣṭatêjassvâmyagaḷannu sakala suvarṇâdâya davasâdâya hoge-kâṇike muntâda ciluvâna-kâṇikegaḷu sahâ nîvê âgumâḍi anubhavisikoṇḍu* .... *sukhadalli* .... *iraluḷḷavaru* .... *endu* .... *koṭṭa sarvamânyâgrahârada tâmraśâsana*, i.e., 'the copper grant in witness that we have granted to you as tax-free *agrahâra* the village Dêvarahaḷḷi. Within the four boundaries thereof, you will possess the eight *bhogas* comprising *gadde, beddalu, tôṭa, tuḍike, aṇe, accu-kaṭṭu, kâḍârambha* and *nîrârambha*, and the eight *têjassvâmyas* comprising *nidhi, nikṣepa, jala, pâṣâṇa, siddha, sâdhya, akṣîṇi* and *âgâmi*; you will cause to be paid to you all revenues of money and grain and also from *hogekâṇike* and other minor taxes and live in happiness.'

(To be continued.)

WAS THE *KAUṬALÎYA ARTHA-ŚÂSTRA* IN PROSE OR IN VERSE?

BY PROFESSOR PRAN NATH, D.Sc. (LOND.), PH.D.

KAUṬALYA states at the end of his introductory chapter that in the text "There are on the whole 15 books, 150 chapters, 180 sections and 6000 *ślokas*."[1] Dr. Shamasastry mentions that "In chap. vii of his *Daśakumâra-carita*, Daṇḍin has also stated that the extent of the *Daṇḍanîti* abridged by Vishṇugupta is 6000 *ślokas*."[2] As *śloka* generally means 'verse' and the present text is in prose, Paṇḍit Gaṇapati Śâstrin thinks that "by *śloka*, 32 letters are meant, and when these letters are knitted together they make a book."[3] Before accepting this interpretation, it may be stated that the present text shows a peculiar type of harmony which does not seem to be accidental. The text is full of parts of *anuṣṭubh* verse and of sentences which, by a slight alteration, assume the form of stanzas. The following examples of sentences which either (*a*) begin with a line, or lines, of *anuṣṭubh* verse, or (*b*) can be converted into the *anuṣṭubh* metre by removing or adding a word or two, will make my meaning more clear.

(a) Sentences which begin with a line or lines of anuṣṭubh verse :—

1.	*Ânvîkṣakî trayî vârtâ*	p. 6.
2.	*Tatra dharmopadhâ śuddhân*	p. 16.
3.	*Sarva-pravrajitâśca svam*	p. 18.
4.	*Tatra ye'nupraśaṃseyuḥ*	p. 22.
5.	*Yathaśvagaṇinâṃ dhenus*	p. 25.
6.	*Iṅgitam anyathâ vṛttiḥ*	p. 26.
7.	*Amâtya-sampadopeto*	p. 30.
8.	*Atyaktaṃ tulya-śîlâbhis*	p. 36.
9.	*Dvitîye snâna-bhojanaṃ*	p. 38.
10.	*Tṛtîye tûrya-ghoṣeṇa*	p. 38.
11.	*Aṣṭame ṛtvigâcârya*	p. 38.
12.	*Mṛyate matta-kokilaḥ*	p. 41.
13.	*Catur-daṇḍântarâ rathyâ*	p. 54.
14.	*Câturvarṇya-samâjîve*	p. 55.
15.	*Yo bhṛtyâtma-pîḍâbhyâm*	p. 69.
16.	*Akṣa-śâlâm anâyukto*	p. 87.
17.	*Trayoṃśâḥ tapanîyasya*	p. 88.
18.	*Âtma-balânukûlyena*	p. 38.
19.	*Kośa-gṛha-vidhânena*	p. 40.
20.	*Arpayet kâca-karmaṇaḥ*	p. 87.
21.	*Bhartâ vâ kârayan nânyaḥ*	p. 185.
22.	*Andhas calita śâstro vâ*	p. 325.
23.	*Aśâstra-cakṣur andho yat*	p. 325.
24.	*Sannidhâtr-samâhartros*	p. 333.
25.	*Sannidhâtâ kṛtâvastham*	p. 333.
26.	*Bhinna-kûṭândhayor bhinna*	p. 337.
27.	*Kâlaḥ śîtoṣṇa-varṣâtmâ ; tasya râtrirahaḥ pakṣo*	p. 340.
28.	*Deśaḥ śreyân ityeke-sthala-gato hi śvâ nakram*	p. 340.

[1] Dr. R. Shamasastry, *Kautilya's Arthaśâstra*, English translation, 1929 edn., p. 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. viii.

[3] *Śloka iha dvâtriṃśad akṣarâṇi, yeṣâṃ samudâya eko grantha iti gaṇyate.* (*The Arthaśâstra of Kauṭalya*, Trivandrum, 1924, vol. I, p. 25.)

(b) Sentences which become a verse by removing or adding a word or two:—

1. *Saptame mantram adhyâsîta.*
Gûḍha-puruṣâṃśca preṣayet.
Aṣṭame ṛtvigâcârya, p. 38.
2. *Bhaṇḍikâdhikaraṇî-picchas*
sûtram cellamabollanaṃ p. 93.
3. *Prajñâ-śâstra-caksur-hi râjâ*
alpenâpi prayatnena p. 340.
4. *Mantriṇâmapi hi mantriṇo*
bhavanti teṣâmpyanye,
saiṣâ mantri-paramparâ
mantram bhinatti (yasmât) p. 27.
5. *yadyad utpadyate tattad*
bhaksayati..... p. 69.
6. *Śâsane śâsanam iti- .....*
Śâsana-pradhânâ hi râjânaḥ,
tanmûlatvât saṃdhi-vigra... p. 70.
7. *Khanibhyo dhatu-paṇyâdâ-*
neṣu ṣaṭchatam atyayaḥ p. 113.
8. *Akâmâyâḥ kumâryḥ vâ*
sâhase uttamo daṇḍaḥ p. 124.
9. *Nagne vinagne nyaṅge'*
pitṛke'mâtṛke iti p. 154.
10. *Kapilâ vṛtta-pucchâ ca.*
iti (?) carma-jâtayaḥ p. 80.

It is also interesting to notice that in many places the text of the *Artha-śâstra* is so sensitive that by a slight change it turns into a verse, e.g., by omitting the words *iti*, *vyâkhyâtâḥ*, etc., or by adding or altering a few letters. A change in the construction will sometimes have the same effect. The following specific examples will give a better idea of what is meant.

1. *Ânvîkṣakî trayî vârtâ* *daṇḍanîtiś ceti vidyâḥ.* Kau. S. P. 6.	*Ânvîkṣakî trayî vârtâ* *daṇḍanitiśca śâśvatî.* 2. Kâmandaki, p. 26.
2. *Trayî vârtâ daṇḍa-nîtiś* Ibid., p. 6.	*Trayî vârtâ daṇḍa-nîtis* Ibid., p. 27.
3. *Vârtâ daṇḍa-nîtiśceti* Ibid., p. 6.	*Vârtâ ca daṇḍanîtiśca* Ibid., p. 27.
4. *Daṇḍanîtirekâ vidyety* *Auśanasâḥ·* *tasyâṃ hi sarva-vidy* *ârambhaḥ pratibaddhâ iti.* Ibid., p. 6.	*Ekaiva daṇḍa-nîtistu* *vidyety Auśanasâḥ sthitâḥ.* *Tasyâṃ hi sarva-vidyânâm* *ârambhâḥ sampratiṣṭhitâḥ.* 5. Ibid., p. 27.
5. *Catasra eva vidyâ* *iti Kauṭilyaḥ.* Ibid., p. 6.	*Vidyaścatasra evaitâ* *iti no guru-darśanam.* Ibid., p. 27.
6. *Dharmâ dharmau trayyâm.* *Arthânarthau vârtâyâm.* *Nayânayau daṇḍa nîtyâm* Ibid., p. 6.	*Dharmâdharmau trayî-sthitau.* *Arthânarthau tu vârtâyâm* *daṇḍa-nîtyâm nayânayau.* 7. Ibid., p. 27.
7. *Dravya-prakṛti-hînam api* Ibid., p. 250.	*Dravya-prakṛti-hîno'pi* Ibid., p. 67.

8.	*Na tvevânâtma-sampannam.* Ibid., p. 250.	*Na tvevânâtma-sampannâd* Ibid., p. 67.
9.	*Âtmavati labdhâvakâśaḥ..* .... *sthâna-sthairyam avâpnoti* Ibid., p. 250.	*Labdhavakâśo nipuṇa* *âtmavatya(ti)*.......... *Sthâne sthairyam avâpnoti* Ibid., p. 68.
10.	*Krauñco viṣâbhyâśe mâdya-* *ti.... Mṛyate matta-koki-* *laḥ. Cakorasyakṣiṇîḥvira-* *jyete.* Ibid., pp. 40-41.	*Cakorasya virajyete* *nayane viṣa-darśanât.* *Suvyaktam mâdyati krauñco* *mṛyate matta-kokilaḥ.* 12. Ibid., p. 92.
11.	*Viṣa-digdhena nûpureṇa* *Vairantyam mekhalâ-maṇinâ* *Sauvîram Jâlûtham* *âdarśena*........ Ibid., p. 41.	*Viṣa-digdhena Sauvîraṃ* *mekhalâ-maṇinâ nṛpam.* *Nûpureṇa ca Vairûpyaṃ* *Jârûṣyam darpaṇena ca.* 53. Ibid., p. 100.

Thus it is clear that the interpretation of the term *śloka* as meaning any 32 letters does not appear to be satisfactory. Fragments of *anuṣṭubh* given above show that the present text is based on books which were in verse. Kâmandaki, while abridging the *Artha-śâstra* of *Câṇakya* does not follow the order of the present text. He has, moreover, left out some of the most important portions of the text and gives nothing about them. For instance, the *Adhyakṣapracâra, Dharma-sthîya, Kaṇṭaka-śodhana, Aupaniṣadika*, etc., covering nearly 218 pages of the present text, are overlooked by him as if he did not know them. There is a chapter entitled *Kaṇṭaka-śodhana* in the *Nîti-sâra* of Kâmandaki, but it has nothing in common with the *Kaṇṭaka-śodhana* of the present *Artha-śâstra*. It is possible that he may have taken liberties with the original text while abridging his master's book. Against this suggestion it may be said that Kâmandaki often versifies the sentences occurring in the *Artha-śâstra* and in many places follows them very minutely. The best solution of the problem seems to be to assume that the original text was in verse and that the order of the sections was also slightly different. The compiler of the existing text was very eager to end each chapter with a verse. These verses may have belonged to an original text and have been quoted at the end of each section with a view to paying due respect to Âcârya Kauṭalya. If this explanation be accepted many riddles may easily be solved. For instance, the verse *Sarva-śâstrâṇyanukramya prayogam upalabhya ca, Kauṭilyena narendrârthe śâsanasya vidhiḥ kṛtaḥ*," which means 'Having followed all sciences and having fully observed the forms of writing in vogue, these rules of writing royal writs have been laid down by Kauṭilya in the interest of kings,' may belong to the colophon of the original text. As the 28th *prakaraṇa* of the *Artha-śâstra* is full of verses together with explanations thereof, it is probable that the verses represent an earlier text, while the explanation in prose belongs to a much later date. Those who believe that the present text in its present form was compiled by the minister Kauṭalya himself will find it difficult to explain what induced him to mention his name at the end of 28th section. The ordinary procedure was for the author to mention his name and the work done, together with other details if so desired, at the end of each chapter, or part or volume. There is no such order in the *Artha-śâstra*. Furthermore, at the end of the present text there are two verses in the colophon which have been translated by Dr. Shamasastry in the following manner :—

"This Śâstra has been made by him who from intolerance (of misrule) quickly rescued the scriptures and the science of weapons and the earth which had passed to the Nanda king.

"Ḥaving seen discrepancies in many ways on the part of the writers of commentaries on the Śâstras, Vishṇu Gupta himself has made (this) Sûtra and commentary."[4]

The question naturally arises, where are the *sûtras* and the commentaries on them? The present text is not in the form of *sûtras* and commentaries. If the last verse is an interpolation, what guarantee is there that the verses mentioning the name Kauṭilya, and following no particular order or procedure, are not themselves interpolations? The *Câṇakya-sûtrâṇi* appended to the second edition of the Mysore text might have had a commentary which is now lost.

On the one hand, the author of these *sûtras* follows a portion of the *Artha-śâstra*, and the first seven *sûtras* disclose the same order of sections as was followed by Kâmandaki; on the other hand he seems to be quite independent, as if he had no regard for the present text and had no acquaintance even with the *Nîti-sâra* of Kâmandaki. Taking all these points into consideration, it appears that the verses containing the author's name have no practical value in fixing the date of the text, as Dr. Shamasastry thought. The learned doctor's further argument, based upon the state of society depicted in the *Artha-śâstra*, leading him to the conclusion that it is pre-Buddhist, becomes inconclusive in view of the fact that there is little to show the exact conditions prevailing in the pre-Buddhist period. Similarly, his reliance on Daṇḍin is not conclusive, inasmuch as there is no means of ascertaining whether the tradition handed down to Daṇḍin about the authorship of the work was based on fact.

From what has been said above it would seem most probable that the original text was in verse, and not in prose.

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROF. S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

(*Continued from page 149.*)

Ellora.—The earliest reference to these Caves in *Hobson-Jobson* is from Thévenot (1665). But there seems to be a fairly clear allusion to them in Mas'ûdî.

[c. 916] "Nous avons décrit les temples de l'Inde consacrés aux idoles qui ont la forme du *balrah* [sans doute le *pradjâpati*], c'est-à-dire du germe qui parut dans l'Inde à l'origine des temps; le grand temple nommé *Aladra* [Ellora ?] où les Indiens se rendent en pélérinage des régions les plus éloignées. Ce temple a une ville entière à titre de la fondation pieuse, et il est entouré de mille cellules où vivent les dévots qui se consacrent à l'adoration particulière de cette idole."—*Prairies d'or*, ed. et tr. Barbier de Meynard, IV, 95. The translator suggests that this must be Ellora; and there is a good deal to be said for this identification, as الادرا may be easily read as الاورا '*Alâvra*' the symbols for *dâl* and *wâv*, being so very much alike as to be often confounded by copyists.

The cave temples are also mentioned by Firishta in his account of the Deccan expedition of 1306 and the capture of Dewal Devî, the daughter of Râja Karan of Anhilwâḍ:

"While halting for two days to refresh his army among the mountains, some of his [Alaf Khân's] troops to the number of 300 went without leave to see the caves of *Ellora*, in the neighbourhood of Dewgur [*i.e.*, Deogiri now Daulatâbâd], from which city his camp was not far distant." Briggs' *Ferishta*, I, 369; Lucknow Lith., I, 117. This is but a casual mention. But there is a lengthy description of these monuments in the *Tazkiratu'l-mulûk*—a History of the 'Âdilshâhîs of Bîjâpur written in A.H. 1020 (c. 1611 A.C.).—Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I, 316; Rehatsek, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Mullâ Fîrûz Library, Bombay*, p. 75.

Another Musalman historian also speaks of them, but the passage is scarcely worth quoting as it is practically identical with the one quoted by Sir Henry Yule from the *Ma'âsir-i-'Âlamgîrî*. See Khwâfî Khân, *Muntakhabu'l-lubâb*, in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VII, 189.

[4] Shamasastry's English translation, 1929, ed., p. 463.

Fedea Fuddeea.—Yule's earliest reference is to Nunez (1554).

Referring to the Kingdom of Gujarât, Barbosa writes :

[*c.* 1516.] "There is as well another kind of reckoning in which they carry on their dealings, which they call *fedeo* and it is nought but a name being the value of eighteen reis, or fourteen or twelve, according to place, for it is more in some places and less in others."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Trans. Dames. I, 156.

The author of the *Mirât-i-Sikandarî*, a history of the Independent Sultâns of Gujarât written about 1611 A.C., speaks of *phadiyâs* having been current in the province in 1457 A.C.

"It is said that fighting went on for five days [in the neighbourhood of Kombhalmer between Sultan Quṭbu'd-dîn Aḥmad Shâh and Râṇa Kumbha of Chitor], and that a cup of water was sold for five *phadiyâs*, equivalent in that neighbourhood to twelve *Murâdî tankahs*" (Sir E. C. Bayley's trans., p. 151).

This word also occurs in two old Pârsî sale-deeds, dated A.H. 923 (1517 A.C.) and A.H. 952 (1545 A.C.), which have been published in my *Studies in Parsi History*, pp. 157—167.

Firinghee.—(The earliest English example given by Yule is of 1614.)

[1609.] "And his reason was, for that at his beeinge with the Greate Turke at courte, there came a *Frangay*, as he tearmed him (which I take to bee an Italian) whoe desired license to come into the Red Sea with one shipp to trade."—*Journal of John Jourdain*. Hak. Soc. Series, ed. [Sir] W. Foster, pp. 89-90.

Ganza.—[1583-91.] "Their current money in these parts [Pegu] is a kind of brasse which they call *Gansa*, wherewith you may buy golde, silver, rubies, muske, and all other things."—Ralph Fitch in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 35.

Ghee.—Yule's earliest illustration is from Blochmann's translation of the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, but a reference to the *Bibliotheca Indica* text, which was edited by himself, shows that the word *ghî* does *not* occur in that work, and that the expression used by Abûl-Fazl is *raughan-i-zard* (روغن زرد), 'Yellow oil.'—*Loc. cit.*, p. 138, l. 3 from foot.

Gingerly.—The earliest example given of the use of this name for a part of the east coast of India (between the Godâvarî deltâ and Orissa) is of 1680-81.

[1654.] "Greenhill, being about to send his brother [Joseph] and son-in-law [John Gurney] to *Gingarlee* insisted, in spite of Fuddle's protests, on dispatching Nynapa with them."—*English Factories in India* (1651-4), p. 263.

[1669-79.] "This coast called *Gingalee* is certainly the most pleasant and commodious sea coast that India affordeth. . . . It beginneth at Point or Cape Goodawaree, the entrance or south side of the bay Corango . . . and . . . extendeth itselfe soe farre as to the Great Pagod Jno Gernaet."—Bowrey, *The Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, pp. 120-21.

Gold Mohur Flower.—The derivation of this word is uncertain, but Yule's suggestion that it signifies 'peacock-flower' receives some support from the following sentence in Bâbur's *Memoirs*. In his description of the Peacock, which, he says, is called *mor* by the Hindûstânîs, he writes :

"The flowers on its back are much the smaller; below the back as far as the tail-tips are [larger] flowers painted in the same colours."—A. S. Beveridge, *The Bâbur-nâma in English*, II, 493.

Here the word used for 'flowers' in the Turkî text is the Persian *gul*, and is used, as Mrs. Beveridge says, for what we call 'eyes.' In the Persian version made by the Khân-i-khânân 'Abdu'r-raḥîm in the reign of Akbar, the same phrase is used, and the clause runs thus :

و گلهای پشت او خورد خورد گلهاست ازپشت پایان تر همین رنگها منقش گلهای کلان تاکنا ردم

(Bombay Lithograph. A.H. 1308, p. 194, l. 11.) In a word, the 'eyes' on the peacock's

tail are called *gul* by the Persians, and as the flower bears markings similar to these 'eyes,' it may have been called *gul-i-mor.*

Another possible explanation is گل مہر *gul-i-mihr*, 'flower of the sun,' as the tree is in its glory and blossoms in summer, when the sun is at the height of his power.

Goojurs.—William Hawkins is perhaps the earliest English traveller who mentions these people.

[1610.] "Passing a mile hence [*scil.* Bayâna] on a faire cawsey, you come to the King's house, sometimes faire, now ruinate, where a few poore *Googers* remaine in the ruines."—Sir W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 152. See also *ibid.*, pp. 156, 157.

Gosain Gossyne.—[1608-11.] "Acabarpore [Akbarpûr in Fyzâbâd District, Oude] 12 c[oss], formerly a great city, still famous for the antiquities of Indian gobins or saints." William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 155.

Grass-cloth.—The learned authors say that these fabrics "were made of Rhea or some kindred species, but we have not been able to determine this." Dr. Watt has examined the matter and he is of opinion that this 'herba' was the coma of the hairs or floss from the seeds of *madâr* or *Calotropis gigantea*, and not the Rhea fibre. "Rhea could never have been found as a wild plant in Orissa, and the allusion [in Cesare Federici] to the 'bole' or fruit from which the fibre was obtained precludes rhea from consideration altogether." The vernacular name *yerua*, which occurs in Fitch, he thinks, "is clearly a form of the word that denotes *Calotropis* throughout Orissa and the Karnâtak to this day."—*Commercial Products of India*, pp. 207-08.

Gunny.—Mr. Crooke points out that the word does not occur in the original text of the *Âîn*, but there can be no doubt that it had come into general use about that time as it is found in Firishta's *History*, which was completed about 1611 A.C.

[c. 1611.] "It happened that some of Râm Dew's subjects who had brought salt for sale from the Concan had left their bags close to the fort walls and fled on the approach of the enemy."—Briggs' *Ferishta*, I, 306. Here the word for 'bags' is *gûnî* (گونی), Lucknow Lith., I, 95, l. 15. The same word is again employed, *ibid.*, I, 96, l. 9 (=Briggs, *ibid.*, I. 309).

[1619.] "To-morrow they will send a case of Alicante to the Governor, and some *gunny* for the factory."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1618-1621), p. 99. See also *ibid.*, p. 161, "stronge *gunnee* or course canvas."

Haddy.—[1612.] "Of these there are many: and *haddyes*, which are pentioners from the paye of one horse to ten, there are an infinite number. The paie of each horse is worth betweene 40 and 43 ropeas per monneth."—*The Journal of John Jourdain*, ed. [Sir] W. Foster, p. 190.

Halalcore.—[c. 1590.] "Sweepers are called in Hindustan *Halâlkhûr*. His Majesty (*scil.* Akbar) brought this name *en vogue*."—*Âîn-i-Akbarî*, trans. Blochmann, I, 139. The words in the original are بدین نام روشناس گردانید (Text, I, 144, l. 11 from foot).

[c. 1595.] "Whoever found a powerful friend among the nobles and people at Court, secured his wishes, and whoever could not obtain a similar introduction had to give large bribes . . . to all the subordinates of the Shaikh, even to the *farâshes*, door keepers, grooms and sweepers."—Badâonî in Elliot and Dowson, *H. of I.*, V, 521.

Here the word for 'sweepers' in the text is *halâlkhor* (Text, II, 205).

Blochmann says that "it is doubtful whether it was Akbar's invention" (*ibid.*, note). But Abûl-Fazl does not state that the Emperor *invented it.* He is said only to have brought it 'into vogue.' In this connection, the following sentence from Thévenot, which Yule has omitted from his quotation, is worthy of attention:—

"And they who approve this last application, say that heretofore the Halalcour were called Haramcour, eaters of prohibited meats; but that a King one day hearing his courtiers

jear them, because of their nasty trade, said to them, since these people gain their bread better than you, who are lazy lubbards, their name of Haramcour ought to be given to you, and to them that of *Halalcour*."—*Travels into the Levant*, Part III (Indies), Eng. trans., 1687, p. 64.

Whether Akbar had anything to do with it or not, it is fairly certain that no example of the use of the word in this sense by any writer who lived before his accession is known. There can be also little doubt the 'King' of Thévenot's story is Akbar.

Peter Mundy gives a third explanation of the name. [1632.] "They eat all manner of carrion, as horses, cattell, doggs, catts that die of themselves, sayeing other men are cruell in takeinge away the lives of the creatures, when as [whereas] they eat none but those whome God kills."—*The Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. C. Temple, II, 306.

Harry.—The earliest use of the name quoted by Yule is of 1706, but we find it in Albîrûnî.

[*c.* 1030.] "The people called *Hâdî*, Ḍoma (Ḍomba), Chanḍâla and Badhatan (*sic*) are not reckoned amongst any caste or guild. They are occupied with dirty work, like the cleansing of the villages and other services: . . . according to general opinion, they descend from a Śûdra father and a Brâhmaṇî mother as the children of fornication; therefore they are degraded outcasts."—Alberûni, *India*, trans. Sachau, I, 101.

Hooka.—The following is a much earlier use of the word than any of those quoted by Yule :—

[1675.] "*Hoocars:* commonly called hubble-bubble."—T. Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Sir R. C. Temple, p. 97. See also *ibid.*, p. 96 and n.

Hooly.—Mr. Crooke quotes from *Hedges' Diary* (1671); but here is an earlier use :—

[1628.] "It is however reported that a great caravan is to depart from this place after the *Hoolee* festival."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1624-9), p. 246.

Hoondy.—(The earliest use quoted in Yule is of 1810.)

[*c.* 1600.] "When H. M. [Akbar] heard of this he gave orders that the Gujarât treasure should be gradually conveyed and that more than three *lakhs* of rupîs should be sent from Court by way of *hundî*. In this country the rule is that when one desires to have money conveyed without the expense and trouble of transit to distant places, he makes it over to a man of means and he thereupon gives a writing. This is conveyed to the desired place, and the person there pays the money on seeing the document. The singular thing is that seals and witnesses are not required. The writing is called by this name (*hundî*), and in consequence of difference in place and circumstance sometimes it is met at par and sometimes there is profit." Abûl-Faẓl, *Akbarnâma*, trans. Beveridge, III, 1139.

The elaborate explanation indicates that it was a Hindu institution with which the Muḥammadan conquerors were not familiar even at the end of the sixteenth century.

Hurcarra.—See quotation dated 1639, *s.v.* Doai (*supra*, p. 149).

Indigo.—Sir George Birdwood's identification of 'Belondri' with 'Valabhi,' is admittedly conjectural and uncertain. '*Baladi*' Ginger is often mentioned by old European writers (Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II, 92 n.; *Hobson-Jobson*, 266, *s.v.* 'Country'), and it is possible that the same epithet may have been applied to the 'home-grown' variety of indigo also. But *balandar* and *balandarîn* بلندر and بلندرین are given in the dictionaries of Richardson and Steingass as short forms of *balandtar* بلند تر and *balandtarîn*, بلندترین for 'higher' and 'highest.' The 'best *Belondri*' may thus signify the best of the first (or second) class.

Jancada.—Yule's earliest quotation is from Correa (1543), but these people are mentioned in Barbosa also and they are called 'Janguada' in the Spanish version and 'Sanguada' in Ramusio.

[1516.] "When these Nayres accept service with the King or with any other person by whom they are to be paid they bind themselves to die for him, and this rule is kept by most of them; some do not fulfil it, but it is a general obligation. Thus if in any way their Lord is killed, and they are present, they do all they can even unto death; and if they are not at that place, even if they come from their homes they go in search of the slayer or of the King who sent him forth to slay, and how many soever may be their enemies yet every one of them does his utmost until they kill him. . . . If any is in dread he takes one or two of these Nayres, or as many as are daring, to maintain; to these he gives a certain small fee to protect him and for love of them, none dares to do him any hurt, for they and all their kindred will take vengeance for any injury done to such an one."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, II, 48.

This passage shows that the *Jancadas* were closely related to the *Amoucos*. See *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* **A muck**. The former were men 'bound by a vow,' the latter were those *Jancadas* who in fulfilment of that vow, "did all they could even unto death," when the necessity arose, who slew and gave "themselves to slay" for their lord.

Jangar.—(The earliest English use of the word quoted by Yule is of 1756.)

[1621.] "This coast [is] not yet freed of all the Danes, from whome an English woman [which] came out in their fleet, a maid about 24, upon a ginga[tha] came to Pollecat, and was after a little stay there honn[estly] married to the preacher of the fort."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1618-1621), p. 266.

[1632.] "That Sill in the night was to come ashore upon a *gingada*."—*Ibid.* (1630-33), p. 262.

Jumdud.—The 'Jamdar Khana' (*recte, jâmdâr-k͟hâna*) (جامدار خانه) of the passage quoted from Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* has nothing whatever to do with this word (جمدهر), *jamdhar*, which is derived, as Yule says, from Sansk. *yamadhâra*. *Jâmdâr-k͟hâna* is a Persian word from *jâm* (جام), 'cup,' or *jâma*, 'garment,' 'robe.'

Junk.—[1503-8.] "There is also another kind of large ship which is called *Giunchi* and each of these is of the tonnage of one thousand butts, on which they carry some little vessels to a city called Melacha and from thence they go with these little vessels for small spices to a place which you shall know when the proper time comes."—*The Travels of L. di Varthema*, trans. Badger, p. 211. See also pp. 239 and 258, where the word occurs in the singular form, *giunco*.

Juribasso.—A little earlier than Saris (1613) or Cocks (1615), Jourdain uses this word in the passage quoted below.

[1610.] "Sir Henry Middleton haveinge in the meantime fitted the shipps and made his Commission to mee . . . appointed for my assistance Georg Cockayne, Nicholas Bangham and a Spaniard as *juribasse* and our pilot for the countrye."—*Journal of John Jourdain*, ed. Foster, pp. 243-44.

Kapal.—This Malay word for 'any square-rigged vessel' occurs very early in European writers and is found in Varthema. In the chapter on the 'manner of navigating in Calicut,' he says that flat-bottomed boats are called 'Sambuchi' and that "others which are made like ours, that is, in the bottom, are called *Capel*."—*Travels of L. di Varthema*, ed. Badger, p. 154. According to the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Thana), XIII, Pt. 2, 470, the word is still in use on that coast.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

ORDEAL BY BALANCE.

The following extract, being Appendix G of the *Archæological Report* for Travancore, 1930, is worth reproducing for a wider public than that of the Travancore State.

R. C. TEMPLE.

"Some 18 years ago, at Calicut, there took place 'Dhata' or the weighing ordeal. It was in connection with a suit then pending before the Sub-Court at Calicut, in which one of the questions to be determined was whether a Nampûtiri Brâhman, who was a party to that suit, had lost his caste for breach of some caste rules. I do not well remember now the grounds of accusation, but I heard the parties agreed with the concurrence of the Sub-Court, that, should the Nampûtiri Brâhman undergo the weighing ordeal, and succeed in establishing his innocence before the Vydikâs, or priests, according to the rules prescribed on that behalf, the question as to the caste status of the accused Nampûtiri Brâhman might be decided in his favour. I purposely came down to Calicut from a distant place to be present at the ordeal. I have a vivid recollection of the very imposing ceremony I witnessed on that occasion. It took place in the temple of Siva in Tali at Calicut, in the midst of a vast concourse of people, Brâhmans and Sudras and the presence of the late Zamorin Mahârâja Bahâdur of Calicut, whose presence, it was said, was necessary to validate the procedure of the assembly of the Brâhmans. The king or his accredited minister, it is said, should witness the ceremony. Accordingly the Zamorin officiated as the king. There was a large assembly of the most respectable Vydikâ Nampûtiris, Nampûtiripads and many learned Brâhmans from all parts of South Malabar. A big weighing machine, made of copper, was hung to a thick wooden beam placed on two strong wooden pillars planted in the inner courtyard of the temple. Before the actual weighing ceremony, there were as usual [in] all ceremonies conducted by the sacerdotal order, various preliminary ceremonies performed. Some Brâhman priests of high order sat for making '*homams*' in the sacrificial fires kindled around the scale, some sat to perform '*pûjâs*,' and some to recite '*mantras*' and Vedic hymns. The weighing apparatus was decorated with garlands and wreaths of flower and sandal paste, and formally sanctified by '*mantras*.' The temple music was going on all the time, and occasionally the *katinâs*, or temple guns, were fired. As usual at all Brâhman ceremonies, a *muhurtam*, or auspicious hour, had been fixed beforehand for the actual performance of the weighing ceremony. About some half an hour before the appointed hour, a quantity of clay taken from the bed of the temple tank was brought and put into one of the scales, and the accused Nampûtiri was made to sit in the other scale in order to adjust the weight beforehand. Many people examined the adjustment and said that it was exact, the clay and the Brâhman weighing exactly the same weight. I believe I myself was one who examined and testified to this fact. The accused Brâhman then left the scene to reappear for the ordeal. When the wretched man reappeared, all who saw him were moved to pity. The 24 hours' fasting which he had to undergo previously to purify him for the ordeal, and the great mental anxiety, made him look a very miserable creature indeed. Add to this the fact that he had just then plunged in the tank and was coming directly from the tank without wiping off the water from his body and with his wet clothes on, as he was directed to do. It will be observed that not only was his body, but his wealth, his reputation, his caste, in fact everything he cared for in this world, were, as it were, to be put in the balance ; and if he failed in the ordeal, his life was of course not worth living. You can imagine, gentlemen, under such circumstances, what should have been the great mental perturbation of the poor old Brâhman as he approached the scales slowly, trembling with fear, and with tears running down his cheeks. As he approached the scales, he was made to prostrate before the weighing scales and repeat a stanza which was, I think, to the following effect : "O Dhata, or weighing scale, thou art the great judge of guilt or innocence. O mother Dhata, if I am innocent, let the scale in which I sit, go up ; if guilty, let it go down." With these words he got into the scales. Great was the anxiety of the onlookers to know the result, which was however soon pronounced by the Brâhman priests (who officiated as judges of the ordeal) to be in favour of the poor Brâhman. As soon as the Brâhman got into the scale, the surging crowd around the weighing machine became so uncontrollable and so disorderly, and there was so much confusion and uproar that many officials, including myself, were unable to see exactly how the scales stood ; but the judges loudly and vehemently declared in favour of the poor accused, and we were all much pleased. A rich banquet followed this ceremony, at which the Nampûtiri's innocence was formally declared by the Vydikâs, and he was allowed for the first time, after a long period of suspension from caste, I believe nearly 30 or 40 years, all the privileges of a Brâhman."

BOOK-NOTICES.

HISTORICAL FACTS FOR THE ARABIAN MUSICAL INFLUENCE. by HENRY GEORGE FARMER (Studies in the Music of the Middle Ages). Wm. Reeves, London, 1930 : pp. xii+376.

Arabian musical influence on Europe.—The musical influence of Arabian culture on Europe is a subject requiring an unusually wide amount of Arabic scholarship with a deep technical knowledge of the history, theory, and art of music. These qualifications are combined in Dr. Farmer in an eminent degree. His brilliant contributions on this subject are attracting the attention of students and musicians in both hemispheres. His conclusions become the more firmly established, the more they are questioned and controverted, just as the evidence of a witness in a court of law is best established when it stands the test of cross-examination. Arabian culture in this connection is the culture which was disseminated through the medium of the Arabic language when that language held the supreme position in the world of culture from the eighth to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era, and was still exerting some influence for at least three centuries longer. Its motive force was supplied by Islamic organization, but Jews and Christians collaborated in the task, and many races and many cultures (notably Persian and Byzantine) made valuable contributions to its growth and development. It was ten years ago that Dr. Farmer searched out the clues to that culture in the realm of music, examining the terminology and history of musical instruments, Discant, Organum, Laws of Consonance, Solfeggio, Instrumental Tablature, Mensural Music, and Notation. He discovered the identity of the term "hocket" with the Arabic "*Iqâ'át*," and his clue for Mensural Music is to be followed up in a special book. Some of his conclusions were accepted, and others were called in question by critics of authority. Among the latter is the well-known writer on music, Miss Kathleen Schlesinger, who has subjected many of Dr. Farmer's statements to detailed criticism. There have been replies and counter-replies, and the present book "Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence" reviews the whole controversy in detail, point by point, from Dr. Farmer's point of view.

Unfortunately Miss Schlesinger is no Arabist Dr. Farmer is able to dispose satisfactorily of many of the arguments advanced against him as far as they depend on Arabic sources. He also promises to issue a complete translation of the Arabic treatise on music by the famous writer Al-Farabi, who died in 950, as well as a critical edition of the text and translation of an Arabic manuscript, the *Ma'rifat al Naghamât*, which bears on the questions at issue.

We think that Dr. Farmer's thorough examination of all the criticisms levelled against him enables the impartial investigator to judge between him and his critic. In his historical perspective he has undoubtedly made out a case for the Arabian influence. He has examined the musical literature of Europe and compared it in detail with that of the Arabs. His discussions, in periodical literature, of specific Arab musical instruments have strengthened his case. His promised translations and further pursuit of clues should go still further to clear up doubtful and debatable points. His researches are of immense value for the study of Arabic civilization and the civilization of medieval Europe. They dissipate the one-sided views which have hitherto held the field.

A. YUSUF ALI.

RELATIONS OF GOLCONDA IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in.; pp. li+109, with 2 maps, Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, No. LXVI. London. 1931.

Of the three accounts of the kingdom of Golconda published in this volume, one was written by an English merchant, and the other two by Dutch merchants who served on the Coromandel Coast. The first is the *Relations* of William Methwold, based upon the knowledge acquired as "Principall of the Coast of Choromandell" during the years 1618-22, which appeared in the 1626 edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, but does not appear to have been ever separately printed in English. The second, written for the information of the Directors of the Dutch Co. in Holland in 1615 or 1616, by Antony Schorer, an employé of that company at Masulipatam from about 1608 to 1614, is now printed for the first time. The third was compiled in the latter part of 1614, probably, as Mr. Moreland shows, by Pieter Gielisz van Ravestyn, who served in the Dutch factory at Negapatam from 1608 to 1614, and was printed in a Dutch collection of voyages published in 1644-46. These practically contemporaneous narratives, which corroborate each other in essential points, are of considerable value as giving a graphic picture of the conditions of the people and the methods of government in the kingdom of Golconda at a time when the Quṭb Shâhi dynasty was approaching its end. As Mr. Moreland points out, with the two Dutch accounts before him, an unprejudiced reader can be satisfied of the essential trustworthiness of Methwold's *Relations*.

The editing of this volume has been performed in a manner that might well serve as a model. The Introduction contains just such historical, geographical and biographical information as is required for a proper appreciation of the texts; while the notes are commendably concise and to the point, superfluous and irrelevant matter finding no place.

C. E. A. W. O.

NOTES ON INDIAN MAUNDS.

BY W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p. 164.*)

III. The Southern Maund.

In the year 1554 Antonio Nunez, Accountant of the Treasury at Goa, prepared an official manual [7] detailing the currencies, weights and measures used in all the Asiatic seaports where the Portuguese then possessed settlements. This document is the primary authority for the Indian sea-board at this period; but unfortunately it omits the ports of Sind, Gujarât and Golconda, where no Portuguese settlements were then in existence. I have found no early data for Sind; for Gujarât we have the early English data quoted at the end of the last section; and for Golconda the precise statements of Antonio Schorer,[8] a Dutch factor who served for six years at Masulipatam. With this supplementary information, we can frame a complete account of the commercial units in use from Dîû round the coast to Masulipatam.

In Nunez, the Malabar Coast, from Bhatkal to Quilon, is distinguished from the rest of the sea-board by the fact that the word maund was not used on it. The current term was the Arabic *fârsala*; since 20 *fârsala* ordinarily went to the *bahâr*, it is practically equivalent to the maund, but its use in this region, the main seat of the Arab spice-trade, points to the predominant influence of the Arab merchants before the arrival of the Portuguese. The weights of the *fârsala* recorded by Nunez are as follows:—

Port.	*lb.*
Bhatkal	21·2 and 24·2;
Onor	22·2;
Cananor	22·6;
Calicut	22·8;
Cochin	18·3;
and	
Quilon	18·3.

Cochin and Quilon were primarily pepper-ports, while the other places named were used largely for transhipment of cloves, mace and nutmegs: the small unit recorded at the former may be a special unit for pepper, but I have found no other information regarding it.

Bhatkal is peculiar in having two commercial units. The *fârsala* of 21 Portuguese pounds, or *arratels*, is given as used for copper, iron, cinnamon, coir and sugar: the larger unit (24 *arratels*) is given only for pulse, and nothing is said as to the unit for other commodities. The most probable view is that Bhatkal was the point where two units met, the smaller *fârsala* of the spice ports, and the larger maund of the Konkan coast. In any case it will be seen that the *fârsala* of the transhipment ports was from 21 to 23 lb., while that of the pepper-ports was 18⅓ lb.

For the rest of the coast, the maunds recorded are—

Port.	*lb.*	*Authority.*
Dîû ..	.. 26·9	Nunez.
Surat ..	.. 27·0 and 32·5 (33)	Finch (*Letters Received*, i, 34).
Bassein ..	.. 25·8	Nunez.
Chaul ..	.. 25·8	,,
Dabhol ..	.. 25·2	,,
Goa ..	.. 24·2	,,
Negapatam ..	.. 23·2	,,
Tegnapatam ..	.. 25 (nearly)	Schorer.

7 *Livro dos pesos da Ymdia, e assi Medidas e Mohedas*, printed by the Academia Real das Scientias de Lisboa, in *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portugueza*, Lisbon, 1868; cited below as *Nunez*. A French version will be found in G. Ferrand's *Les Poids, Mesures et Monnaies des Mers du Sud*, in *Journal Asiatique*, July-Dec. 1920.

8 Translated and discussed in *Relations of Golconda*, Hakluyt Society, 1931; cited below as *Schorer*.

Port.	*lb.*	*Authority.*
Pulicat ..	.. 23·2	Nunez : Schorer has 24·2.
Nizâmpatam ..	.. 27·2	Schorer.
Masulipatam ..	.. 26 (just over)	,,

The southern maund, as I shall call it, thus ranged from 23 to 27 lb. ; and, as with the *fârsala,* there was only a single unit at each port, except in the case of Surat, in the extreme South of Gujarât, where the Gujarât maund of 33 lb. was used alongside of the southern maund. Surat was thus the meeting-place of two different maunds, in the same way as Bhatkal was the meeting-place of the maund and the *fârsala.*

These data make it easy to interpret the other literature of the period. As examples, it will suffice to take Barbosa, Garcia da Orta, and Linschoten.

Barbosa[9] gives (ii, 232) the 'new' and 'old' Portuguese scales, and equivalents for the *bahâr* and *fârsala* used in 'India.' In the old scale the *arratel* or pound contained 14 ounces ; it was already obsolescent, the pound of 16 ounces having come into general use. The quintal contained 128 *arratels.* The 'Indian' *bahâr* contained 20 *fârsala* : the *fârsala* contained 22 *arratel* 6½ oz. (new weight), or 22·6 lb. This is clearly the *fârsala* of Cananor and Calicut, given above ; and we know that Barbosa spent much of his service on this part of the coast. Here as always, Barbosa uses the name 'India' in a very narrow sense to denote only the West Coast, south of Bhatkal (*vide* the notes on i, 163, 188).

Barbosa gives also (i, 157) the weights of the kingdom of Gujarât and Cambaya, and here the editor was misled. He started from the fact (ii, 232) that in 'India' a *bahâr* was equivalent to 4 *old* quintals ; and he applied this equation to Barbosa's statement that in Gujarât the candy "weighs 4 quintals more or less, according to the place, as in some cases they are greater." In other words, he assumed that the *bahâr* of 'India' was the same as the *bahâr* or candy of Gujarât, which lay far outside Barbosa's India ; and he deduced a maund of 22·4 lb., which he noticed was low. The true reading is that the candy of Gujarât contained 4 quintals, which must be taken as 'new,' because the 'new' quintal was the ordinary one ; and this gives a Gujarât maund ranging round 26 lb. with local variations.

In the same note, the editor assumed that Garcia da Orta, in 1563, was using 'old' *arratels,* when he[10] put the Cambay maund at 26 *arratels.* There is no reason, however, to assume that the *arratels* in question were anything except the 'new' *arratels,* which by this time held the field ; and the figure 26, taken as a round number, agrees with all the other information of the period. The same writer (p. 433) gives the Dîû maund as 27 *arratels,* which, taken as a round number, agrees with the official figure given above. The only other equation which I can find in this book is the statement (p. 236) that somewhere in the Deccan, *i.e.,* inland, 6 maunds were equal to 5 Portuguese *arrobas,* or quarters of 32 *arratels,* making the maund 26⅔ *arratels,* or just under 27 lb. This is one of several indications that the southern maund was used inland as well as on the coast.

Linschoten[11] must be taken as a good authority for Goa, where he lived for several years before 1590, holding a responsible position in the household of the Archbishop. He is habitually careful to specify the scale he uses, weight of Portugal, weight of China, and so on. He tells us (*c.* 35) that in Goa the ordinary Portuguese scale was usual ; "but they have also another weight called Maund, which is 12 pounds, with which they weigh butter, honey, sugar, and various things sold by weight. They have also a weight used for pepper and other spices called *bahâr,* equivalent to 3½ quintals, Portuguese weight."

[9] The *Book of Duarte Barbosa.* Ed. M. Longworth Dames, Hakluyt Society, 1918-21 ; cited below as *Barbosa.*

[10] Garcia da Orta. *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India.* Tr. Sir C. Markham. London, 1913 ; p. 342.

[11] *The Voyage of J. H. van Linschoten to the East Indies.* Ed. A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele. Hakluyt Society, 1884.

Here the special unit for the spice-trade works out at 22·6 lb., which is the *fârsala* we have already met a little further down the coast. The maund of 12 pounds (presumably Holland, or nearly 13 lb.) used for provisions, etc., does not appear, so far as I can find, in earlier records; we may guess it to be a retail maund, for the articles mentioned did not form part of Goa's principal export trade.

I have referred above to indications that the maund of about 25 lb. prevailed inland as well as on the coast. A few of these may be noted here. In the hinterland of Dabhol the maund was 24 to 25 lb. (*English Factories*, i, 289); and at Hubli it was about 27 lb., or possibly somewhat less (*idem*, xi, 344). In *Useful Tables* (i, 80 ff.), the following commercial maunds are recorded as current early in the nineteenth century: Bangalore, 25 lb.; Belgaum, $26\frac{1}{4}$ lb.; Bellary, $25\frac{5}{8}$ lb.; Coimbatore, 24 lb.; Poona, $27\frac{1}{2}$ lb.; Hyderâbâd, $23\frac{3}{4}$ lb.; Madura, 25 lb.; Seringapatam, $24\frac{1}{4}$ lb.; and Trichinopoly, 25 lb. It may therefore be taken as established that this southern maund was generally, though not necessarily exclusively, employed throughout India south of the Tâptî. There is no suggestion that it was ever prescribed by authority, nor do we know of any authority which could have prescribed it over the whole region; and the facts suggest that a unit of about 25 lb., with local variations, had come into general use, because it was in some way or other convenient for packing and transport. Wheeled traffic was rare in this region in early times, and the unit is too small to make a load, or half-load, for any pack-animal; but it is conceivable that we have here a survival of the porter's load, that is to say, that a porter carried about 50 lb. (with small local variations) in two equal packages, slung banghy-fashion from his shoulders. On this guess the candy would represent the load of a gang of 10 porters, each carrying two packages of about 25 lb.

(*To be continued.*)

SCRAPS OF TIBETO-BURMAN FOLKLORE.

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page 157.*)

12. Prayer-walls.

" Prayer-walls (p. 173) are very common in Tibet [*Möndang*]. They consist of a thick stone or sun-dried brick wall of varying length, sometimes a few yards long and sometimes stretching for a quarter of a mile or more. They are frequently placed in the middle of the high-road, so that travellers may acquire merit merely by passing them in the prescribed way. In some cases prayer-wheels are set in the walls, and in nearly all cases the sides are ornamented with sacred inscriptions, or with bas-relief sculptures representing various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. As it is considered an act of great merit to erect such a prayer-wall, they are to be seen in the neighbourhood of nearly every village."

" On the Rong Valley. . . . (p. 206), alongside the roadway, were a number of prayer-walls. In these were placed a large number of prayer-wheels. . . . . These particular prayer-walls were of interest to me, because they contained inscriptions—invocations, which were not in Sanskrit as is usual (even *Om mani padme hung* is Sanskrit), but in Tibetan, and were, moreover, written phonetically, and not according to the classical spelling."

IV. SUPERSTITIONS.

1. General.

" There was (p. 334) a great deal of excitement in Lhasa, during the early part of my stay there, over a fire which broke out in the Potala. By a curious coincidence, I had been asking about fires in Lhasa only a short time before the conflagration, and though the Potala was a mile away and I was known to be in Sonam's apartments the whole time, some people wondered if my dark influence did not have something to do with the accident."

2. Boys in Processions.

[On March 13th, 1923, was the procession of the festival in honour of the Blessed Maitreya, the Coming Buddha.] " Small boys (pp. 319-320) played a very important part in the

procession. . . . . According to ancient Indian cosmology the stature and span of life of mankind are not changeless, but undergo cycles of decrease and increase. At the zenith of human glory man is a giant, and the average duration of life is 80,000 years, but gradually degeneration sets in. Stature and life-span decrease until all human beings are dwarfs and live only for ten years. After this comes a cycle of increase, when man goes back to his original size and duration of life, but just at present, according to the Hindus and Buddhists, man is on the down-grade. Every century man's life and size steadily, even though imperceptibly, decrease. The average life is already less than 100 years and the average stature less than six feet, and this degeneration will continue for many centuries to come. But when the *nadir* is reached, Maitreya, the compassionate Saviour, will arise. The boys in the procession, therefore, represent what all human beings will look like in the era of the future Buddha."

3. Head-room.

"In nearly all cases (pp. 122-123) the ground floor of the house is used only for stables and warehouses, with occasionally a room set aside as servants' quarters, the residential part being on the first or second floor. Most frequently, I was told, the head of the family had the highest room, as it was considered injurious to his dignity to have any one standing or sleeping above him."

4. Left-hand Whorls.

"Another interesting relic (p. 125) at the Lha-Kang champo is a conch shell, the whorls of which turn from left to right. Lamas alone may blow it, and they do so only on receiving seven ounces of silver. One acquires great merit by blowing or inducing a lama to blow this shell."

5. Merit in possessing books.

"Most of the peasant pilgrims (p. 320) who come to Lhasa like to buy a few religious books. To be possessed of holy writings is to acquire merit. It is quite unnecessary that they be read, and as they are not to be read, why should they be well printed."

6. Books.

"Printed books I also secured (pp. 323-324) now in large numbers. The more metaphysical and philosophical books are never kept in stock in the book shops, but the old scholar managed to get several printed off for me. The wooden blocks for such books are kept in some of the larger monasteries, and when one wants a copy of a book, one must bring one's own paper to the monastery, and for a small cost the monastery officials will have the paper stamped with the proper blocks."

7. Learning.

"He was a man of great learning (p. 323) from the mediæval Tibetan standpoint. His learning was exactly like that of the school-men of the Middle Ages. His geography was delightfully vague. To him the world was a cylinder and the sun and moon but tiny satellites which revolve round it, but for him such concrete material things were of little or no importance, for he was interested in the subtleties of being and non-being, the nature of substance and the inherence of attributes, and on these points his knowledge and his views were profound."

"I was surprised at the colossal ignorance of the average (p. 325) monk—ignorance concerning his own religion. This was the more surprising considering the examination they are supposed to have undergone. Very few of them could give any clear exposition of what Buddhism really teaches. They could only repeat a large number of incantations."

8. Snowmen.

[McGovern devotes two pages (pp. 98-99) to the "Snowman" of Tibet.] "In nearly all parts of Tibet one finds traditions of the existence of a primitive race of men—former inhabitants of the land, who have been driven out of the plains by the Tibetans and who now

dwell only in the passes and on inaccessible mountain crags. My own servants referred to them as snowmen. . . . . As an anthropologist I had been interested in the wild man discussion, but I soon found out that the information acquired belonged by right more to the folk-lorist than to the serious scientist."

V. MEDICINE.

1. Theory.

" The groundwork of their medical theory (p. 313) is based on the ancient Indian system incorporated in mediæval Buddhism, but this system has been somewhat modified by ideas taken from the Chinese pharmacopœia."

In Burma also, says *E.R.E.*, III, 29 f., medicine, "which is Indian in origin, is not clear of necromancy. The doctor (*sêthama*) is a mere quack with empirical knowledge of leaves, barks, flowers, seeds, roots and a few minerals. The *dâtsayâ* is a dietest and the *beindawsayâ* a druggist, but a doctor seldom combines both practices, and in either case is largely necromantic, professes to cure the witch-caused disease commonly believed in. The position of the moon and the stars has more to do with the medicine than the drug, and the horoscope than the diet. Cases of death or failure to cure are attributed to error in the astrological or horoscopic information supplied."

2. Medicine.

" I was destined (p. 314) to receive medical assistance from quite another source. Knowing that I was ill, Tsarong [the Commander-in-Chief] promised to send me some English medicines that he had had especially imported from India, but on arrival they turned out to be a dozen boxes of very mouldy Beecham's Pills and three pounds of Epsom salts." [Dr. McGovern explains (p. 315) that Tibetans do not take to European medical treatment.]

3. Anatomy.

" Elaborate anatomical charts (p. 313) are prepared, but in these the heart of a woman is supposed to beat in the middle of her chest and that of a man on the left. Red blood circulates on the right side of the body and yellow bile on the left."

4. Cures.

" The dysentery (p. 312) proved even more troublesome. At first I thought of calling in some of the lamas from the famous Medical College on the Chakpo Hill opposite the Potala [at Lhasa], for I knew that in addition to their chants, they were in the habit of giving certain herbs to their patients. . . . . for simple troubles many of the herbs of the witch-doctors of primitive people are quite useful.

[By the time he reached Lhasa Dr. McGovern was suffering from inflammation of the lungs with hæmorrhages and dysentery. Rest brought about improvement in his physical condition very slowly, and it was proposed to call in some priests.] " According to this plan some priests were to perform three rites on my behalf. One was the chanting of a famous metaphysical Buddhist work called *Prajña Paramita Sutra* (*Sher-chin*), or the *Discourse on the Transcendental Wisdom.* The second was the offering of food and drink to various demons, genii and guardian deities to insure their goodwill. Finally, in case these failed, and I should grow worse, the monks should perform a ceremony called *chi-lu,* wherein a crude image of myself, wrapped in some of my clothes, should be offered to the gods of death, with the idea that the gods would be deceived into taking this image instead of myself."

" Two other similar cures are recommended. One was to eat some of the *rilbu*, or holy pills, which are prepared in somewhat different forms all over Tibet. In nearly all cases they are round blank balls, about the size of marbles, made of barley-flour and containing the relic of past saints, or even something from the body of living incarnations. Needless to say, the Dalai Lama pills are considered particularly efficacious in curing diseases, and I was assured of a supply."

" In Burma," says Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 418 f., " even in perfectly evident illnesses, such as low fever, two persons in the same house, afflicted in the same degree with the same ailments, are treated in different fashion, simply because they were born under the influence of different planets, which have a special control over . . . . the respective relations of fire and water. The dietists are often particularly absurd in their regulation of the diet from the horoscope. Having ascertained the day on which the patient was born, they will forbid him to eat the articles of food whose names commence with any of the letters assigned to that particular day, most especially if they have the same initial letters as the sick man has himself."

VI. SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

1. Position of Women.

" It was interesting (p. 341) to note the large number of stalls [in the Lhasa market] kept by women, for women play a large part not only in the social but also in the economic life of the country. Some of the smaller articles were sold at fixed prices, but for the more valuable articles there was always interminable bargaining and haggling before anything could be sold."

Says Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 52 : " Married women enjoy a much freer and happier position than in any other Eastern country, and in some respects are better off even than women in England. . . . . They are much more independent than any European, even in the most advanced States. . . . . As a matter of fact, a woman may do precisely as she pleases, may marry the youth on whom she has fixed her affections, and may separate herself from the husband who has offended her, by going before the village elders and stating her case, and if the complaint is just her request is never refused."

2. Female Hospitality.

" Here in Lhasa (p. 276) in good Occidental fashion, the lady of the house sat down and by conversation sought to lessen the tedium of my wait."

3. Polyandry.

" Returning that evening (p. 42) to Yatung, we found that a Bhutanese chieftainess had arrived with three of her husbands—all people of Tibetan stock practise polyandry."

4. Curfew.

" Every night at half-past eight (p. 273) curfew is sounded in Lhasa, but not by means of a curfew-bell. Instead, a giant squib is let off at each one of the four corners of the Inner Circle, as a warning that thereafter everyone should stay indoors [for his own safety]."

5. Saluting.

" As soon as the Governor and his party (p. 221) came in sight, all of us dismounted from our ponies and withdrew to the side of the road. Satan[5] and the elder of our companions, being supposedly of high rank, contented themselves with removing their hats as the procession rode past, but I and the other members of the party were forced to give the more formal Tibetan salutation. This consisted of opening the mouth and sticking out the tongue. . . . The fists were also clenched and the thumbs elevated as a sign of surrender, while Diogenes[6] and I were even more humble, and with our open palm pressed our right ears forward. The Governor, of course, made no answer to our salute, and in fact two of his servants, out of pure devilment, lashed out at us with their whips and gave me a stinging blow on the shoulders."

(*To be continued.*)

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[5] Nickname of McGovern's secretary, who acted as leader of the party in Tibet. His real name was Trashi-gigen=Felicitous Teacher. See plate facing p. 58.

[6] " A poor stunted half-witted boy, whom I called Diogenes, was to act as oddman " (p. 59).

THE GÂYḌÂṆṚ FESTIVAL AND ITS PARALLELS.

(A Bihâr Cattle Festival and the Cult of the Mother Goddess.)

BY KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L., PRINCIPAL, D. J. COLLEGE, MONGHYR.

EVERY year on the day following the *dîwâlî*, that is to say, the first lunar day of the bright fortnight of Kârtik (Hindî, *Kârtik sudi*) an interesting festival, known as the *gâyḍâṇṛ*, is celebrated in the afternoon. On the 18th of October, 1925, I was invited by the local [Monghyr] Goâlâs to be present at this show. At about 3 P.M. a confused noise of many voices with occasional hilarious ejaculations, an increasingly audible gurgle born of mingled steps, human and bovine, treading on the dry leaves in the mango-grove, a low drumming on the tom-tom, plaintively monotonous, relieved from time to time by saltant strokes, the hallooing to the cows to exhort them to be of more decorous demeanour in the solemn procession—all this threw me into an expectancy hitherto unfelt.

Then was there a sally into the improvised arena of cows gaily stamped with circular stains of red and blue on their hides, their horns glistening with oil and red ochre, led by new, bright-coloured strings, now lowing, now stamping, now heaving their heads up in the air, with their calves frisking about in mingled joy and fear, with the Goâlâs arrayed in their best and beaming with pride for their animals, which they keenly regarded, while the confused hubbub kept up the excitement of the scene—a truly bucolic spectacle that might well delight the heart of a Virgil.

A puny pig that had not seen many a moon, adorned with a chaplet of flowers about its neck, was then led in. It was secured by cords attached to its hind feet, and was trembling all over and scanning the scene with weary eyes, vaguely divining the import of the impending orgy.

Soon followed a chaos—the cows were set on the poor animal. They skipped and frisked about, aiming their pointed horns at the devoted victim. Each successful stroke was greeted with many an admiring shout, which forthwith developed into mad yells and frantic huzzahs. The poor pig, bound as it was with the cord that prevented escape, bravely struggled for life—now dodging, now slinking,—squeaking vainly for reprieve. Again and again the infuriated animals were urged with shouts and physical force to make at the animal. Whistling and hooting, halloos and hurrahs, crying and squeaking rose and fell with the hum and jerk of the tom-tom notes ; and swung and swayed, swayed and swung the excited multitude. Long had ebbed away the water of life from the tiny little thing, and yet and yet again the lifeless mass was thrown before the cattle to be trodden and trampled upon. Verily was this scene a terribly cruel affair, and many a time did I wish it were stopped.

The frantic fray was at an end, the cows were led away, and then followed a sombre proceeding. The Chamâr tom-tom beater and three or four Goâlâs improvised a resting place and put the dead animal on it north-and-south-wise. They then made a fire with cowdung cakes, and threw incense therein. Sitting round the carcase, one of them poured country wine into the mouth of the dead animal, uttered some plaintive and dolorous chants over it, that sounded like a veritable dirge. They smoked *gânja* and passed the *chilam* (pipe-bowl) round. They then made invocations to Goraiyâ Bâbâ and Jeṭhu Bâbâ and some other cattle guardians. The whole proceeding had the air of a crude but solemn worship or funeral service. (The Hindûs place dead bodies north and south at the time of cremation.) They cut off the left ear of the pig and took it singing to the courtyard of my cowshed (*bathân*) and buried it therein. On enquiring of an experienced Goâlâ as to what the significance was of the burying of the sundered ear of the pig in the *bathân*, I got the reply that he could not really tell, but that it was a very ancient practice. The carcase was then taken away by the Chamâr to be eaten. The funeral service had a sacramental air.

During the proceedings I noticed my servant taking a cow of mine that had calved scarcely a month before, and setting her on the pig. I thought that this was to enhance the excitement of the game, as such cows, being anxious about their new-born offspring, are

known to be jealous and vicious. My servant's reply was that it was for luck to the animal that he did it, and I believe he was quite right.

In the morning there had been a crude worship of the cows in the cowshed, at which the cows were fed and circular stamps were made with liquefied red ochre and a blue colour on their hides by means of earthen *chilams* (pipe-bowls made of baked clay), and the horns carefully painted with red ochre pounded in oil, technically called *chumânâ*, or 'touching.'

On personal enquiry I have learnt that the festival is observed throughout the districts of Monghyr, Paṭnâ, Shâhâbâd, Muzaffarpur, Sâran and Mânbhûm. In the village of Kalyâṇpur, near Bariârpur, it is celebrated with much *éclat*, and buffaloes and elephants are brought out, besides cows that have recently calved. The trumpeting elephants catch up the pig and dash out its brains. In a Sâran village a double enclosure is improvised by means of a low bamboo partition running east and west, at the northern side of which are marshalled the cows and at the southern the buffaloes, facing at the further end the *ḍâhrâ* or *ḍâgrâ*, i.e., the pig secured by cords. A third pig is bound by both the fore and hind pair of feet with stretched ropes placed in the hands of two or three Goâlâs standing at the opposite ends, east and west, who swing it from the north to the south enclosure and back again with thuds. They are good sized hogs. The size depends on the means of the local Goâlâs, and there seems to be no special significance in the smallness or bigness of the victims or in their number. The introduction of the elephant is merely for spectacular effect. At the Sâran village, after the victims were gored to death, the names of Goraiyâ Bâbâ and Jogî Bîr were invoked. The Chamârs and Doms take away the carcases to feast on them. I am informed that in Shâhâbâd when the animal survives the rough treatment, a pointed bamboo is thrust into its chest to despatch it finally.

Buchanan mentions[1] that the Goâlâs of Bihâr celebrate the festival at the *dîvâlî*, when they tie a pig by the feet and drive their cattle over the animal till it is crushed to death, after which they boil and *eat the meat in the fields*. Next day is the Govardhan, when women of all castes pray to a *mass of cowdung made in human form* and distribute the sacred dung to their relatives, "to whom at the same time they threaten death as impending from some accident which is considered as abuse," abusive language being a well-known prophylactic against evil.[2]

I enquired of an experienced Goâlâ in this neighbourhood if the Goâlâs do eat the meat of the pig killed in the *gâyḍâṇṛ*. He replied in the negative, saying it was not *banaiyâ* or wild. On further enquiry it appeared that they do not now eat even the *banaiyâ* (wild) boar, not to speak of the *gharaiyâ* (domesticated) pig. On the other hand, a certain gentleman tells me that he heard that Goâlâs used to eat the meat, but the practice has been discontinued. My informant from Shâhâbâd district tells me that even now the Goâlâs do eat the pig killed in the *gâyḍâṇṛ*. First of all they roast the carcase and then, cutting it up, boil and eat the meat, all the Goâlâs sharing in the feast. And this is confirmed by Mr. Oldham. He (in the *Indian Antiquary* of August 1928, p. 137) says : " One of the most peculiar features of the festival as observed in Shâhâbâd....is the eating of the pig after it has been killed. It is not a case of the wild boar, the flesh of which is relished by so many tribes and castes that are accustomed to the chase (among whom the Ahîrs, moreover, cannot be classed) : the pig in question is a village pig, the flesh of which is only eaten ordinarily by the most despised castes, regarded by all orthodox Hindûs as quite outside the pale, and between whom and the Ahîrs there is a wide gap." Speaking generally of the Ahîrs' position in the social order, he says (p. 138) : " These Ahîrs as a general rule lead an orthodox life ; and except on the occasion of this particular festival I have never heard of their eating village pig."

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1 Martin's *Eastern India*, vol. I, p. 194 ff.

2 W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 260, 261, (The italics are mine.)

Crooke says that the Bengal Goâlâs themselves do not eat the meat.[3] He obtained the information from Risley.

Mr. Oldham says that Risley's date—the *saṁkrânti*—is a mistake. The festival is held on the 1st day of Hindî *Kârtik sudi*, which is the first day of the second lunar fortnight, and it begins immediately after the *amâvasyâ* is ended, which may happen at night of the previous day, viz., the last day of Hindî *Kârtik vadi*. One probable explanation is that this may be regarded popularly, but not correctly, as the *saṁkrânti*, which is used in solar calculation. In the year 1925 the *dîvâlî* fell on the *saṁkrânti* day of Âśvin, i.e., the 31st of the Bengali month of Âśvin. It has to be enquired if the last day of Kârtik, when Risley says the festival was held, was the *pratipada* or the first day of Hindî *Kârtik sudi*. In that case only he may be correct.

According to Risley, the Bengal Goâlâs do not eat the pig. It may be that the one-time practice of eating the pig by the Bengal Goâlâs may have been discontinued at the time that Risley wrote, owing to the spread of advanced ideas, which may have induced them to suppress information regarding the old practice. With the holding of present-day caste conferences, where the castes claim to be *dvi-jâti*, e.g., Kṣatriya and Brâhmaṇs, and in some cases Vaiśyas, the chances of getting accurate information regarding old observances which may seem derogatory to the castes would be almost hopeless. More than fifteen years ago at a conference in Bhâgalpur district the Ahîrs proclaimed that they were not Śûdras but Vaiśyas. During the interval they have improved upon their old position, and today they claim to be Yaduvaṁśî Kṣatriyas.

Crooke tells us that the wild pig is pure and "ceremonially hunted by Râjpûts as *representing Gaurî Devî*, the mother goddess in her benign form, and the flesh is sacramentally eaten."[4] The most important point herein is the identification of Gaurî Devî with the pig and the sacramental feast—or the *yajna* or sacrifice, which I will deal with fully later on.

Further enquiry elicited the information that the festival is not held on the *dîvâlî* day, as Buchanan observed, but on the day following, which, in agreement with him, they call the Govardhan day. In the morning, says my own cowherd boy, the Goâlâs make rude images or effigies of cowdung representing the cowherd, the cows, the calves, the troughs in which they put in *yava* (barley), *kerâo* (peas), etc., the ploughshare, the yoke, etc., in short everything pertaining to bucolic life. The sacred cowdung is indeed distributed among themselves; but no invective follows. In northern India the very same thing happens in similar forms. According to the Bengali *pañjikâkârs* this day is recognised as the Govardhan day, in consonance with the Gośwâmî School of *Śrî Śrî Haribhaktivilâsa*, which enjoins worship of cows, worship of Govardhana and night vigil, besides worship to Bali, the Daitya king. I am informed by a Sindhî gentleman that the same observances are practised in his country, and worship is offered to *Balrâj*. That the cow-worship should be associated with Govardhana, the scene of Kṛṣṇa's (the divine protector of cows according to the Hindûs) exploits against Indra, is quite natural. The plough, the share and the yoke suggest an agricultural state of society, as distinct from the pastoral; the cow represents the Earth and Lakshmî, and therefore the agricultural state. The *Purâṇas* (e.g., the *Skanda* and *Padma*) refer to the *go-pûjâ* and *go-krîḍâ* on the first day of the lunar month.

The Sohorai festival of the Oraons of Chota Nagpur offers a striking parallel to the *gâyḍâṇṛ*, and it should be so, as the Oraons have borrowed it from the Hindûs. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy writes:

"The Sohorai festival in which the Oraons anoint the forehead and horns of their cattle with vermilion and oil and wash their hoofs and give them a day's rest and entertain them

3 *An Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India* (Allahabad Edition, 1894), p. 377.

4 Crooke—*Religion and Folklore of N. India* (1926), p. 367. (Italics are mine.)

5 *Oraon Religion and Customs*, 1928, p. 80.

3.

Chas keṅh na ta âsas keṅhnay,
Keṅhnay, keṅhnas keṅh na tâ keṅh gom tarit kĕth
Shiva pûzum wuchum Nârân,
Keṅhnay keṅhnas keṅh na tâ keṅh gom tarit kĕth.
I am nothing and I was nothing,
No, into my nothingness (i.e., transitory existence) something or other penetrated.
I worshipped Śiva, I saw Viṣṇu,
No, into my nothingness (i.e., transitory existence) something or other penetrated.

4.

Chuh kuney. Chuh nâ kunēy ?
Uchum or yor nâ kunēy.
Dayi phal, tay mŏl nâ kunēy ;
Tsay tsento gârun na kunēy.
[God] is somewhere. Is He not anywhere ?
I saw Him neither here nor there.
God's fruit, and it has no price (i.e., it is free),
Take thou a hint, thou hast not to search [for] (Him) anywhere (He being Omnipresent).

5.

Gŏras pritshom sâsih laṭēy—
Yas na keṅh wanân tas kyâh nâv ?
Pritshân pritshân thacis ta lûsas—
" Keṅhnas nishe kyâhtâni drâv."
I asked the Guru a thousand times—
What is the name of Him who is not called anything ?
I got wearied and tired by inquiring [and] inquiring—
"Something came out of Something" (i.e., this was the answer, meaning that God was incomprehensible).

6.

Kandyo ! karak kanda, kandēy ;
Kandyo ! karak kandi vilâs—
Bhogay mîṭhiy ditit yat kandēy—
At kandi rozi sur na ta sâs.
Somanah gârun manz yat kandēy,
Yath kandi dapân Sarup nâv.
Lob moh tsaliy, shob yiyi kandēy,
Yath kandi tez tay sor prakâsh.
O thou, possessed of body ! If thou wilt talk of body, body ;
O thou possessor of body ! If thou wilt adorn this body—
Thou hast given sweet feasts to this body—
Of this body there will remain neither dust nor ashes.
With a good heart search [God] within this body,
The name of this body is the Impersonal Supreme Being.
When greed [and] ignorance will be dispelled, [then] this body will acquire beauty,
To this body [will then come] light and all lustre.

7.

Khĕna khĕna karân kun no wâtak ;
Nakhĕna gatshak ahaṁkârî.
Sumuy khêh mâli, somuy âsak,
Samiy khĕnah mutsaranay baranĕn târî.
Sum yĕli samiy rum kati roziy,
Ada ha mâli sapanak,—" So'ham, Suy."

By eating [and] eating thou shalt not reach anywhere (i.e., wilt not achieve anything) ;
By not eating thou shalt become conceited (i.e., thou shalt consider thyself a great ascetic).
Eat moderately, and thou shalt live,
By eating moderately doors will be unbolted [for thee].
When an even [joint] is joined to [another] even joint, no rim remains,
Then thou, O Father, shalt become [fit to proclaim]—"I am He, even He."[1]

8.

Kus bab ta koso mâjî,
Kami lâjî bhâjî-bhaṭ ?
Kâli gatshak kuṅh na bab kuṅh no mâjî.
Zânit kava lâjit bhâjîbhaṭ.

Who is father and who is mother,
Who made friendship with thee ?
After some time thou wilt go [die, then] none is father, none mother.
Knowing this, why hast thou contracted friendship (i.e., art attached to them) ?

9.

Lali gŏr brahmânḍah pĕṭhkun wuchum
Shĕshikal[2] *vâtsam pâdan tâm.*
Gnânaki amrita prakrat bharam ;
Lobay morum andawand tâm.

I, Lallâ, saw the *guru* above the *Brahma-randhra* [3]
The digit of the moon (i.e., the light of true knowledge) reached down to my feet.
I filled the intellect with the nectar of knowledge ;
I deadened greed completely.

10.

Latan hund mâz lârion watan ;
Akiy hâvnam akiciy wath
Yim yim bozan tim kona matan ?
Lali bûz shatan kuniy kath.

The flesh of my feet was caught in the paths ;
The Only One (i.e., Om) showed me the path to the Only One (i.e., God).
Why wilt not those who listen to this become mad [with love of God] ?
Lallâ listened to simply one word (i.e., Om) in place of hundreds.

(*To be continued.*)

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1 This Saying may be compared with the *Bhagavadgîta*, Chap. VI, verses 16 and 17.

2 For explanation of *shĕshikal* see Sir George Grierson's *Lallâ Vâkyâni*, p. 202, and Sir Richard Temple's *The Word of Lallâ*, p. 186.

3 For *Brahma-randhra* see explanation given under Lallâ's Saying No. 33 in Sir George Grierson's *Lallâ Vâkyâni.*

PLACE NAMES.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A.

WHILE engaged in the preparation of *District Gazetteers* of the Central Provinces, undertaken for the first time in the first decade of the current century, it struck me that place-names usually revealed a wonderful history, which I occasionally noted in the volumes under preparation. Later on an educational Journal pressed me to contribute some thing which would be interesting to schoolmasters and their pupils, and I thought of making an experiment whether the interpretation of place-names would be of any interest to those people. An article was therefore prepared giving in a general manner the signification of village names together with somewhat detailed information in connection with the derivation of the names of 117 towns and cities found in the Central Provinces. The article aroused such enthusiasm that it had to be reduced to the form of a booklet, which had to be reprinted within a month of its first issue, and had to be translated into Marâṭhî, the second great vernacular of the province. Later on I circulated the booklet to the Directors of Public Instruction and notable literati of the various provinces in India, recommending that similar booklets, giving the signification of geographical names in each province, might well be prepared. The proposal was heartily approved everywhere, but so far as I know not a single work in that line has been yet produced, although some thirteen years have elapsed.

Meantime I noticed that the matter had independently attracted the attention of geographers in England, and a society for interpretation of place-names was formed at once. I am not aware of its transactions, but I trust a good deal of spade work has been done. I, however, believed that this was the first attempt in Great Britain in this direction, but the other day I was disillusioned, when in a heap of old books for sale in a Simla shop, I found a work named *Etymological Geography* written by C. Blackie, with an introduction by Professor J. S. Blackie and published in 1875. In the preface Mr. Blackie wrote :—" When I was myself one of a class in this city (Edinburgh) where geography and history were taught, no information connected with etymology was imparted to us. We learned with more or less trouble and edification the names of countries, towns, etc., by rote : but our teacher did not ask us who gave the names to these places, nor were we expected to know if there was any connection between their names and their histories. Things are changed now : and, I believe, the first stimulus to an awakening interest in Geographical Etymology was given by the publication of the Rev. Isaac Taylor's popular work, *Words and Places*." So it was somewhere in the sixties of the last century that an effort was made to unravel the mysteries which surrounded the names of places at least in one part of the world.

Professor Blackie, while introducing the subject, wrote enthusiastically saying, " Among the branches of human speculation that, in recent times, have walked out of the misty realm of conjecture into the firm land of Science and from the silent chamber of the student into the breezy fields of public life, there are few more interesting than Etymology. For as words are the common counters, or coins rather, with which we mark our points in all the businesses and all the sport of life, any man whose curiosity has not been blunted by familiarity will naturally find a pleasure in understanding what the image and superscription on these matters mean ; and amongst words there are none that so powerfully stimulate this curiosity as the names of persons and places. About these the intelligent interest of young persons is often prominently manifested ; and it is a sad thing when parents or teachers, who should be in a position to gratify this interest, are obliged to waive an eager intelligence aside, and by repeated negations to repel the curiosity which they ought to have encouraged. Geography, indeed a subject full of interest to the young mind, has too often been taught in such a way as neither to delight the imagination with vivid pictures nor to stimulate enquiry by a frequent reference to the history of names ; and this is an evil which, if found to a certain extent in all countries, is particularly rank in Great Britain, where the language of the country is composed of fragments of half a dozen languages, which only the learned understand,

and which to the ear of many have no more significance than if they were Hebrew or Coptic."

These remarks are more forcibly applicable to India, where names owe their origin to more than 500 languages and dialects. Yet while Great Britain has taken up the thread again, India remains where it was, in spite of attention having been drawn to the desideratum. "The composite structure of our English speech," wrote Professor Blackie, "in fact tends to conceal from us the natural organism of language." One may well ask how much the babel of India conceals from the Indian people. Even in a single province like the Central Provinces about 150 languages and dialects are spoken, some of them by what may be termed autochthones, differing widely from the speech of the Âryan immigrants, who settled in the province in comparatively late times. In these circumstances, conjecture in the realm of etymology is simply unavoidable, but if it is pursued patiently, accepting only what is solid and eliminating what is problematical, one need not be afraid of treading over ground that may not be wholly *terra firma.*

During the times of Śrî Râmacandra, a great portion of the present Central Provinces was Daṇḍakâraṇya or Daṇḍaka forest, whence Sîtâ, wife of Râma, was abducted by Râvaṇa, king of Laṅkâ, which has been usually identified with the modern Ceylon, but since about a decade this identification has been questioned and a theory started that Râvaṇa was king of Amarkaṇṭaka, a peak of the Vindhyâchala mountains, whence the sacred river Narmadâ takes its rise. The Daṇḍaka forest was inhabited by wild tribes, of whom the Goṇḍs were most prominent, as they still continue to be, numbering over two millions, a strength which no other tribe or caste in that province attains. It is, therefore, likely that most of the place-names are in the language of these Goṇḍs, as also in that of the Oraons, who are believed to have been the *vânaras* or 'monkeys' of Râma's army; but several of them have undergone such a change by Âryan influence, in fact have become so sanskritized as to look Âryan in their present forms. Mr. Râmdâs of Jeypore Zamîndârî in the south has gone so far as to say that even in Vâlmiki's *Râmâyaṇa*, they were put in such a garb as to look sanskritic, though they were in origin purely Dravidian, to which Goṇḍî, Oraon and other wild languages conform. He has made a special study of the Śavara language, remnants of which still remain in the Ganjam District. Śavaras find mention even in the Vedic literature (*Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*) and probably they allied themselves with Râma as Ṛikṣas, or bears, in the fight between Râma and Râvaṇa, the king of Râkṣasas or Goṇḍs. Be that as it may, he traces the origin of the following well-known places mentioned in the *Râmâyaṇa* to the Śavara language. He says[1]:—"In the language of Sabars or Śavaras, Laṅkâ means above, tall, high, and it is used to signify the sky or heaven. Any high object is indicated by this word......Laṅkâ was originally a Śavara word and was adopted into Sanskrit......The people of Laṅkâ living on the top of the hill spoke of Khara's camp as Jaitan, down or below ......This name easily becomes Janasthâna in the mouths of the Aryans......The word Daṇḍaka does not mean 'of the king Daṇḍa,' but signifies 'full of water.' It is made of *dan+dak+â*, the final *â* being the Śavara genitive termination. In Śavara language *dân* means 'water,' in other dialects of Śavara *dâk* is the word for water. So *dân+dak* denotes excess of water.[2] *Dan+ḍak+â* means 'of much water.' *Dan+ḍak+â+araṇya* means 'the forest of much water.'"

Without endeavouring to unfold the mysteries of classic names, I would here quote some examples of place-names, which are absolutely aboriginal and have undergone hardly any change. Mr. Râmdâs has been speaking of the Śavara language, which continues to be

1 *JBORS.*, vol. XI, pp. 43 ff.

2 For emphasis, words carrying the same meaning are duplicated, e.g., *bailâ ṭâle,* in which the first word is Hindî for a bull and the second a Goṇḍî word for the same.

spoken in the tract where he lives,[3] viz., the Ganjam District of the Madras Presidency. I shall confine myself to Goṇḍî, the principal language of the Dravidians living in the Central Provinces.

Kohkâ (a village in the Jubbulpore District) derived from Goṇḍî *kohkâ* (*bhelwā*, or *Semecarpus anacardium*).

Barelî (in various districts) from Goṇḍî *barelî* (' Banyan,' or *Ficus bengalensis*).

Kursîpâr (in Saugor District) from Goṇḍî *kursî* (*hardu*, or *Grewia Rothii*).

Kesalâ or Kesalî (common to many districts) from Goṇḍî *keslâ* (*dhâman*, or *Grewia tiliæfolia*).

Tumri or Tumribahâr (Saugor and Raipur Districts) from Goṇḍî *tumri* (*tendu*, or *Diospyrus melanoxylon*).

Ṭekâ or Ṭekâpâr (Raipur District) from Goṇḍî *ṭekâ* (Teak, or *Tectona grandis*).

Rengâkhâr (Nandgâoṅ State) from Goṇḍî *rengâ* (*ber*, or *Zizyphus Jujuba*).

Palâri (in many districts) from Goṇḍî *palâḍî* (*akauâ*, or *Calotropis gigantea*).

Sareka or Sarekhâ (Balaghat District) from Goṇḍî *sarekâ* (*châr*, or *Buchanania angustifolia*).

Ṭahkâ (Raipur District) from Goṇḍî *ṭahkâ* (*bahera*, or *Terminalia belerica*).

Pâhuḍ (Betul District) from Goṇḍî *pâhuḍ* (camel's foot creeper, or *Bauhinea Vahlii*).

Narri (Raipur District) from Goṇḍî *nalli* (*aonlâ*, or *Phyllanthus emblica*).

Muripâr, Murmura and Murwâri.	(Raipur and other Districts)	From Goṇḍî *mur* or *murmurâ* (*palâs*, or *Butea frondosa*).
Markâḍih and Markâdhânâ	(Raipur District)	From Goṇḍî *markâ* (Mango, or *Mangifera indica*).

Mahkâ (Raipur District) from Goṇḍî *mahkâ* (*bel*, or *Aegle marmelos*).

It will be seen that all the above examples relate to names of trees, a most conspicuous feature of the jungles, in which the Goṇḍs lived and still live, but even Âryan immigrants found this method of naming villages after the trees to be very convenient, and thousands of villages are so named, their favourite trees getting the lion's share. In a single district, viz., Jubbulpore, there are over 50 villages named Piparîâ, from *pîpar* (*Ficus religiosa*). Similarly we have in the self-same district a number of Jamuniâs after the *jâmun* (*Eugenia Jambolana*). Umariâs after the *ûmar* (*Ficus glomerata*) and Imaliâs after the *imlî* (tamarind). The other favourite trees are *baḍ* (' Banyan '), *âm* (mango), *bel* (*Aegle marmelos*), *ber* (plum), *semar* (*Bombax malabaricum*), *mahuâ* (*Bassia latifolia*), *châr* (*Buchanania angustifolia*), and *hardu* (*Grewia Rothii*). Instead of having bald tree-names, as in Goṇḍî, the Âryan names carry some suffixes, which indicate a locality, for instance, Belgâoṅ=*bel* (a tree) plus *gâoṅ* (village), Beltarâ=*bel*+*tarâ* (tank), Bilpurâ=*bel*+*purâ* (quarter), Bilpaṭhâr=*bel*+*paṭhâr* (stony land), Bilkhirwâ=*bel*+*khirwâ* (hamlet), Bilhâ=having *bel* trees, and so on. Similarly, we have Âmî, Amkuhî, Amahṭâ, Âmâkhol, Âmânâlâ, Amgavā̃, Âmâjhâl, Amraiyâ and Âmuwârî, all named from the *âm* (mango); those after other trees named above being Baḍkherâ, Barodâ, Baḍkachhâr, Baṛghâṭ, Baṛgawā̃, Baḍwârâ, Baḍgâoṅ, Baḍchhaḍ, Baḍmânî, Baḍwâhî, Baḍerâ, Simrâ, Simariâ, Mahgavân, Mohgâoṅ, Charguvân, Chârkheḍâ, Harduâ, etc.

In the primitive stage another distinguishing feature next to trees was the resort of wild animals, which gave their names to certain localities. Thus in Goṇḍî, Malpârâ from *mal*, peacock; Arnâmeṭa from *arnâ*, buffalo; Ponâr (green pigeon); Koṇḍîgâoṅ, from *koṇḍâ*,

[3] Mr. Râmdâs has been so enthusiastic in the matter, that he has purchased a village inhabited by Śavaras in order to learn their language, or rather the relic of that language, at first hand. In the Central Provinces as now constituted, after the transfer of certain Oriya States to Orissa, the Śavara language has ceased to be spoken at all, although there are still 36,000 Śavaras living within the province. There is a zamîndârî named Suarmâr which is a variant of Savar-mâl, meaning the hills of the Śavaras ,like Kandhmâl, the hills of the Kandhs or Khoṇḍs.

bullock ; Mauhâr[4] from *mau* (deer) are of this description. The prototypes of these in Âryan dialects are profusely found, for instance, Richhai from *ṛîchha*, a bear ; Bagholî and Bâghpur from *bâgh*, a tiger ; Bhainswâhî and Bhainsdehi from *bhains*, a buffalo ; Hâthîgaḍh, Hâthîkhoj and Hathnâvar from *hâthî*, an elephant ; Ûnṭiâ from *ûnṭ*, a camel ; Ghoḍâmâr from *ghoḍâ*, a horse ; Gadhâbhâṭâ from *gadhâ*, an ass ; Hiranpuri from *hiran*, a deer ; Gaikhuri from *gai*, a cow ; Billîbând and Mânjarkheḍ from *billî* or *mânjar*, a cat ; and so on.

Both tree and animal names are usually joined with some terms indicating water, which on the face of it affords a better way for distinction than their solitary names, thus we have—

Aunrâbândhâ	=*aunrâ* (a tree)	+*bândh* (embankment).
Semartâl	=*semar* (a tree)	+*tâl* (tank).
Bilsarâ	=*bel* (a tree)	+*sar* (tank).
Âmânâlâ	=*âmâ* (a tree)	+*nâlâ* (brook).
Champâjhar	=*champâ* (a tree)	+*jhar* (spring, source).
Kusumsarâ	=*kusum* (a tree)	+*sar* (tank).
Jâmpânî	=*jâmun* (a tree)	+*pânî* (water).
Jamtarâ	=*jâmun* (a tree)	+*tarâ* (tank).
Piparod	=*pîpar* (a tree)	+*ud* (water).
Bandarchuâ	=*bandar* (monkey)	+*chuã* (well, spring).
Bâghḍabri	=*bâgh* (tiger)	+*ḍabrî* (pool).
Hathbandh	=*hâthî* (elephant)	+*bândh* (embankment).
Hâthîsarâ	=*hâthî* (elephant)	+*sara* (tank).

It may be added that water, or a store of water, is itself a feature which has given names to many villages, instead of the double characteristic shown in the foregoing paragraph ; for instance, Kûã (a well), Jhiriâ (springlet), Pañchdhârâ (five streams), Chîkaldahrâ (muddy marsh), Saugor (sea), Mahâsamundra (ocean), Jûnâpânî (old water).

Reptiles, insects and birds have also contributed their names to a number of villages. Nâgpur, the capital of the Central Provinces, means a city of cobras. Dhâmangâon, a town in Berâr, is named after another variety of snakes, Magarmuhã, a village in the Jubbulpore District, means 'crocodile-faced,' situated as it is close to the Narmadâ river. Gidhaurâ ('vulture ridden'), Kukrikhâpâ ('hamlet of fowls'), Kauâkhâpâ ('crow hamlet'), Chelhiâ ('kite'), Undarî ('full of mice'), Kekraḍîh ('crab wasteland') and Jhingurî ('full of crickets') are other examples of this class.

There are a number of village-names which are onomatopœic. They represent the peculiar sound heard in the variety of the habitations, either by the fall, or flow of water or by chirping of birds, etc. These are Damdamâ, Daldali, Murmur, Mulmulâ, Burbur, Bujbujâ, Luṭluṭâ, Rigrigâ, Bidbidâ, Dhabdhabâ, Tulbul, Turturiyâ, Cheũmeũ, etc.

(To be continued.)

4 If it is derived from an Âryan source, it would mean the forest of *mahuâ* trees. There are instances where the names yield meanings both in aboriginal as also in Sanskritic languages, but their signification has to be judged from environments, *e.g.*, Mailâpur, a quarter of the Madras City, means in Âryan dialects a dirty town, but in Dravidian, it means 'peacock town.' The first interpretation in this case cannot hold good in view of the fact that Mailâpur is perhaps the cleanest quarter of the city, and has never been known to have been a dirty quarter.

BOOK-NOTICES.

NYÂYADARŚANA (Gautama Sûtra and the commentary of Vâtsyâyana with Bengali translation and elaborate explanatory notes) by Mahâmahopâdhyâya Phaṇibhûṣaṇa Tarkavâgîśa. Vol. I: i—xlviii+1—427; vol. II: i—vii+1—526; vol. III: i—x+1—369; vol. IV: i—xi+1—372; vol. V: i—xvi+1—486 Royal. Published from the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 243-1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Of all philosophical systems Nyâya is represented to be the most important in the sense that its study is essential in any philosophical discussion, it being the light which enlightens all *Śâstras* (प्रदीपः सर्वशास्त्राणाम्). But the amount of work done in modern times to interpret and popularise this system is very scanty, at least in comparison with the work done in other systems, especially Vedânta. This last system has of late got the upper hand even in Bengal, which was reputed for its partiality towards Nyâya. And, as a result, modern Bengal can take pride in its wealth of Vedântic literature. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat itself, a publication of which society is under review, augmented its philosophical publications by a translation and annotated critical edition of the *Śrîbhâṣya* of Râmânuja. There is an elaborate account in Bengali of the growth and development of the Vedânta system of thought, with a description of its vast literature, in three volumes by Prajñânânanda Saraswatî. A critical edition, with translation and annotations, of the *Vedânta Sûtra* and its interpretations according to the school of Śaṅkara, is in course of publication.

There was no such work pertaining to the Nyâya system,—which until recently constituted the most popular subject of study in Bengal. But the want has now been supplied by Mm. Tarkavâgîśa by the publication of his *Nyâyadarśana*.

In the present work the *Nyâya Sûtra* with the celebrated commentary of Vâtsyâyana has been translated into Bengali. A learned and independent commentary in Bengali by the translator, embodying valuable information collected from different old texts, has enhanced the value of the work. It amply testifies to the deep and extensive scholarship of the learned translator. The problems have been tackled herein in a very lucid way. We have here the advantage of listening to the discourses of an old type scholar of wide reading, whose association with the Nyâya system has extended for years as a student and as a teacher.

In the lengthy introduction, topics like the antiquity of the Nyâya system, the name and author of the *Nyâya Sûtras*, the date and identity of the commentator Vâtsyâyana have been discussed more in the orthodox fashion than in the modern scientific historical way. Thus all the conclusions drawn are not expected to be accepted by modern scholars. According to the Mahâmahopâdhyâya the mythological sage Gautama, husband of Ahalyâ, is the author of the *Nyâya Sûtras*.

The interpretation of the term *Yauga*, as applied in more than one work in reference to the Nyâya or Vaiśeṣika system as the *Śâstra* which propounds a peculiar kind of connection (*Saṃyoga*) between atoms (vol. I, p. 228, under I. I. 29), is highly ingenious. But the statements of Guṇaratna in the commentary of the *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya* (*Bib. Ind.*, p. 49 ff.) which definitely identify the followers of the Nyâya system with those of Śaivism and attribute *yoga* practices to both, require proper consideration before any conclusion is arrived at. As a matter of fact, the story of the interrelation between the Nyâya, Śaiva and Yoga systems of thought is of absorbing interest, and will be dealt with in a separate paper by the present reviewer.

The identification of the *Nyâya Sâstra* of Medhâtilthi mentioned in the *Pratimâ* of Bhâsa with the work of Gautama (vol. V, 485) supported by a verse from the *Mahâbhârata* may not unlikely be questioned. On the whole, however, the work is a marked achievement in Bengali, and congratulations are due both to the author and the publishing society, which has already to its credit the publication of a good many old Bengali texts and translations of Sanskrit works. Such a work in any of the world languages would have established the reputation of the author. Composed in a provincial dialect it cannot be expected to enjoy the amount of celebrity that it deserves.

If we could get such volumes not only in other systems of philosophy but also in different branches of Sanskrit literature from the hands of similar old-type *Paṇḍits*, much valuable tradition which is still living would be preserved.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

HINDÎ BHÂSHÂ AUR SÂHITYA, by SHYAM SUNDAR DAS. Published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Prayâg. Price Rs. 6.

Rai Sahib Babu Shyam Sundar Das, B.A., is too well known to scholars interested in Hindî to require introduction. He is one of the chief founders of the Kâshî Nâgari Prachâriṇî Sabhâ, and has done so much noble work in the cause of Hindî that it is rather difficult to praise him adequately for it. The books he has published have already placed him in the forefront of Hindî writers of the day. The new work entitled *Hindî Bhâshâ aur Sâhitya* which he has now placed before us substantially adds to his already established reputation. A brief review of this useful publication is made here, so that it may attract the attention of such scholars as have not yet seen it. The book comprises two parts, one dealing with Hindî language and the other with Hindî literature, both meant to place before us a vivid account of the growth of Hindî from its commencement to the present day. Babu Shyam Sundar Das has done his work in a laudable and scholarly way. His style, though learned, is pure and lucid, and his reasoning is forceful as well as

convincing. The extraneous matter he has brought in to explain the development of the fine arts (*lalita-kalâ*), painting, architecture, etc., was more suited to general history than to the survey of the growth of Hindî. The views he has expressed in this connection are not of an art critic, but of a general Hindu observer. The *siṁhâvalokana* he has given and the instances he has furnished will, it is hoped, be welcomed by general Hindî readers. The account of modern Hindî writers which is given in the book, together with the general remarks by the author, is quite appropriate. One could well expect reasoned criticism of their works from an authority of Babu Shyam Sundar Das's type, as it usually is and ought to be given in books of this nature.

I congratulate Rai Sahib Babu Shyam Sundar Das on the production of this learned and careful work and wish it the wide publicity it so fully deserves.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

KERALA SOCIETY PAPERS, published by the Kerala Society. Series 3, 4, 5 and 6; 10¾×8½ in.; pp. 113—352. Trivandrum, 1930.

These four serials published during the past year bear witness to the useful work being carried on by the Kerala Society, and the wide scope of its interests —historical, archæological, epigraphical and linguistic. Mr. M. Rajaraja Varma Raja continues his Travancore Dynastic Studies in Series 3 and 6. Series 4 is chiefly devoted to articles on the Malabar Christian copper-plates by the Rev. J. Monteiro D'Aguiar, the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., and Mr. T. K. Joseph; while in Series 5 Fr. H. Hosten contributes an interesting account of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar from Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, with abundant annotations. The Rev. G. Schurhammer, S.J., also contributes several papers on different subjects in Series 4 and 6. Among articles of special interest may be cited that by Mr. C. P. T. Winckworth (Ser. 3, pp. 159 f.) on a new interpretation of the Pahlavi Cross Inscriptions, which have hitherto baffled so many scholars, wholly divergent renderings having been suggested by Burnell, Haug. West and others. Mr. Winckworth has at last arrived at a reasonable and well-founded interpretation that meets with the approval of those best qualified to judge. The meaning of the final word is still rather ambiguous, as will be seen from the revised interpretations proposed on pp. 268-69. Some six inscriptions, both Tamil and Hebrew, are dealt with in Series 3, 4 and 5. Another important contribution that should be mentioned is that on the Feasts of St. Thomas by Dr. F. C. Burkitt (Ser. 6, pp. 287 f.). The Society is fortunate in having secured the collaboration of so many scholars of note, which seems to be largely due to the exertions of the Secretary, Mr. T. K. Joseph, whose devotion to the interests of the Society is apparent throughout these papers.

C. E. A. W. O.

KÎCAKAVADHA OF NÎTIVARMAN, WITH COMMENTARY, Edited by Dr. S. K. De, 1929.

This is a short poem in five cantos describing a well-known episode in the *Mahâbhârata*. This poem belongs to what is called the *Yamaka Kâvyas*, a very artificial kind of poetry in which a few syllables are found repeated; for example:

asti râjâ jagadgîtamahimâ lokavigrahaḥ
sâkṣâd iva rucâm sthânamahimâlokavigrahaḥ I. 7.

Such a play on words for sound effect is an old device in Sanskrit poetry. Kâlidâsa resorts to it. Alliteration in general is seen even in the oldest phase of Indian poetry—in the Vedas. In Kâlidâsa we see only a portion of one of his *kâvyas* with this device adopted for sound effect. A whole poem with this play on words is perhaps a later phenomenon in Sanskrit poetry. Such poetry was considered only as a source of temporary, light amusement, and not as serious art, and as such it may be, no ancient specimen of such a poem, though in vogue even in very early times, is preserved to us. *Kîcakavadha* is probably the oldest, provided *Nalodaya* is not by Kâlidâsa.

There is very little to be said against the *form* of the edition of *Kîcakavadha*. The manuscript material is amply described. Some specimen sheets of the manuscripts are also reproduced. It is clearly indicated where the page in the manuscript changes; changes of handwriting, corrections by later hands—all such details are given. If the edition had been free from some of its inaccuracies, it could have been safely recommended as a model of editorial skill Besides many printing mistakes, there are certain deficiencies which could very easily have been avoided with a little more care. I give a few instances:

(1) I. 1. (Com.)—*Śubhâdṛṣṭam vâ* is quite correct; I do not know why a note of exclamation (!) has been added. *Ity etasmâd eva kâraṇât* ought to read *ity etasmâd iva kâraṇat.*

(2) I. 4.—When a text is edited with a commentary, it is desirable that the reading in the commentary be followed for the text. It would have been better if *tanâ* were printed in the text, and the reading *natâ* given as an alternative one.

(3) I. 7. (Com.)—*Yadâjñayâ kavikâvyan tam âha.*—This is not intelligible. Yet there is no comment to show that the phrase needs consideration, either in a footnote or in the body of the notes.

(4) I. 8. (Com.)—*Arthâd ayam mayi sati etattrâṇe.*—Perhaps this should read *arthâd ayam.iti sati etattrâṇe.*

(5) I. 11. (Com.)—*Api virodhe.*—A happier reading would be *apir virodhe.*

(6) I. 17. (Com.)—*Śiśirâm ityâdi.*—*Śiśiretyâdi* or *śiśirâṁśor ityâdi* would be a happier reading.

(7) I. 18. (Com.)—*Kṛtasvastinâ* should be inserted before *kṛtakṣemaṇa.*

(8) I. 27. (Com.)—*Priyam hitam copapâlayan duṣṭavadhâdinâ bhârâvataraṇât priyakaraṇam; yajñâdinâ vṛṣṭikaraṇât sampannasasyakaraṇam.*

We are justified in expecting the expression *hitakaraṇam* corresponding to *priyakaraṇam.*

(9) II. 2. (Com.)—*Channâ iti sambandhaḥ.*—The expression is not quite clear. Perhaps the reading should be *sahita iti sambandhaḥ.*

(10) II. 4. (Com.)—*Cakârât strîbhir anyâbhir api.*—Perhaps the commentator did not notice that the word *strîbhiḥ* is in the text, and need not be understood from the word *ca.*

(11) II. 7. (Com.)—*Makarâlayaḥ* should be inserted before *śilâkhaṇḍo.*

(12) II. 8. (Com.)—*Kamalinîlayâ* ought to be *mahâkamalinîlayâ.*

I have no wish to add more, though many more could be found throughout the book.

The editor discusses a large number of topics in the Introduction, and I had better make some remarks on some of them in the order in which they occur there. The editor says: "The example of a poem commencing with an *âśîḥ*-prelude is hard to find." Perhaps he is thinking of metrical *kâvyas*, as this statement follows the sentence, "Almost all the *mahâkâvyas* open with a *namaskriyâ* or a *vastunirdeśa.*" Both the *Râmâyaṇacampu* and the *Bhâratacampu* begin with *âśis*; all the *nâṭakas* begin so. In the case of *Nalodaya* it is difficult to decide. It is neither *âśis* nor *namaskriyâ*, and yet there is a *maṅgala.* I may add that nearly all the standard *mahâkâvyas* begin with *vastunirdeśa*, which is only a polite way of saying "without a *maṅgala.*" It would be rather an interesting study to investigate the problem of the necessity of a *maṅgala* at the beginning of a literary work. Neither Pâṇini nor Patañjali, nor even Kâśikâkâra worries about a *maṅgalâcaraṇa.* The *sûtras* and *bhâṣyas* in the systems of philosophy do not begin with a *maṅgalâcaraṇa.*

After some discussion regarding the source of the poem and the nature of *Yamaka*, the editor takes up the question of the authorship of the poem. The poet wrote the poem for the amusement of a king (I. 25). In I. 21 it is said that the fame of the king spread all over the world. In this stanza there is the word *kaliṅgataḥ.* The editor introduces a discussion on the interpretation of the word. The stanza is:

śucânuddharataḥ siddhân nṛpâṃs tasya kaliṅgataḥ
sâdhuvâdaḥ kṣitim sarvâm paribhûya kaliṅ gataḥ.

The point is, is the word *kaliṅgataḥ* in the first half to be taken with *gataḥ* or with *anuddharataḥ.* In the first alternative, the idea will be that the fame of the king, who re-instated on the throne the kings he subdued, spread all over the world from Kaliṅga, and the king will be the ruler of Kaliṅga. In the second alternative, the idea will be that the king, who defeated the kings of Kaliṅga, re-instated them on the throne, and thus his fame spread all over the world. Here the king will be a ruler of a neighbouring country, and not of Kaliṅga itself. For the second interpretation the editor has the support of Prof. F. W. Thomas. This alternative interpretation proves nothing; it solves no difficulties. It simply complicates matters by our having to assume that Kaliṅga was ruled by a large number of chieftains instead of by one king, as we have the word *nṛpân* in the plural. The first alternative is a far more direct one. The general idea will be that the king had great fame in Kaliṅga, and on account of his magnanimous dealings with the subdued rulers, his fame, instead of being confined to his own kingdom, spread throughout the world. In either case there is no certain clue regarding the date of the poem.

The poem is quoted or referred to by many authors. The author's name is not mentioned by any one. The editor's statement that in *Sṛṅgâraprakâśa* Bhoja mentions the name of the author and the work (Introduction, p. xiv) contains a small error. Bhoja does not mention the name of the author. In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, vol. IV, pt. ii, p. 282, the editor simply copied what he saw in the report of the working of the peripatetic party of the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library, and there the reporter introduced the name of Nîtivarman, not because Bhoja had given the name, but because he knew from catalogues that *Kîcakavadha* was attributed to him. The commentator of *Kîcakavadha*, both in the beginning and in his commentary on I. 25, says that Nîtivarman is the author of the poem. The colophon in MS. A also attributes the work to Nîtivarman. But MS. B does not give the name of the author. The marginal gloss in MS. A also gives the name of Nîtivarman as the author of the work. It says: *nîtivarmaṇaḥ sakâśâj jâtam, tena kṛtam ity arthaḥ.* It is not known from the edition if the *Ṭîkâkâra Sarvânanda* attributes the authorship to Nîtivarman. The stanza, on the basis of which the work is attributed to Nitivarman, is:

tasya sambhṛtasatkîrter ajahannîtivarmaṇaḥ
vinodârtham idam kâvyam pravṛttan nîtivarmaṇaḥ
I. 25

It is explained as: *tasya vinodârtham idam, nîtivarmaṇaḥ kâvyam pravṛttam* ('this poem of Nîtivarman was composed for his amusement'). There is another possible explanation, and I see no reason why I should not suggest that also, though it is against the commentator, inasmuch as the editor has chosen to differ from the commentator in his explanation of I. 21, and to make the patron of the poet a king of the neighbourhood of Kaliṅga, who defeated the many kings of Kaliṅga. The other explanation is: *tasya* (described above) *nîtivarmaṇaḥ vinodârtham* (for the amusement of Nitivarman) *idam kâvyam pravṛttam* (this poem is composed). This will make Nîtivarman the patron of the poet. I leave it at that. Perhaps this clue may lead to the determination of the date of the poem. Some Nîtivarman prior to Bhoja, either in Kaliṅga or in the neighbouring country, would solve the problem.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.

NOTES ON INDIAN MAUNDS.

BY W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.

(*Continued from page 183.*)

IV. Delhi Maunds.

I now pass to the more difficult question of the units current in the North before the era of standardisation. I have found no suggestion in the chronicles that any of the early Muslim rulers of Delhi prescribed units of weight, and those which we meet may reasonably be taken as unofficial or customary. From the nature of the case equations are very rare in the literature, but it so happens that we possess a few definite statements for the neighbourhood of Delhi in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. In these statements the equivalents are given in terms of Arabic units, the evaluation of which is a task for specialists; I use the following values, which are based on the relevant articles in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* and on some supplementary data, for which I am indebted to Professor H. A. R. Gibb.

The *misqâl*, or *mithqâl* as Arabists write it, was very close to 70 gr. when used as a weight by apothecaries; the coin-weight was somewhat smaller. The classical *dirham* weight (as distinct from the coin) was 48½ gr. The *ritl* was round about 1 lb. It contained 12 *ûqîya* (or ounces), and in classical literature the *ûqîya* contained either 6 or 7 *misqâls*, making the *ritl* either 5,040 or 5,880 gr. In some regions, however, the *ûqîya*, and consequently the *ritl*, was substantially larger; the *ritl* of Egypt works out to 7,776 gr.; that of Barbary was approximately ⅔ of a kilogram, or as much as 10,288 gr.

The *Masâliq-ul Absâr*, which was written in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, and the information in which relates to the neighbourhood of Delhi, says (*Elliot's History*, iii, 582); "The *ritl* of India, which is called *ser*, weighs 70 *misqâls*, which, estimated in *dirhams* of Egypt, is worth 102⅗. Forty *sers* make one *man*." The maund was thus 2,800 *misqâls*, or (at 70 gr. to the *misqâl*), exactly 28 lb.; and the *dirham* of Egypt works out to 47¾ gr., which is very close to the classical equivalent given above.

Ibn Batûta,[13] who spent some years in India during the same reign, says (iii, 382) that the Delhi *ritl* contained 25 Egyptian, and 20 Barbary, *ritls*; presumably he used round figures rather than precise equivalents. The two equations give maunds of 27 lb. 5,400 gr. (which is within a few ounces of that deduced from the *Masâliq*), and a little over 29 lb. Uncertainty as to the precise equivalents of the Arabic units makes it impossible to fix the Delhi maund to the proper decimal on these data, but it is safe to take it as 28–29 lb.; and this figure fits some, but not all, of the passages where quantities are given for this period and locality.

Thus the *Masâliq* (*Elliot's History*, iii, 577) says that Muhammed Tughluq's royal slaves, who, we may be confident, were pampered, received a monthly allowance of two maunds of wheat and rice, and a daily ration of 3 sers of meat. Taking the maund at 28½ lb., and the average month in the Islamic calendar at 29½ days, we get a daily grain-ration of just under 2 lb., which by itself would be inadequate, for the enquiries made in the nineteenth century in connection with famine-policy showed 2 lb. of grain to be less than a satisfactory ration for an adult male. The meat-ration, equivalent to 2·1 lb., looks very high; but it may be reduced by almost one-half on the reasonable assumption that the butchering was done in the slave-department, since, judging from data kindly furnished by Mr. J. Hammond of the Cambridge University School of Agriculture, something like 40 per cent of the carcase would not be available as meat.

[13] I quote from the French version: C. Defrémery and G. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*; Paris, 1874-79. These passages are discussed (iv, 81*n*) in H. Cordier's edition of Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Hakluyt Society, 1916.

Taking the maund at 28½ lb., the total ration was thus about what might be expected: with a much smaller maund, the royal slaves would have been seriously underfed, a thing which is inconceivable in the conditions of the period.

In the next reign, that of Fîrûz, 3 sers of grain daily were allowed for each prisoner taken in war (*Elliot's History*, iii, 331); at 28½ lb. to the maund, this gives a daily ration of nearly 2·2 lb., granted by an exceptionally kind-hearted king; and this is very close to what would be allowed to prisoners at the present day. There is no doubt then that the equations quoted are substantially correct.

On the other hand, various passages relating to booty taken in war are quite incredible when interpreted in terms of a maund of this size. They have usually been read as fantastic exaggerations, and it may be agreed that exaggeration is probable in the case of narratives written some time after the event; but precise accountancy was the rule of the period, and it is probable, though not certain, that some at least of the figures given in contemporary narratives are taken from official returns, which would certainly not exaggerate the value for which the makers might be held responsible. These figures can be interpreted on the theory that the original Arab *mann* of nearly 2 lb., which was certainly used by the early Moslem invaders, survived in the treasury departments for use in the case of gold, silver, and precious stones.

The Arab *mann* of 2 *ritls* is familiar in all the lexicons, and it was so defined by the early geographer Ibn Khurdâdba (*Elliot's History*, i, 14). Nunez shows that this unit prevailed in the sixteenth century at Ormuz, where the maund was 2·2 Portuguese pounds. He shows also that a maund of this size ruled, with local variations, on the east coast of Africa from Quiloa to Sofala; and since we know that such civilisation as existed on this coast was the work of the Arabs, we may reasonably infer that this unit had been introduced by them. This Arab maund appears also in Persian literature, as where Hâfiz speaks of two maunds of wine as sufficient for three people: a pint of wine weighs about 20 ounces, so two maunds, or about 4 lb., would give just over three pints, a pint a head for the party. Again, Abdurrazâq, who came to India as an ambassador in the fifteenth century, wrote (*Elliot's History*, iv, 40) that elephants' food was made up into balls of about 2 maunds each: obviously this is not an Indian maund of 25 lb. or more, but the Arab maund which the writer knew in his own country.

That a maund of about this size was in regular use among the early Moslem invaders of India can be inferred with confidence from some passages in the *Târîkh-i Baihaqî*, a contemporary, and obviously trustworthy, account of the reign of Masaûd, son of Mahmûd of Ghaznî. In one place he tells (p. 131) of a knock-out blow delivered with a '20-maund mace'; I am assured by experts that a mace weighing 40 lb. would be far too heavy to be used, and this phrase is best read as a variant of *dah-manî*, as in the expression *nâchakh-i dah-manî*, which Steingass interprets as 'a very heavy battle-axe'; but obviously the reference in both phrases is to the Arab maund, and not to one of those which prevailed in India.

Again, we read (p. 361) that on one occasion Ghaznî sent to the Caliph a tribute of 25,000 maunds of indigo. Having regard to the scale on which the trade in indigo was carried on, this maund cannot be much more than about 2 lb.; 22 tons of indigo would be a very substantial figure for those days.

Again, there is the detailed account of Masaûd's wine-party (p. 825, translated in *Elliot's History*, ii, 145). It was a special occasion, and the wine was served in large goblets (*sâtgînî*), each containing half a maund. Taking 20 ounces to the pint, and a 2 lb. maund, such a goblet would hold 4/5 of a pint, and obviously a much larger maund is out of the question. Various details given in this chronicle show that in the matter of alcoholic consumption the period may fairly be compared with the Regency. It is hardly necessary to cite authorities to show

that in those days the three-bottle man was common—that is to say, half a gallon might easily be drunk at a sitting—and that individuals could be found who drank twice as much, or more; but I may instance the fact vouched for [13] by Lieutenant John Pester, that 14 British officers at dinner consumed 42 bottles of claret, besides 'a proportionable quantity' of Madeira, so that they averaged well over three bottles in all. Now four out of Masaûd's six guests were hopelessly drunk before they had attained the 'six-bottle' mark, and the fifth just exceeded this figure. The story is thus not impossible in terms of a 2 lb. maund; a much larger unit is out of the question.

It is to my mind a reasonable guess that this 2 lb. maund survived in the treasury when Moslem rule was definitely established in Delhi, and that returns of treasure were made in terms of it, and not of the maund used in commercial transactions. As a single example of the passages dealing with booty, I take Ziyâ Barnî's statement (p. 333, translated in *Elliot's History*, iii, 204) that in 1311 A.D. Malik Nâib Kafûr brought from the South, among other items, 96,090 maunds of gold,[14] and that the king gave some of it away in portions varying from four maunds down to half a maund. This chronicler was in general obviously truthful, and he certainly had access to official information: it does not seem possible to accept his figure in terms of either the 25 lb. maund of the South or the 28–29 lb. maund of Delhi; but with a 2 lb. maund we come within the limits of possibility.

First, as to the distribution. Alâuddîn, the ruling king, was by no means lavish, and it is very hard to conceive of his giving away gold by the hundred-weight: presents ranging from one to eight lb. would be reasonable in the circumstances. Next as to the total amount. According to the maund used, it was 1,240 tons (Delhi), or 1,070 tons (southern), or about 80 tons (Arab). The first and second figures may safely be discarded as impossible, and even the last is very large for the period; for comparison it may be noted that the huge imports of gold into India in the year 1924-5 weighed about 360 tons. A very large figure is, however, required by the chronicler's language, for he insists that the spoil taken on this occasion was utterly unprecedented in the history of Delhi; while he tells us that it included not merely the hoards of gold, but the fragments of the golden idols which the conqueror had broken up, and even a small idol would contain a lot of gold. The figure of 80 tons is not therefore impossible; and, while I have found no direct evidence of the survival of the 2 lb. maund, it is at least permissible to recognise the possibility, as an alternative to writing off all these reports of booty as fantastic exaggerations.

I have found no later passages bearing on the Delhi maunds. The literature of the fifteenth century is very scanty, and, after the transfer of the capital to Agra in 1502, we hear practically nothing of Delhi until the period when official maunds had come into general use.

(To be continued.)

13 *War and Sport in India*, 1802-6 (ed. J. A. Devenish, London, 1913); p. 58.

14 I take the figure from the British Museum MS., Or. 2039, which in all matters of detail is a better authority than the inaccurate printed text; the text figure is 96,000, the words 'and ninety' having presumably slipped out. Briggs' text of Firishta puts the amount of gold at only 96 maunds, but Briggs himself in his rendering gives 96,000, and the Museum MS. of Firishta, Add. 6569, has the word *hazár*, which must have dropped out of that text accidentally.

AṬHABHÂGIYE.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH,

(*Continued from page 170.*)

17. Sampige inscription (XII, p. 40), dated 19th September 1331, recording the grant by the Hoysala Ballâla III of a tax-free village to Siṅge-seṭṭi: *î-catus-sîme-volagulla gadde-beddalu î-Sampigege salva halligaḷu adaroḷagulla kaṭṭe-kirukaṭṭegaḷu aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya-nidhi-nikṣêpa-jala-pâṣâṇa-siddha-sâdhya-akṣîṇi-âgâmi pûrvâya-apûrvâya-tappe-tauḍi-kiru-kuḷa-sthâna-mânyav-oḷagâgi samasta-bali-sahitavâgi â-Sampigeya sthaḷavanu....sarva-mânyavâgi*, i.e., 'the village Sampige tax-free, with *gadde, beddalu*, large and small tanks and hamlets comprised in its four boundaries, with *aṣṭabhoga-tejassvâmya, nidhi, nikṣepa, jala, pâṣâṇa, siddha, sâdhya, akṣîṇi, âgâmi*, former and new revenues and the revenues from all taxes including *tappe, tauḍi, kirukuḷa*, and *sthâna-mânya* (?)'

Of these inscriptions, Nos. 1-4, it will be seen, record grants of tax-free villages only. The term *sarvamânya* is used in all four to denote the idea 'tax-free.' Other words used in Kannaḍa inscriptions to denote the same idea are *umbaḷi* or *umbaḷige, koḍagi, sarva-namasya* and *agrahâra*; and the words *sarva-bâdhâ-parihâra* too have perhaps the same sense. The number of published inscriptions which record such grants (of tax-free villages only), and in which one of the above-mentioned words is used, is fairly large.

Nos. 5-10 record grants of tax-free villages and also of the rights known as *aṣṭabhoga* [*-tejassvâmya*], which comprise among others the right to *nidhi, nikṣepa, jala, pâṣâṇa, akṣîṇi, âgâmi, siddha* and *sâdhya*, all or some of which terms are mentioned in them. Nos. 11-13, too, record the grant of the same rights with tax-free villages; but the term *aṣṭabhoga* [*-tejassvâmya*] is not used in these inscriptions. The grants of tax-free villages made by the Vijayanagara kings and the majority of their governors and feudatories and successors in the territories ruled over by them all belong to this class; that is, they make over to the donees not only tax-free villages but the *aṣṭabhoga* or *aṣṭabhoga-tejassvâmya* also, either explicitly mentioned by name or otherwise described. The number of such grants is very large and exceeds three- or four-hundred.

Nos. 14-17 record grants of tax-free villages with *aṣṭabhoga-tejassvâmya* and also of the revenues derived from other taxes named. The number of published inscriptions registering such grants, too, is fairly large.

It is clear from the above-cited inscriptions that the grant of a tax-free village does not by itself carry with it the right to *nidhi, nikṣepa*, etc., known as *aṣṭabhoga* [*-tejassvâmya*]. Nor, on the other hand, does the grant of the rights known as *aṣṭabhoga-tejassvâmya* in connection with any village imply, of itself, that such village too has been granted tax-free; and as a matter of fact, we find grants of *aṣṭabhoga-tejassvâmya* made in two inscriptions in connection with villages that were not tax-free. One of these inscriptions which is at Gôvindanahaḷḷi (*Ep. Carnatica*, IV, p. 176 ff.) and is dated 6th May 1236, records the grant to some Brâhmaṇas by the *daṇḍanâyakas* Bogaiyya and Mallaiyya with the permission of their master, the Hoysala king Someśvara, of the *aṣṭabhoga-tejassvâmya* in connection with the village Teṅginakaṭṭa,[1] which too was granted to them, not however tax-free, but subject to the payment of 100 *gadyâṇa* as quit-rent every year. The other is a Bangalore copperplate inscription (*ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 3 ff.), dated 1st March 1253, and records the grant to some Brâhmaṇas by the above-mentioned king Somesvara of the *aṣṭabhoga-tejassvâmya* in connection with two

[1] *gadyâṇam 100nu kaṭṭu-guttage-piṇḍâdânavâgi yend-endigenû aramanege tettu bantâgi prasiddha-sîmâ samanvitamappa tanna êkâdaśapalli-sahita Teṅginakaṭṭavanu aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya-nidhi-nikṣêpa-sahita dhârâ-pûrvakavâgi koṭṭaru*, 'They granted with pouring of water (the village) Teṅginakaṭṭa with its well-known boundaries and eleven hamlets together with the *aṣṭabhoga-tejassvâmya, nidhi* and *nikṣepa* (with the obligation that the donees) should pay to the palace for ever the sum of *100 gadyâṇa* as quit-rent (every year).'

villages which were granted to them at the same time subject to the payment of 140 *gadyâṇa* every year.[3]

It thus becomes plain from what has been said above that the grant of a tax-free village is quite different from the grant of the *aṣṭabhôga* [*-tējassvâmya*] in connection with it, that there are some inscriptions which record grants of one only of these two, and that there are many inscriptions, exceeding four- or five-hundred in number, which record grants of both these with or without the revenue derived from other taxes.

Now we know that in Prakrit 'the suffix *-ka* is added to words without altering the meaning, much more frequently than it is in Sanskrit' (see Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, § 598; p. 405). It seems to me that this is the case with *aṭhabhâgiye* (=*aṣṭabhâgika*) in the above-cited passage and that the word is equivalent to Skt. *aṣṭabhâgî* and means 'having or possessing eight (things).' The hundreds of inscriptions of later times that record grants of tax-free villages indicate clearly that the things of which *aṣṭa* is an attribute is without doubt the *bhôga* [*-tējassvâmya*] that is mentioned by them. Thus *aṭhabhâgiye*, I conceive, is equivalent to *aṣṭabhôga* [*-tējassvâmya*]*-bhâgî*, and the words *Lummini-gâme ubalike kaṭe aṭha-bhâgiye ca* of the Rummindei inscription are equivalent to *Lumbini-grâmaṃ sarvamânyam aṣṭabhôga-sahitaṃ grâmîṇebhyo râjâ dattavân.*

The earliest inscription that I know of in which the term *aṣṭabhôgatējassvâmya* occurs is the Gôvindanahaḷḷi inscription cited above, which is dated in 1236 A.D.; and the word does not seem to be used in any inscription prior to 1200 A.D. Nevertheless it would not be correct to conclude from this that the rights denoted by the word began first to be recognised in the thirteenth century A.D. and were not known in earlier times; for, the office and title of *daṇḍa-nâyaka*, for instance, which are mentioned very frequently in inscriptions of the tenth and following centuries A.D., are not at all mentioned in those written in 200-900 A.D. The occurrence however of this word in the Mâṇikyâla inscription (see Lüders in *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 648) and also in an inscription at Mathurâ (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, 246) shows that they were well-known in the times of the Kuṣâṇa kings and that they did not first come into existence in the tenth century A.D. It is my belief that the case is similar with the rights denoted by the word *aṣṭabhôga* [*-tējassvâmya*] and that these rights were known and formed the subject-matter of grants even in Mauryan times. In any case, it cannot be disputed that the meaning proposed above for *aṭha-bhâgiye* fits very satisfactorily into the context, and that it brings the Rummindei inscription into the same class as the hundreds of inscriptions written in later times and recording grants of the same character.

The Rummindei inscription is, however, peculiar in one respect: the donees of the grant recorded in it happen to be the freemen of the village whose revenues form the subject-matter of the gift. This does not seem to have been the case with the donees of the later inscriptions that I have read, who were all either priests (Brâhmaṇas, Jaina or Lingâyat *gurus*) or men of high position in life, like *daṇḍanâyakas, mahâ-vaḍḍa-vyavahâris* (great-big-merchants), etc., that is, in all cases, persons who could not be conceived as being farmers or cultivators of land, and who could not therefore have had any interest in the lands of the villages granted. The freemen of Lumbinî, on the other hand, already possessed ownership and other similar rights in respect of the lands, etc., of the village, and it was they who cultivated the lands and paid the revenues due to the king's treasury. Hence the Rummindei inscription does not make use of the word 'give,' but says merely that the village was *made* tax-free and the

[3] *Madani-gûḍida Mattikaṭṭavanu....ga 140 nu prativarṣaṃ aramanege tett-umbantagi nânâgôtrar appa Brâhmaṇôttamarigeuṃ tâvu pratiṣṭeva-maḍida dêvarigeuṃ â-candrârka-sthâyiy-âgi bhôgisuvantâgi aṣṭabhôga-tējassvâmya-nidhi-nikṣēpa-samasta-bali-sahita dhârâ-pûrvakaṃ mâḍi koṭṭaru*, i.e., 'He gave with pouring of water to excellent Brâhmaṇas of different *gotras* and to the god set up by him the village Mattikaṭṭa with Madani together with *aṣṭabhôga-tējassvâmya, nidhi, nikṣepa* and (revenues of) all taxes, to be enjoyed till the moon, sun and stars endure, on condition that they should pay to the palace every year the sum of 140 *gadyâṇa*.'

possessor of the eight-fold right by the king' (*râjñâ grâmaḥ udbalikaḥ kṛtaḥ aṣṭabhâgî ca*) instead of saying, like the inscriptions of later times, that 'the king gave the village free of taxes and with the eight-fold right' (*râjâ grâmam udbalikam aṣṭabhôga-sahitaṃ ca dattavân*).

It is difficult to determine exactly the nature of the rights denoted by the word *aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya*. The expression *aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya-nidhi-nikṣepa-sahita* that is used in the two above-cited inscriptions of Someśvara's reign seems to show that *nidhi* and *nikṣepa* were not included in *aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya*. Similarly, the words of the Citaldrug inscription of 1328 A.D. cited above (No. 5) seem to show that *nidhi, nikṣepa, siddha, sâdhya, jala* and *pâṣâṇa* were not included in it; and the wording [3] of an inscription at Seringapatam (*Ep. Carnatica*, III, p. 14), dated in 1527 A.D., and recording the grant of a *sarvamânya* village seems to indicate that *hola, gadde, kâḍârambha, nîrârambha, akṣiṇi* and *âgâmi* are not included in it. On the other hand, the words [4] used in another copperplate inscription of the same place (*ibid.*, p. 20), dated in 1663 A.D., and in scores of other similar inscriptions,[5] all recording grants of *sarvamânya* villages, show clearly that the *aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya* consists of the possession or enjoyment of *nidhi, nikṣepa, jala, pâṣâṇa, akṣiṇi, âgâmi, siddha* and *sâdhya*. The Melukoṭe copperplate inscription, again (*ibid.*, p. 65) of 1724 A.D., which records the grant of thirteen *sarvamânya* villages by Kṛṣṇarâja of Maisûru, contains the words *catus-sîmey-oḷag-uṇṭâda nidhi-nikṣêpa-jala-taru-pâṣâṇâ-kṣiṇy-âgâmi-siddha-sâdhyagaḷ-emba aṣṭa-bhôga-muntâda â-sakala-têjassvâmyavû*, which show that *aṣṭabhôga* consists of the possession or enjoyment of *nidhi, nikṣepa, jala, taru, pâṣâṇa, akṣiṇi, âgâmi, siddha* and *sâdhya* and that *têjassvâmya* includes *aṣṭabhôga* and other rights; and an inscription at Maṅkasandra (*Ep. Carnatica*, IX, p. 96), dated in 1408 A.D., which records the grant of a *sarvamânya* village with '*nidhi, nikṣepa, jala, pâṣâṇa, akṣiṇi, âgâmi, siddha, sâdhya, aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya* including *gṛha, ârâma, kṣetra, gadde, beddalu, aṇe* and *accukaṭṭu*" continues with the following stanza and words: *âjñâ kṣetraṃ ca yad danaṃ śulkaṃ siddhi-karaṃ tathâ | nidhânam...... karaṃ mude.... ||yemba aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmyasthavâgi*, which seem to contain an explanation of the term *aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya* that is different from those given above. And, finally, the Hebbâle grant of 1665 A.D. cited above (No. 16) makes out that *aṣṭabhôga* consists of *gadde, beddalu, tôṭa tuḍike, aṇe, accukaṭṭu, kâḍârambha* and *nîrârambha* and that *aṣṭatêjassvâmya* is formed of *nidhi, nikeṣepa, jala, pâṣâṇa, akṣiṇi, âgâmi, siddha* and *sâdhya*.[6]

It is thus plain that the expression *aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya* was understood in different ways by the writers of inscriptions. The great majority of them, however, who lived in the fifteenth century A.D. and later have used it to denote the possession or enjoyment of *nidhi, nikṣepa, jala, pâṣâṇa, akṣini, âgâmi, siddha* and *sâdhya*, which again are denoted by the word *aṣṭabhôga* only by the writers of many other inscriptions of the same time. And one can hence conclude that *aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya* is the same as *aṣṭabhôga* and that both these terms signified the same thing, namely, the group of eight formed of *nidhi, nikṣepa*, etc., in the fifteenth century A.D. and later.

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[3] *â-grâmakke saluva catus-sîmevoḷagaṇa hola-gadde-kâḍârambha-nîrârambha-sahita akṣiṇi-âgâmi-aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya-sahita-vâgi.*

[4] *î-catus-sîmey-oḷaguḷḷa nidhi-nikṣêpa-jala-pâṣâṇa-akṣiṇi-âgâmi-siddha-sâdhyaṃgaḷemba aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmyagaḷanu.*

[5] E.g., Seringapatam Nos. 14, 15, 64, 94, 157, etc. (*Ep. Carnatica*, III, pp. 23, 28, 49, 58, 84).

[6] *gadde* = wet land; *beddalu* = dry land; *tôṭa* = garden; *tuḍike* = fruit store-house; *aṇe* = dam; *accukaṭṭu* = irrigated area under a tank; *kâḍârambha* = dry cultivation, and *nîrârambha* = wet cultivation; *nidhi* = (right to) buried treasure; *nikṣepa*, too, means buried treasure, and perhaps signifies here the right to treasure known to have been buried by specific persons while *nidhi* refers to treasure buried by unknown persons; *jala* = (right to) water (i.e., to underground springs and streams, etc.); *pâṣâṇa* = stone, that is, the right to quarry stone; *siddha* = income accrued; *sâdhya* = any further income, that may accrue, due to development. I do not know the signification of the terms *akṣiṇi* and *âgâmi*.

As already observed, however, the wording of the above-cited two inscriptions of Someśvara's reign makes it doubtful if the term *aṣṭabhôga-têjassvâmya* had the above signification in his time. This doubt is but strengthened by the fact (noticed above) that the writers of the fifteenth century A.D. and later do not themselves know definitely the meaning of the term,[7] but use it in a manner which plainly suggests that it formed part of a formula which had been in use from a long time. And hence I consider it improbable that the group of eight things whose possession or enjoyment was granted by the Rummindei inscription was identical with the above-mentioned group of eight formed of *nidhi*, *nikṣepa*, etc.

The *Kâmandakîyanîtisâra*, written before 550 A.D. (see *Asia Major*, III, p. 320, n.), contains the following two verses (V, 77-78); *kṛṣir vaṇikpatho durgaṃ setuḥ kuñjara-bandhanam* | *khanyâkara-vanâdânaṃ śûnyânâṃ ca niveśanam* || *aṣṭa-vargam imaṃ râja sâdhu-vṛtto 'nupâlayet* | in which the king is enjoined to give protection to the *aṣṭavarga* or group of eight formed of *kṛṣi*, *vaṇik-patha*, *durga*, *setu*, *kuñjara-bandhana*, *khanyâkarâdâna*, *vanâdâna* and *śûnya-niveśana*. These words signify primarily 'agriculture, trade-way, fortress, dam, catching of elephants, working of mines and of forests, and settling of unoccupied places.' But Dr. Breloer has pointed out (*Kauṭalîya-studien*, I, p. 80) that this 'group of eight' is referred to in the *Arthaśâstra*, § 90,[8] which speaks of revenue derived from them; and hence it seems probable. that *aṣṭavarga* has the secondary meaning of 'income derived from the group of eight consisting of agricultural lands, trade-ways, etc.[9]

This 'group of eight' is referred to in Manu, 7, 154 also (*kṛtsnaṃ câṣṭavidhaṃ karma pañcavargaṃ ca tattvataḥ*) according to Medhâtithi, whose explanation of *aṣṭavidhaṃ karma* as *vaṇik-patha udaka-setu-bandhanaṃ durgakaraṇam kṛtasya saṃskâra-nirṇayaḥ hasti-bandhanaṃ khani-khananaṃ śûnya niveśanaṃ dâru-vana-cchedanaṃ ca* is cited by Kullûka in the course of his commentary on that verse.

Thus it is very likely that this group of eight things was known as such to the administrators in Mauryan times, and it is even possible that the word *aṣṭa* in *aṭha-bhâgiye* refers to this group of eight or to one containing many of its components. At present, however, there is nothing known about such matters; and we can only translate *aṭha-bhâgiye* as 'possessor or enjoyer of the eight things' without being in position to explain definitely what the eight things are that the grantor had in his mind.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Angarika Dharmapala, Founder and General Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society, writes to us that the Mûlagandhakuṭî Vihâra at Sârnâth, near Benares, is at last complete, except for the fresco work in the interior, which will be taken in hand as soon as possible, and an image of the Buddha in the preaching attitude, which is being made at the School of Art, Jaipur. He adds that, at the suggestion of the Archæological Department of the Government of India, the opening ceremony and the enshrinement of the sacred relic have been fixed to take place during the current month, and he invites Buddhists of all countries to participate.

7 According to some inscriptions, *aṣṭabhôga* comprises *nidhi*, *nikṣepa*, *jala*, *taru* (trees growing on the land), *pâṣâṇa*, *akṣiṇi*, *siddha* and *sâdhya*. Kittel in his dictionary gives the components of *aṣṭabhôga* as *nidhi*, *nikṣepa*, *akṣiṇi*, *âgâmi*, *saṃcita*, *jala*, *taru* and *pâṣâṇa*.

8 (Mysore edition, 1909, p. 240) *janapadaṃ mahântam alpa-pramânaṃ vâ deva-mâtṛkaṃ prabhûtadhânyaṃ dhânyasyâṃśaṃ tṛtîyaṃ caturthaṃ vâ yâceta yathâsâraṃ madhyam avaraṃ vâ durga-setukarmavaṇikpatha-śûnyaniveśa-khanidravya-hastivana-karmopakâriṇam* ||

9 *Arthaśâstra*, p. 59 ff., enumerates the different items which are comprised in each component of this group of eight and which yield income.

PLACE NAMES.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A.

(*Continued from page 197.*)

Many villages are named after the nature of the sites they occupy, for instance, Pahadiâ or Dungariâ (hillock), Pathariâ (stony land) Tharpakhnâ (firm rock), Ṭikuriâ (raised ground), etc. This source got much amplified when agriculture commenced and soils were classified. For instance, Kacchâr, Kanhârpur, Kâlîmâṭî, Lâlmâṭî, Chhuihâ, Chhuikhadân, Darrâbhâṭâ, Khudarḍanḍ, etc., are names of villages, all connoting the peculiar soil on which they were founded. Crops also contributed their quota, such as Dhânrâs, Dhanorâ and Dhanelâ from Dhân (paddy), Nibârî, Karahnî, Kakenî, Masurikhâr, Arasiâ, Kodwâ, Kudai, Gehûnrâs, Chaurai, Chanhiâ, Chanahṭâ, etc., taking their names from wheat, gram, and a number of other cereals and their varieties. Grasses and herbs have also helped a good deal in the choice of names, *e.g.*, Siliyarî, Ânkaḍih, Kenâḍânḍ, Sukalâkhâr, Kekatî, Purainâ, Ajvâinḍih, etc., are all derived from those sources.

It is somewhat curious to note that household furniture has also been placed under contribution in this connection. We have such villages as Karahiâ which means a frying pan, Mathânî (a churning stick), Kûnḍo (a broad-mouthed pot), Kaṭhotiâ (a wooden bowl), Ghinochî (water pot stand), Khaṭolâ or Khaṭolî (a cot), Tilâî (an earthen frying pan), Loḍhâ (a grinding pestle), Ḍolî (a hammock-like conveyance), Jhâñpî (a bamboo basket), Râhṭâ (spinning wheel), Bahunṭâ (armlet), Bichhiâ (anklets), Jhânjh (cymbals), Lonî (butter) and Dahîgâoṅ from *dahî*, curds. With the advancement of civilization and the respect shown to gods and goddesses, names like Râmpur, Râmnagar, Narâyanpur, Sûrajpurâ and Malhârpur cropped up. In due course temples were constructed, which became a distinguishing feature, and this is the reason why a very large number of villages are known as Deorî, Deorâ, Dewalwâḍâ, Devapur, etc., which simply connote a habitation with a temple. Below the gods stood kings, princes and prominent citizens, to whom honour was due. So a number of villages came to be named after their official or personal names, for instance, Râjâḍih, Râjâḍhâr, Râmḍerâ, Rânîsâgar, Rânîgâoṅ, Malkâpur, Lâlpur, etc. These are named after the official title Râjâ (king), Rânî or Malikâ (queen), and Lâl (prince). Karanpur, Adhârtâl, Burhânpur, Gosalapur, and Sleemanâbâd are examples of places having names of individual kings, queens and prominent citizens or officers from ancient to modern times. Karṇa was a king of the Kalachuri dynasty reigning in the eleventh century A.D. Adhâr was a Kayasth minister of the famous Gonḍ queen Durgâvatî, Burhân was a Musalmân saint, Gosalâ was a queen of a descendant of Karṇa, and Sleeman was a European officer appointed for the suppression of *ṭhagî* and dacoity in India.

There is another source peculiar to India from which villages have derived their names, *viz.*, the majority of the caste which inhabited it originally. The name has been preserved, although in some cases every member of that caste has disappeared from the locality. We have thus numerous Bamhnîs, or settlements of Brâhmaṇs ; Jugiâ, the settlement of Jogîs ; Guḍâno, the settlement of Goṇḍs ; Kachhgawẫ, of Kachhîs (vegetable growers) ; Tilagwẫ, of Telîs (oilmen) ; Barhaikheḍa, of Barhais or carpenters ; Lohârî, of Lohârs or blacksmiths ; Domjhar, of Doms or scavengers ; Ojhâgahan, of Ojhâs or Gonḍ priests ; Halbapali, of the Halba tribe ; Gânḍâḍîh, of Gânḍâs or village watchmen ; Mâliḍîh, of Mâlîs or gardeners ; and Gaitaguḍâ, of Gaitâs or aboriginal priests. The most interesting names, however, appear to be those which go by the reciprocal terms of relationship, for instance, Sâsbahu (mother-in-law and daughter-in-law), Mâmâbhâñjâ (maternal uncle and nephew), Bâpâpûtî (father and son), Jiṭhânî-deorânî (wives of elder and younger brothers), and so on.

Some villages bear opprobrious names, as Chorhâ or Chorgâoṅ, thief's village, and Ṭhagpâlî, a village of *ṭhags* or cheats. These were apparently imposed by others in consideration of the inhabitants' character, and superseded the original names which they may have borne when founded. The process of supersession is, however, whimsical. The village from

where I am writing is called Murwârâ, having been bestowed on the original proprietor as *Muḍwâr*, defined as a " death grant given to persons whose relatives were killed fighting for the State " (see Luard's *Baghelkhand Gazetteer*, page 65), in other words, for giving their *mûḍ* or heads for the purpose, but it has now been superseded by the simple Kaṭnî, which is the name of the river on which it is situated, while the quarter in which I live still retains the old name of Bhariâ Mahalla given to it, because it was inhabited mostly by the Bhariâ tribe, though every one of them was replaced by other people more than a quarter of a century ago.

Roughly speaking, these are all the notable sources from which village names are derived in India or Eastern countries. Now let us cast a glance on the Occident and examine whether there are prototypes of those in the Western countries.

According to Professor Blackie, the most obvious characteristic of any place is its shape and size, its relative situation, high or low, behind or in the front, its colour, the kind of rock or soil of which it is composed, the climate which it enjoys, the vegetation in which it abounds and the animals by which it is frequented. The only other features of natural scenery that play a noticeable part are the rivers, lakes, wells, and waterfalls. These are the features of unappropriated nature, stereotyped, as it were, once and for all in the old names of local scenery. ' But as into a landscape an artist will inoculate his sentiment and symbolize his fancy, so on the face of the earth men are found to stamp the trace of their habitation and their history.' We thus have names which commemorate events and give likewise the clue to great ethnological facts and movements of which written history preserves no trace. There is thus a good deal common to both (the East and the West) in giving place-names. By way of example the following actual names may be cited. Names like Kynloch meaning the town or the house at the head of the lake, Tobermory, the well of the Virgin Mary, and Inverness, the town on the confluence of the Ness, are of the same class as Doṅgartâl, the town on the mountain lake, Kârañjâ, the reservoir town, and Chikaldâ, the town on the marsh. Oakley (oak meadow), Wokingham or Oakingham (the dwelling among oaks), Ashby (ash tree dwelling), Leipzig (abounding in lime trees), Beddoe (the birches), and so on, take their names from trees, as they do so profusely in India. Animals do not seem to play a great part, yet there is Lockmaddy, which derives its name from madadh, a fox, Beaverloo from Beaver and Gulbin from a dove. A few others named after a dog, a wolf or a snake may be found here and there, but on the whole they are very rare. Brinkhorst (the edge of the thicket), Brynn-uchel (high hill), Kleinbuhil (little hill), Croydon (chalk hill), Woolwich, the ancient Hylvich (hill town), and a host of others indicate characteristics of shape and size and relative situation. Danby (Danes dwelling), Dantzic (Danish fort), and Ballinggown (town of the blacksmith) furnish ethnographic clues, while Famars (the temple of Mars), Fano (the temple of fortune), Franstadt (our Lady's town), Munster (the Monastery), Westminster (the monastery west of St. Paul's), Nagy-Malton (St. Matthew's great town), Leoncourt (the manor of Leo), Aubercourt (the manor of Albert), Furstenau (meadow of the prince), Gobenow (Count's town), Kenninghall (king's palace), etc., reveal their sanctity or the historical importance attached to them. But what we miss are names of crops, human relatives and onomatopæic names. One may find a Dinkelburg named after Dinkel, a kind of grain, but such instances are sporadic. The other two sources appear to be altogether absent.

In quoting the above examples, I have simply endeavoured to find Western prototypes of Indian village names. They show that the considerations which weighed with the first name-givers were common in almost all parts of the world. So the subject is well worthy of study everywhere.

So far as I remember, it was Sir Edward Gait who first drew attention to this matter in India in 1911, when he worked as Census Commissioner; but nobody seems to have responded to his call. A few geographical societies have, however, been started in some places. They might well include this fascinating study in their programme.

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROF. S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

(*Continued from p. 178.*)

Kedgerry, Kitchery.—Yule's earliest illustration is from the Travels of the Tangierene Ibn Baṭûṭa (*c.* 1340), but the word is also used by an Indian author, Shams-i Sirâj, in the contemporary History of Sulṭân Fîrûz Tughlaq. In the course of his account of the privations endured by the army during his retreat through the Rann of Cutch [Kachch], the writer says :

" By the great God," said Sulṭân Fîrûz, " of things which can be used as food, we possess nothing today except one ser of *khichri* [کهچری] which has been brought for [the young Prince] Fatḥ Khân from the house of Bashîrâ [i.e., Imâdu'l-mulk."]—*Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî*, *Bibl. Ind.*, text, 216, l. 11.

The word is used rarely now in the secondary sense of a ' mixture of pearls,' and only one example is given in *Hobson-Jobson*. But I can quote another from Manucci :

[*c.* 1700.] " The great ladies are well received upon their arrival; they also obtain costly *sarâpâs* (robes) and jewels. At the time when they say good-bye their hands are filled with *kicharî*, which is, in its literal meaning, a mixed dish made up of several kinds of vegetables. As to this it must be remarked that the *kicharî* of these queens and princes is not of that sort, but, on the contrary, a mixture of gold and silver coin, with all kinds of precious stones and pearls, large and small."—*Storia do Mogor*, trans. Irvine, II, 346.

Kidderpore.—The origins of the names of towns are not easy to determine with certainty. Sir Henry rejects the statement in Hunter's ' Imperial Gazetteer ' about this village having been named after General Kyd. It is possible that it was originally called Girdharpore, after some Hindu named Girdhar, just as the neighbouring ' Gobarnapore ' [*Recte* ' Govindpore '] preserves the memory of some one named Govind. But perhaps the true form is ' Gidarpore ' from *gîdar*, a jackal—the animals which enter the precincts of the villages near Calcutta, after dark, " startling the newcomer with their hideous yells." (*Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Jackal, p. 443).[4]

Killadar.—In illustration of this word, Yule has quoted from Ibn Baṭuṭa a passage in which the ' Kilitdâr ' (Pers. کلیددار), ' Keeper of the keys,' is mentioned. But ' Killadâr,' قلعدار ' commandant of a fort,' is an altogether different word, and the one has nothing to do with the other. The first is from Pers. *kalîd*, ' key ' ; the second from Arab. *qal'a*, ' fort.'

Kitmutgar.—The following is perhaps a much earlier use of the word than any cited by Yule.

[*c.* 1632.] " Att Brampore [Burhânpur] hee [*scil.* Prince Khusrû, the eldest son of Jahângîr] had a roome allowed him, a waterman, a porter and a maidservant or *Hismet-Keeare* to attend him and dress his meate."—*The Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, p. 105.

Sir Richard identifies the word with *ḥashmatgîr* which, he says, means ' female servant.' *Ḥashmat* does mean ' pomp,' ' retinue,' and *ḥashmatgîr* is not an impossible compound, but I cannot find it in Richardson's Dictionary, and I submit that *Hismet-Keeare* is a corrupt form of *khidmatgâr*. " ' Kismutgâr,' says Sir Henry Yule, ' is a vulgarism now perhaps

4 Yule properly rejected the view that the place was called after Kyd : and, it may be noted, this suggestion has been omitted from the later (1908) edition of the *I.G.* The place is not only marked on maps drawn before the days of the Kyds, but it is referred to in the Company's records of earlier date. Thomas Bowrey, on his map drawn in 1687, spells the name ' Kedarpoer,' from which it might be conjectured that it was called after a man named Kedâr : but these early spellings cannot be relied upon. As the name is generally pronounced ' Khidarpur ' in the vernacular, however, I suspect that the original name was Khizrpur (*vulgo* Khidarpur) ; and it is just possible that we have in the name a reference to the famous Saint of the Waters, Al Khizr, whose cult was so widespread in deltaic Bengal, at a site on the lower reaches of the old channel of the Ganges, just as there was a Khizrpur on the bank of the ancient course of the Brahmaputra, to the west of Sunârgâṅv.—C. E. A. W. O., JOINT-EDITOR.

obsolete.' The word is spelt by Hadley in his *Grammar* (see under *Moors*) 'Khuzmutgar' (p. 486). In Mundy's 'Hismetkeeare,' the Kh seems to have been miswritten or misread as an *h*.

Kuhâr.—This word is also used by early Muhammadan historians.

[*c.* 1358.] "The Sultan [Quṭbu'd-dîn Mubârak Khaljî] was so infatuated, and so strongly desired the presence of Khusrû Khân, that he sent relays of bearers with a litter to bring him with all haste from Deogir in the course of seven or eight days."—Baranî, in Elliot and Dowson, *H. of I.*, III, 220.

Here the word used in the text is *kahâr* (کهار), and the same vocable is again found at p. 86, l. 2, of that author's *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî*. (Text.) The word also occurs in the *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* of Shams-i-Sirâj, which was completed about 1400. (Text, p. 320, l. 9, and p. 325, last line.)

Kunkur, Conker.—This word occurs in the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, only it has not been recognized, even by the learned Blochmann, on account of a copyist's error. In the chapter on the Prices of Building Materials, Abûl-Fazl writes :

"*Chûnah*, or quick lime, 2 *d*[*âms*] per *man* ; it is mostly boiled out of *kangur*, a kind of solid earth resembling stone in hardness."—*Âîn-i-Akbarî*, trans. Blochmann, I, 223. The text has کنگر, but it is clear that the second stroke of the کن is due to a slip on the part of the transcriber—and the true reading must be کانکر, *kânkar*, i.e., the Hindî *kankar*. The word is even now spelt in Gujarâtî with the long *a*, e.g., *kânkrî*. Cf. also the place-name Kânkrâ Khârî near Surat. (Mundy, *Travels*, II, 33, note.)

Larin.—Yule's earliest illustration is of 1525. The following reference is several years older.

[*c.* 1516.] "In silver there is [in Ormuz] a long coin like a bean, also with Moorish letters on both sides, which is worth three vintens, more or less, which they call tangas, and this silver is very fine."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, I, 100.

Love bird.—The following description of this 'pretty little lorikeet' is from the pen of the Emperor Jahângîr.

"In these days, they brought a bird from the country of Zîrbâd which was coloured like a parrot, but had a smaller body. One of its peculiarities is that it lays hold with its feet of the branch or perch on which they may have placed it and then makes a somersault, and remains in this position at night and whispers to itself. When day comes, it seats itself on the top of the branch."—*Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî*, trans. Beveridge, I, 272.

Lungooty.—Yule's earliest quotation is from 'Abdu'r-razzâq (1442), but the scanty piece of cloth which appears to have been the only apparel of the masses of India in the middle ages is the subject of contemptuous allusion in the *India* of Albîrûnî.

[*c.* 1030.] "They [the Hindus] wear turbans for trousers. Those who want little dress are content to dress in a rag of two fingers' breadth, which they bind over their loins with two cords."—*Alberuni's India*, trans. Sachau, I, 180.

And an English 'voyager,' Thomas Stevens, wrote thus in 1579 :—

"They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, goe naked, saving an apron of a span long and as much in breadth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string, and no more ; and thus they thinke them as well as we do with all our trimming."—Hakluyt's *Voyages*, II, 585.

Madras.—In the three first quotations in Yule, which are dated 1653, 1665, and 1672, the town is called 'Madraspatan.' 'Maderas' appears for the first time in Fryer (1673). But there is an earlier example in the following :—

[1654.] "Baker after his arrival summoned Yardley, Edward Winter and Leigh to consult about the differences between Greenhill and two Bramonies, the one the Governor and Justice of this towne of *Madrass*, the other the cheefe for buying goods of all sorts in these parts for the Honourable Company."—*English Factories in India* (1651-54), p. 245. Sir William Foster says that "this early use of the shortened form" is worthy of note.

Madura.—There is a reference to this town in Mas'ûdî, which does not seem to have been recognised either by Yule or by other writers.

[c. 943.] "El-Ma'sûdi says we have related the history of the Kings of India ; . . . we have entered into details respecting the Maharâj, who is the King of the islands . . . and the history of the Kings of China, of the King of Serendib and of the country of *Mandûra* مندوری, which is opposite to the island, Serendib, as Komâr [Khmer] is opposite the islands of the Mahârâj . . Every King of the country of Mandûra has the title of El-Kâyadî, القایدی."—Trans. Sprenger, pp. 397-98. In Barbier de Meynard's text and translation (*Prairies*, I, 394-5), the name is read مندورافین, 'Mandourafin,' which is, I think, a miswriting of مندورافتن *Mandourâfatan*—i.e., Mandûrâipattan—(Sanskrit). The title of the kings (القایدی) also can be explained easily on the supposition of its being a copyist's error for الفاندی, 'Al Fândî,' i.e., 'Al-Pândî' (Pâṇḍya), as there is no sign for *p* in Arabic, and *p* is changed into *f*, as in 'Fârsî' for 'Pârsî,' etc.

Malum.—All the early examples of the use of this word quoted by Yule are from Portuguese writers. Here is an early use by an English traveller :—

[1613.] "Butt the next daie goinge aland with the Generall, I brought him a mallim or maister of a Guzuratts shipp."—*The Journal of John Jourdain*, ed. Foster, p. 311.

Maryacar.—[c. 1510.] "When the Moors saw our fleet arrive [at Cannanore] they sent an ambassador, who was named Mamal Maricar, who was the richest man in the country, and he came to demand peace."—*Travels of L. di Varthema*, trans. Badger, p. 282.

This is perhaps the earliest example of the occurrence in a European author of this "titular appellation of the Moplah Mahommedans on the S. W. Coast." 'Mamal' is most probably a slip for 'Mâmat,' i.e., Muḥammad.

Matranee.—The strange confusion between this word and *Bhathiyârin*, 'wife of an innkeeper,' of which Yule cites an example from Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs* (1785), is exemplified in a much earlier author, Peter Mundy.

[c. 1632.] "*Metrannes* or *Betearees* are certain women in all Saraes, that looke to the litle roomes there and dresse the Servants meate, accomodateinge them with cottes etts. needfull to bee had."—*The Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 121.

Moolvee.—Yule quotes no early use of the word. Here is one :—

[1636.] "The Sircale [Sar Khail] and the *Malliveece* two eminent persons in Court (and our utter enemyes)."—*English Factories in India* (1634-1636), ed. Foster, p. 325.

Moonshee.—(The earliest example quoted by Yule is of 1777.)

[1622.] "After viewing the present, they had brought, he questioned them about the stay of their goods at Ahmadâbâd, and finally caused his *Monsee* to write a parwana to Safi Khan to release them."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1622-23), p. 9.

Mosquito.—[c. 1516.] "When these Baneanes meet with a swarm of ants on the road they shrink back and seek for some way to pass without crushing them. And in their houses they sup by daylight, for neither by night nor day will they light a lamp, by reason of certain little flies [*Mosquitos* in the original Portuguese text] which perish in the flame thereof."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Dames, I, 112.

It will be seen that the word is here used in its original sense of little insects of all sorts and not in the narrower and modern one of a species of gnat.

Mussendom, Cape.—The learned authors seem to have been in doubt as to the correct transcription of this place-name and have said nothing about its derivation. The 'explanation' quoted by Mr. Crooke from Morier is one of those etymological conjectures of the eponymic type, which are only too common. The following statement, therefore, of a very old and very well-informed writer may be found interesting.

[c. 943.] "Then the mountains known under the name of Kosair, Owair . . and a third one the name of which is not known. Then ed-Dordûr which is called the terrible

Dordûr [دردور مصدم, *Durdûr-i-musaddam*] and by the sailors, the father of hell; ابوجهنم (ابو حشم); at these parts of the sea rise enormous black rocks high overhanging the water, neither plants nor animal can live on them, and under them the sea is very deep and stormy, hence everybody who sails there is filled with fear; they are between Omân and Sîrâf, and vessels cannot help sailing through the midst of them. There is a constant current of the water which makes it foam."—El Mas'ûdî's *Historical Encyclopædia*, trans. Sprenger, p. 268; see also *Prairies d'Or*, text and trans. by B. de Meynard, I, 240, who reads مسندم [Moçendam] and has 'tourbillon' instead of 'terrible.'

Mussoola.—Yule's earliest English example is of 1673.

[1654.] "The 'Mucwaes' [boatmen] received formerly three fanams for each '*Massoola* turne; now they are allowed but two."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1651-4), p. 264.

Mutlub.—Yule says:—

"Illiterate natives by a common form of corruption turn the word into *matbal.* In the Punjab, this occurs in printed books; and an adjective is formed, *matbali*, 'opinionated' and the like."

I am afraid these animadversions are founded in error and due to a misapprehension on the part of the writer. *Matbal* is an entirely different word, of Prâkritic origin, from the Hindî *mat* (Sanskrit, *mati*), 'opinion,' 'belief,' 'creed,' 'religion'—and *bala*, 'strength,' 'power.' 'Mutlub' (*maṯlab*) is a purely Arabic vocable from the root *ṯalab* (طلب).

Neelgye.—The proper Hindî name of this animal may be *rojh*, but *nîlgâo* [نیله گاو] occurs in Baranî's history, which was written about 1358 A.D.—*Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî*, text (541, l. 3, and 600, l. 5), as well as that by Shams-i-Sirâj. The latter describes the habits of the animal, and says that "the chase of deer, [آہو], *nil-gâos*, etc., was carried on principally in the neighbourhood of Badâûn and Anwâla."—Elliot and Dowson, *H. of I.*, III, 353; *Bibl. Ind.*, text, 321, l. 6.

The earliest reference by a European author that I can call to mind is in Barbosa, who speaks of them "as certain ash-coloured animals, like camels, so swift that no man can kill them."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. Dames, I, 199. This 'painted antelope' is described by Mundy also, who uses both names, 'Rose,' and 'Nilgaue.'—*The Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. C. Temple, II, 182, 230, 307.

Navait, Naitea, etc.—Below will be found a reference to these people by an English writer, which is both earlier and less uncomplimentary than the one in Yule (1626).

[1608-11]. "A little lower on the right hand over the river [the Tâptî at Sûrat] is a little pleasant towne, Ranele, inhabited by a people called *Naites*, speaking another language, and for the most part sea-men."—Finch's Journal, in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, 135.

Nokar.—This is, as Yule says, a Mongol word introduced into Persia by the hosts of Chingîz, and his earliest quotation is from 'Abdu' r-razzâq, who wrote about 1445 A.D. But there is an older example in the *Ẕafarnâma* of Sharfu' d-dîn 'Alî Yazdî:—

[c. 1399.] "On the last day of Rabi'u'l-awwal [801 A.H.=1399 A.D.] he [Tîmûr] issued his orders and the servants of Mallû K͟hân and other inhabitants of that fortress [*Scil.* Loni, near Delhi] who were adorned by the ornaments of Islâm were separated from the rest, and the irreligious infidels were all put to death by the sword."—*Bibl. Ind.* edn., II, 87, l. 6.

Here the words for 'servants of Mallû Khân' are *naukarân-i-Mallû Khân.* نوکران ملوخان

The passage is translated in Elliot and Dowson, but the relevant phrase is there erroneously rendered as 'Servants of Nankar K͟hân,' on account probably of the word ملو (Mallû) having been inadvertently left out by the copyist of the manuscript used by Dowson. (*H. of I.*, III, 495.)

Nuncaties.—The derivation from 'K͟haṯâî,' of Cathay or China is correct. Chinese porcelain is called *Chînî K͟haṯâî* and اقمشہ ختائی occurs in the *Ṯabaqât-i-Akbarî.* Text, p. 290.

Recipes for making 'Nuncaties' are given in many Indian cookery books, but there is no special mention in any of them of Mr. Weir's *six* ingredients; and 'leaven produced from toddy' does not, so far as I know, enter into the composition of these cakes at all.

Organ.—Mr. Crooke's illustration is dated 1790. I give below a description of a mitrailleuse from Abul Fazl:—

[*c.* 1595.] "His Majesty [Akbar] has made several inventions [in guns], which have astonished the whole world. . . . . By another invention he joins seventeen guns in such a manner as to be able to fire them simultaneously with one match."—*Âîn-i-Akbarî*, trans. Blochmann, I, 112-3.

Badâonî also speaks of an 'Organ' [ارغون *arghûn*] and thus describes that 'wonder of creation':—

[*c.* 1595.] "At this time [988 A.H.=1580 A.C.] an organ which was one of the wonders of creation and which Hâjî Habîbullâ had brought from Europe, was exhibited to mankind. It was like a great box, the size of a man. A European sits inside it and plays the strings thereof and two others outside keep pulling their fingers on five peacock-wings [probably the bellows], and all sorts of sounds come forth."—*Muntakhâbu' t-tawârîkh*, trans. Lowe, II, 299. It will be seen that Badâonî's 'Arghûn' is not a mitrailleuse, but a real organ in the modern English sense of that word.

Pangarâ, Pangaia.—[1608.] "Further they tould us that in their *pengoas* or proas they had some quantitye of Indian commodities, wherewith they traded from place to place which they bought at Mombassa in barter of rice and other provision which they did usuallie carrie from Pemba thether and to other places on the coaste."—*Journal of John Jourdain*, ed. [Sir] W. Foster, p. 40.

Parsees.—Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain, Terry (1616), is the earliest English writer quoted by Yule. Here is an earlier reference:—

[1609.] "These two townes of Gandivee and Nassaria, especially Nassaria, [Navsâri, about eighteen miles south of Sûrat] doe make greate store of baftâs, being townes which stand in a very firtill and good countrie. In this towne there are manie of a strange kinde of religion called *Parsyes*."—*The Journal of John Jourdain*, ed. Foster, p. 128.

Patola.—This word is used by Baranî, who wrote about 1358 A.D.

[1295 A.C.] "And Sultan 'Alâu' d-dîn brought from Deogir such a large quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, pearls, rarities, and vessels, and silk and *patola* [پتوله] that much of it survives to this day in the Delhi treasury, although more than two generations have elapsed since."—Baranî, *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî*, text, 223, l. 7.

Paunchway.—This Bengal boat, the correct name of which is *pansûhî*, is actually mentioned by the historian Baranî in the fourteenth century.

[*c.* 1358.] "In their extreme inexperience and folly, they [the rebels under 'Ainu' l-mulk] crossed the Ganges at Bangarmau in *batalahs* [بتلہ in the original] and *sunâhî* [سناہی] and long boats [مرزابہ]."—*Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî*, *Bibl. Ind.* text, 490, l. 6.

Here it is permissible to suggest that سناہی is a mistranscription or copyist's error for پنساہی—پسناہی *pansâhî*, i.e., *pansûhî*.

Pergunnah.—This word appears to have been in general use as early at least as 1400 A.D., as it is found in the *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* of Shams-i-Sirâj 'Afîf:—

"Such was the prosperity that, throughout the Doâb . . . . not one village remained waste, even in name, nor one span of land uncultivated. In the Doâb, there were fifty-two *parganas* flourishing."—Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, 345.

[1608-11.] "The way followeth by Gamgra [Jampda]; Charsoot [Châtsu] (chiefe seat of Rajaw Manisengo his *prigonies*)."—William Finch, in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 170. Here 'prigonies'=*parganas*.

(*To be continued.*)

REMARKS ON THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

By the late Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.
Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from 1894 to 1903.

(*Continued from page 137.*)

12*th January.*—Left Kondul anchorage at 12 o'clock last night and arrived off Oalkolokwak on the west coast of Katchall at 6-30 a.m. Mr. Man landed to procure information about all the villages on this coast of the Island. Left Oalkolokwak at 10 a.m., and arrived off Puli Pilau on the north-west coast of Camorta at 1-15 p.m. The headman Keapshe came off in a canoe and gave all the information required about the villages at the north end of the Island. Captain Wilson, Captain Anderson, Lieutenant Campbell and myself landed at the village and walked about four miles to some open country in the south, in search of buffalo, which were said to abound in these parts. We saw several fresh marks of the animals, but not one buffalo itself. Did not get back to the ship till 8 p.m. There was a barquantine from Moulmein, lying at anchor off the coast near here.

13*th January.*—Left Puli Pilau anchorage at 3 a.m. and arrived off Chowra Island at 6-30 a.m. Left Chowra at 7 a.m. and arrived in Sawi Bay, Car Nicobar, at 1-30 p.m. Mr. Man, Captain Anderson and myself went ashore and walked to Mr. Solomon's house at Mus, to get the result of his Census work on this Island. Three sub-chiefs, Edwin, Sweet William and Chon, of Lapate village, were said to have obstructed his work and to have wilfully omitted 412 of their population in the enumeration. Chon was arrested and taken on board for conveyance to Port Blair as a punishment, the other two had absconded into the jungle, no doubt to avoid arrest. There were two sailing ships from Burma lying in the Bay.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The Nicobar Islands lie in the Bay of Bengal between Sumatra and the Andaman Islands. Geographically, they are situated between the 6th and 10th parallels of north latitude, and between 92° 40′ and 94° of east longitude. The extreme southern point is 91 geographical miles from Pulo Brasse off Achin Head in Sumatra, and the extreme northern point 75 miles from the Little Andaman. They consist of twelve inhabited and seven uninhabited islands running in a rough line from Sumatra to the Andamans. The extreme length of the sea-space occupied by the Nicobars is 163 miles, and the extreme width is 36 miles.

The geographical names of the Nicobars are nearly all foreign, and are not used by the inhabitants. They are as follow from north to south, the islands having an aggregate area of about 635 square miles. The islands starred are not inhabited :—

Geographical Name.	Native Name.	Area in square miles.
Car Nicobar ..	Pu ..	49·02
*Batti Malv ..	Et ..	0·80
Chowra ..	Tatat ..	2·80
*Tillanchong ..	Laok ..	6·50
Teressa ..	Taihlong ..	34·00
Bompoka ..	Poahat ..	3·80
Camorta ..	Nankauri ..	57·91
Trinkat ..	Laful ..	6·40
Nancowry ..	Nankauri ..	19·32
Katchall ..	Tehnyu ..	61·70
*Meroe ..	Miroe ..	0·20
*Trak ..	Fuya ..	0·10
*Treis ..	Taan ..	0·10
*Menchal ..	Menchal ..	0·50
Little Nicobar ..	Ong ..	57·50
Pulo Milo ..	Miloh ..	0·40

Great Nicobar	.. ..	Loöng	333·20
Kondul	.. ..	Lamongshe	0·50
*Cabra	.. ..	Konwana	0·20

The Southern Group of islands are known to the Malays as Sambilong or the Nine Islands.

I have not been able to trace the modern geographical names of these islands to their sources, except in a few cases, and the old maps do not help much. Nicobar turns up as a general name for the islands in maps of 1560, 1688, and 1710, but this name is separately traced out. Nicobar, and corruption Nicular means, however, on the maps the Great Nicobar (1595, 1642, 1710, 1720, 1764). It did so to Dampier in 1688.

Car Nicobar has a variety of names ; some through misprints—

Carecusaya	1560 for Carenicaya ?
Caremcubar	1595 for Carenicubar.
Carenicubar	1642.
Cara Nicobar	1710.
Cornalcabar	1720 for Cornaccabar ?
Curnicubar, Carnicular and Carnioubas. }	1720 all for Carnicubar.
Carnicobar	1764, 1785.

Chowra appears as Jara, 1764, 1785, and all the other names for it are corruptions of *sombrero*, from the remarkable umbrella-shaped hill to the south of it—

Dosombr	1595 for Dos Sombros ?
Sombrero	1642, 1710, 1720.
Dos Sombreros	1686.
Sombrera	1720.

Hence the existing (Canal de Sombreiro) Sombrero Channel in these islands.

Teressa was always distinguished and shows its origin in the village of Tras, with which, no doubt, trading was done.

Rasa	1595, 1642.
Raya	1686 for Raza.
Rasa	1710.
Possa, Raza, and de Richo	1720 all for Rasa.
I. Roses	1764 for Rasa.
Terache	1764, 1785.

Bompoka appears as Pemboc, 1764, and Perboc, 1785 (misprint for Pemboc).

Camorta was called the Isle of Palms. Thus, Das Palmeiras, 1642 ; Des Palmas, 1720. But later by its native name Nicavari (=Nancowry) 1764, 1785.

Tillanchong is Talichan, 1764, 1785.

Trinkat is Sequinte in 1710.

Nancowry is Souri in 1764, 1785 (and in all reports up to 1800 and some time after).

Katchall is de Achens in 1710.

And Great Nicobar is Seneda for some reason in 1710.

There is considerable variety in the appearance of the several islands of the Nicobar groups. Thus, from north to south, Car Nicobar is a flat coral-covered island ; Chowra is also flat, with one remarkable table-hill at the south end (343 feet) ; Teressa is a curved line of hills rising to 897 feet, and Bompoka is one hill (634 feet) said by some to be volcanic ; Tillanchong is a long, narrow hill (1,058 feet) ; Camorta and Nancowry are both hilly (up to 735 feet) ; Trinkat is quite flat ; Katchall is hilly (835 feet), but belongs to the Great and Little Nicobars in general form, differing much from the others of the Central Group ; the Great and Little Nicobars are both mountainous, the peaks rising to 1,428 feet in the Little, and to

2,105 feet in the Great Nicobar. Car Nicobar is thoroughly tropical in appearance, showing a continuous fringe of cocoanuts, but a high green grass is interspersed with forest growth on Chowra, Teressa, Bompoka, Camorta, and Nancowry, giving them from a distance a park-like and, in places, an English look. It is also found on Car Nicobar in the interior. Katchall, Great and Little Nicobar have from the sea something of the appearance of Sardinia from the Straits of Bonifacio, and are covered with a tall, dense jungle. Rocky, though heavily wooded, Tillanchong is entirely unlike the rest.

The more prominent hills with names are on Great Nicobar, Mount Thuillier (2,105); on Little Nicobar, Mount Deoban (1,428), Princess Peak (1,353), Empress Peak (1,420); on Camorta, Mount Edgecumbe (251) near to and south of Dring Harbour, west coast of Camorta, so called from the likeness to the scenery of Plymouth. The scenery is often fine and, in some places, of exceeding beauty, as in Galatea and Alexandra Rivers and in Nancowry Harbour.

There is one magnificent land-locked harbour formed by the islands of Camorta, Nancowry, and Trinkat, called Nancowry Harbour, and a small one between Pulo Milo and Little Nicobar. There are good anchorages off east, south and west of Kondul, in some seasons in Sawi Bay in Car Nicobar, East Bay in Katchall and in Castle Bay in Tillanchong: but the overgrown coral interferes with the usefulness of the otherwise large and land-locked Expedition Harbour, west coast of Camorta, Dring Harbour, west coast of the same island, Campbell Bay and Ganges Harbour east and north respectively of Great Nicobar, and Beresford Channel between Trinkat and Camorta. Galatea Bay and Laful Bay, south and east of Great Nicobar, are too open to be much better than roads, and the other usual points of anchorage are merely open roadsteads. The coasts are coral-bound and dangerous, but there are many points at which small craft could find convenient shelter.

The other usual anchorages are off Car Nicobar, Mus, north-east, and Kemios, south: off Chowra, Hiwah, east: off Teressa, Bengala, Kerawa, Kolarue, all west, Hinam, east: off Bompoka, Poahat, east: off Katchall, west, good for small boats: between Menchal and Little Nicobar, west; inside Megapod Island, Great Nicobar, east,—good for small boats: Tillanchong, Novara Bay.

The Nicobars generally are badly off for fresh surface water: on Car Nicobar there is hardly any, though water is easily obtained by digging. The only island with rivers is Great Nicobar, on which are considerable and beautiful streams: Galatea (Dak Kea), Alexandra (Dak Anaing) and Dagmar (Dak Tayal).

The whole of the Nicobars and outlying islands were surveyed topographically by the Indian Survey Department under Colonel G. Strahan in 1886-87, and a number of maps on the scale of 2 miles to the inch were produced, giving an accurate coast line. The longitude of the (former), Camorta Observatory in Nancowry Harbour, has been fixed at 93° 31′ 55·05″ east. The marine surveys of these islands date back to the days of Ritchie (1771) and Kyd (1790), and are still meagre and not satisfactory. The chart in use is that of the Austrian frigate *Novara* (1858) combined with the Danish Chart of 1846, with corrections up to 1889. There is also a large scale chart of Nancowry Harbour, which is that of Kyd in 1790 with additions up to 1869. There are beacons for running in at Mus and Sawi Bay in Car Nicobar, at Bengala in Teressa, and (now doubtful) buoys in the eastern entrance to Nancowry Harbour. A voyage round these coral-bound and sparsely-sounded coasts is one to be made with caution. The Eastern Extension Company's cable from Madras to Penang lies between the Central Group and Car Nicobar, the whole line across the Andaman Sea being, of course, charted.

III. GEOLOGY.

Considerable attention has been paid to the geology of the Nicobars, two properly qualified expeditions having been undertaken thither in the Danish corvette *Galathea* in 1846, and in the Austrian frigate *Novara* in 1858. Both expeditions have made elaborate reports.

It will be sufficient here to note that Dr. Rink of the *Galathea* expedition notices that, though the Islands form part of a submarine chain known for its volcanic activity, he found

no trace of true volcanic rocks, but features were not wanting to indicate considerable upheavals in the most recent periods. The connection of the Islands with the principal chain is exhibited in the strike of the oldest deposits, from south-south-east to north-north-west, *i.e.*, coincident with the line between Sumatra and the Little Andaman. The hilly islands consist partly of these stratified deposits, which occupied the level bottom of the sea before their appearance, and partly of plutonic rocks which pierced the former and came to the surface through the old upheaval. The age of the stratified rocks generally indicates that of the islands, which Dr. Rink takes to be tertiary. The undulating hilly land of the islands he considers to be due to an old alluvium upheaved by a movement subsequent to that which caused the principal upheaval of the islands. In addition to this there is a distinct new alluvium on the flat lands due to the disintegration of coral reefs, which still surround the islands as a circular flat.

Von Hochstetter, of the *Novara* expedition, classifies the most important formations, thus :—eruptive, serpentine and gabbro ; marine deposits,—probably later tertiary,—consisting of sandstones, slates, clay, marls and plastic clay, recent corals. He connects the whole group geologically with the great islands of the Asiatic Archipelago further south.

From Dr. von Hochstetter's observations the following instructive table has been drawn up as to the relation of geological formations to soil and vegetation and showing how the formations have affected the appearance of the islands :—

Geological character of the underlying rock.	Character of the soil.	Character of the forest vegetation.
1. Salt and brackish swamp, damp marine alluvium.	Uncultivable swamp	Mangrove.
2. Coral conglomerate and sand, dry marine alluvium.	Fertile calcareous soil, carbonate and phosphate of lime.	Cocoanut.
3. As above, with dry fresh-water alluvium.	Fertile calcareous sandy soil ..	Large trees.
4. Fresh-water swamp and damp alluvium.	Cultivable swamp	Pandanus.
5. Plastic and magnesian clay, marls ; partially serpentine.	Unfertile clay; silicates of alumina and magnesia.	Grassy, open land.
6. Sandstone, slate, gabbro, dry river alluvium.	Very fertile ; loose clay and sand, rich in alkalis and lime.	Jungle ; true primeval forest.

Mr. E. H. Man made a valuable report on 4th August 1880 on the islands and their soil, the following extract from which is valuable by way of contrast to the two statements above given :—

Car Nicobar.—Soil rich, but the island being fairly well populated, difficulty with the natives would probably arise if a foreign settlement were established.

Chowra.—Island small and, comparatively speaking, densely populated : is therefore not adapted for occupation by strangers.

Tillangchong.—Is uninhabited owing, apparently, to its isolated position. Contains a quantity of cocoanut and other fruit trees without an owner. Is described as "Covered with thick primeval forest which thrives well."

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

SOUTH INDIAN PORTRAITS IN STONE AND METAL, by T. G. ARAVAMUTHAM, M.A., B.L. 7¼ × 4¾ in.; pp. xv+96; with 42 illustrations inset. Luzac & Co., London, 1930.

PORTRAIT SCULPTURE IN SOUTH INDIA, by the same author. 9¾ × 6 in.; pp. 16+100; with plates presenting 34 figures. The India Society, London, 1931.

These two volumes are complementary; in fact the first contains the later chapters of the author's work as originally prepared, the earlier chapters being printed in the second volume, which has been issued by the India Society as one of their annual publications. In this latter work, after a brief survey of portrait sculpture in India generally, either established or conjectured, Mr. Aravamutham reviews in some detail the principal examples of portraiture in stone or metal that he has been able to find in various localities in S. India. These he classifies on a chronological basis, as (1) Early, from the age of the Amarâvatî *stûpa* to the end of the Pallava sway; (2) Medieval, from the rise of the Cholas to the end of the fourteenth century; and (3) Modern, from the fifteenth century onwards. Chapters are then devoted to the portraiture of Saints and Preceptors; Material, Method and Motif; and Memorial Stones, generally known as *virakals*, or 'hero-stones,' in S. India. The illustrations, which furnish selected examples of the sculptures, both in stone and metal, referred to in the text, have been excellently reproduced by Messrs. Henry Stone & Co. The first, or smaller, volume deals with the same subject under a somewhat different arrangement, the matter contained in several chapters of the larger volume being condensed or briefly summarised in chapters I and V, and the sculptures discussed under their several types, *e.g.*, those intended for purposes of worship, memorial stones, memorial temples and statues to ancestors.

The author does not fail to note cases of doubtful identification; and he states impartially the arguments for holding others to be reasonably accurate likenesses, or "portrait statues," a term for which Dr. Coomaraswamy would prefer to substitute "effigies." As regards the origins of such sculptures and the motifs that inspired their preparation—subjects that open a vast field for further inquiry—he holds an open mind. Almost all, as he admits, may be said to be religious in one sense or another.

Mr. Aravamutham has rendered a very useful service to the study of Indian art in collecting together so many examples of sculpture of this nature, some of which are here shown for the first time. The discernment and culture of mind displayed in these two volumes, combined with an ease of diction, enhance the pleasure of following Mr. Aravamutham in his survey of this branch of art.

C. E. A. W. O.

DJAWA: the publication of the Java Institute. 10th Year, Parts 1 to 3, Jan.-May 1930.

The first two parts contain a report of the proceedings of the 5th Congress of the Java Institute held at Soerakarta in December 1929, when discussions were held on the advanced teaching of Eastern literature, a lecture given on the Land and People of Bali, an exhibition held of Javanese gold and silver work, both ancient and modern, and a representation given of a Javanese play, *Anoeman Doeta*. Part 3 contains a memorandum of the Department of Education and Cultus on the foundation and organization of a Faculty of Letters in the Dutch East Indies.

M. J. B.

HISTOIRE DE L'EXTRÊME ORIENT, par RENÉ GROUSSET. 2 vols., 10 × 6½ in.; pp. xviii + 770; with 32 plates and 7 maps. Annales du Musée Guimet; Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1929.

Central Asia and India both lie midway between the Near East and the Far East; both have played an important part in diffusing the civilizing influences of art, religion, philosophy and commerce. Central Asia provided a highway to China for western as well as Indian trade, while the restless spirit of its races drove hordes of warlike tribes west and south and east, that changed the fate of empires. From the third to the tenth century of the Christian era it might be called a Buddhist land, where thousands of monks translated Buddhist texts into Eastern Iranian, Tokharian, Chinese, etc., sending out missionaries equipped with knowledge of the languages required, to spread the *dharma* farther afield. It is the history of these lands traversed by the expansion of Buddhism that M. Grousset gives us in a skilful synopsis of their ethnology, religion, languages, literature, art and architecture. In these two volumes the author has not only remodelled and revised his previous work, *l'Histoire de l'Asie*, but has presented it in a completely new form. India, Central Asia, China, Champa, Annam, Tonquin, Cambodia, Siam and Burma, all pass under review. In his preface he explains that Japan has been omitted because it will be more suitably dealt with in a future volume of the series owing to its peculiarly insular character. The volumes are well documented with notes and references, a bibliography and index, besides many appropriate illustrations and seven useful maps.

M. Grousset begins with India, referring to the Muṇḍâs with their Austronesian affinities of speech, linguistically associated with the Mon-Khmer, Annamite and some Malayan dialects. He touches on the early domination of the Dravidian race, whose languages are peculiar to the Indian peninsula, and whose influence in art and religion as well as language is being recognized as raising many questions of their importance

in cultural development. He briefly sketches the story, from the fifth century B.C., of internal strife and successive invasions from the north and north-west; how great kingdoms rose and fell in the central, eastern and southern parts of the peninsula, while Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians (Śakas), and Yue-chi Kuṣânas in succession overran the Panjâb and NW. India as far as Mahârâṣṭra. Through all these changes in temporal power Indian ideals continued to penetrate beyond her borders spread by the indefatigable zeal of the missionaries of that "great international religion of India"—Buddhism—through the success of which Indian merchants became pioneers of commerce and civilization. They spread north across the mountain passes into Central Asia and on to the Far East, and south and south-east they travelled to Ceylon, the islands of the Eastern Archipelago and parts of the adjoining mainland. The history of these latter areas begins for us with their indianization. The very names 'Further India,' 'Indonesia,' not to mention numberless place names, form a record of this influence. In Burma, Siam, Indo-China, the great islands of Sumatra and Java and little Bali we find the deep impress of Buddhism as well as of Hinduism in the religion, literature and arts of the people. Here, again, Islâm followed in the wake of the Arab traders, and supplanted these influences in some of the coastal regions. The influence of the two great countries that have given it its name swept through Indo-China, that of China being strongest in Annam and Tonquin, where the earliest invaders were Chinese tribesmen.

Perhaps the most striking effect of a condensed survey such as M. Grousset gives, is to make us realize how restless movements of race and tribe, invasion from without and strife within were almost continuous throughout Asia. We see how repercussions of events in China and Mongolia were felt as far away as India, and even in Europe. China, which seemed at one time to have stood apart from the convulsions of Asia, had, like India, few if any peaceful centuries. Her northern and western borders were exposed to constant inroads from the turbulent nomads of Central Asia and Mongolia, and later from Tibetans and Manchurians. Chinese imperialism began when the great warrior ruler of the Ts'in subdued the feudal chiefs and proclaimed himself emperor in 221 B.C. It was he who carried out systematically the building of the Great Wall, parts of which had already been raised, as a protection against the Huns and other Turco-Mongol tribes. From this dynastic name, according to M. Pelliot, may have originated the name China. During the long period of the Han dynasty the Turco-Mongols were fairly quiet, but their successors, the Tsin, after two of their emperors had been murdered in their pillaged capitals, moved south and, crossing the Yang-tse, made the present Nanking their capital. After 304 A.D. the north remained in the hands of the 'barbarians,' and played the greater part in China's history. The settled agricultural and social life of the Chinese, however, had the power of attracting and absorbing the warlike nomads who so often overran their country. "China," it has been said, "is a sea that salts all the rivers that flow into it"; and so it was that China conquered its conquerors. Even the great Khâqân of the Mongols, Qubilai, who ruled the whole of China as well as Central Asia, and the Manchus, in their turn, preserved continuity by leaving the Chinese family economic system intact and adopting much of their administrative system. China's stronghold lay in its class of literati, who formed a bureaucracy educated in the social and ethical discipline of Confucianism that permeated the masses. Confucius, their great teacher, had built out of his people's ancient wisdom a constitution based upon the ideal of family life in different grades of development, using an agrarian cultus for a race whose genius for agricultural colonization still persists, as shown in Mongolia during the current century. With the 'barbarian' rulers came foreign influences in art and religion, and, though singular liberality was shown towards other teachings, Buddhism was specially favoured. Tradition places the official advent of Buddhism into China in 64 A.D. Buddhism in no way superseded Confucianism, which was not openly antagonistic to it, until the increase of monasteries and monks became a menace to family and social life, whereas in Taoism it had an opponent from the first. The influence of Buddhism increased under the domination of the 'barbarians.' It was a Tartar king ruling in Shansi who, early in the fourth century, first permitted his Chinese subjects to enter monasteries; and it was the To-pa, who took the dynastic title of Wei, that made it the state religion in the middle of the fifth century.

M. Grousset devotes a liberal share of space to the development of the arts. He points to the Wei period as one of those rare epochs that are signalized by the development of a great religious art. His appreciation of China's original artistic genius and of the foreign influences that she absorbed helps us to realize the extent to which the history of a people finds expression in its art. We see the storm and stress of conflict in China's early bronzes, while the philosophic teaching of the peaceful message of Buddhism produced the serene Buddhas and pitying Bodhisatvas of the cave groups.

M. F. H.

NOTES ON INDIAN MAUNDS.

BY W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.

(*Continued from page 203.*)

V. Agra Maunds.

There is definite evidence that maunds, somewhat larger than that of Delhi, prevailed in what may be called the Agra country, though 'Bayâna country' would be a more precise name, for up to the end of the fifteenth century Agra was a place of no particular importance, and Bayâna was the administrative centre of the region. Such a difference is no matter for surprise. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Bayâna was ordinarily cut off from Delhi by the turbulent and unadministered region of Mewâṭ, while the route along the left bank of the Jumna was apt to be interrupted by the not less turbulent Thâkurs who held much of what is now the Muttra district, so that a traveller from Delhi to Bayâna might on occasion find it best to pass through Kanauj. Thus Bayâna must have lain in a commercial region quite distinct from that of Delhi, the ordinary trade relations of which were with the East and the West rather than the South.

The most important passage regarding Agra is that in the *Âin-i Akbarî* (ii, 60), which has already been quoted in part as authority for the Akbarî maund. The relevant portion may be rendered literally as follows :—

"Weights of other craftsmen [*i.e.*, other than jewellers and bankers, whose scales have just been given]. Formerly in Hindustan the ser was of the weight sometimes of 18 *dâm* and sometimes of 22 *dâm*. From the beginning of the present reign it ran at 28 *dâm*; and today at 30 *dâm*. The maund is made up of 40 sers."

Hindustan at this period might mean any part of northern India, but it is reasonable to take the reference to the country round Agra, where Akbar's capital was situated, and which would naturally be referred to by the official compilers of the work quoted.[15] With the *dâm* of 323·5 gr., we have the following maunds :—

		lb. gr.
Some time before Akbar's accession,	(1)	33·1920
and	(2)	40·4680
At Akbar's accession	(3)	51·5320
By 1595	(4)	55·3200

The fact that two units had been replaced by one suggests that we have here an early case of official standardisation; and, having regard to the character of the rulers of Agra before Akbar, the choice of the possible standardiser lies between Sikandar Lodî and Sher Shâh. The latter was the introducer of the large copper coin which later received the name of *dâm*, and it is improbable that he should have fixed the ser at such an unusual and inconvenient multiple as 28 *dâm*. Sikandar was interested in units, for we know from the *Âin-i Akbarî* (i, 296) that he altered the *gaz* or yard, and consequently the unit of land-measurement, though this fact is not recorded in the extant chronicles of his reign; consequently, the silence of these chronicles is no objection to the view that he may have altered the ser also. The *dâm* did not exist in his time: the ordinary coin was the *Bahlolî*, which from the data given by Thomas was somewhere near 144 gr. A ser of 28 *dâm* contains 9058 gr.; a ser of 64 *Bahlolî*—a very natural multiple in India—would contain 9116 gr., if the *Bahlolî* was just 144 gr.; or to get precise identity, the *Bahlolî* would be nearly 142 gr.

My conjectural explanation of the facts on record is that when Sikandar transferred his capital to Agra in the year 1502, the existing diversity of the units prevailing there was found to be inconvenient, and he standardised the ser at 64 *Bahlolî*, a figure which in fact gave a unit already known in India. The compiler of the *Âin-i Akbarî*, stating the facts in

[15] Doctor Pran Nath has shown in his *Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India* (London, 1929), pp. 71-78, that units corresponding to 18, 22, and 28 dâm are recorded in Sanskrit literature, but the region in which they prevailed is not precisely indicated.

terms of the coin current in his time, gave this ser as 28 *dâm*, the nearest whole number, and possibly the exact equivalent. Under Akbar, when the *Bahlolî* had given way to the *dâm*, the figure 28 was thought to be unsuitable, and he ordered it to be raised to 30, the nearest round and suitable multiple. This, however, is not proved: the facts we possess are that the customary maunds in this region were in round figures 33 and 40 lb.; and that they were replaced by a maund of 52 lb., which under Akbar was raised to 55 lb.

That the customary maunds in Central India were in fact somewhat larger than those of Delhi and of the Deccan may be inferred from the records preserved in *Useful Tables* (i, 80 ff.), which show customary maunds of 40½ lb. in Indore, Rutlam, and Mâlwa generally, 34¼ lb. in Mandasor, 33⅓ lb. in Ujjain; these figures agree closely with those calculated from the *Âîn-i Akbarî*; and there is no doubt that Mâlwa was ordinarily in commercial relations with Bayâna as well as with Gujarât. It will be noted that the smaller Agra unit was identical with the Gujarât commercial maund, the range of which can thus be extended northward to the neighbourhood of the Jumna.

Turning to the literature of the period, I have found no illustrative passages for the Lodî dynasty; but a notice (*Elliot's History*, iv, 529) of Alî Khawâs Khân, one of Sher Shâh's distinguished officers, speaks of his allowing 2 sers of corn daily to the religious mendicants whom he maintained in large numbers. If this is the 40 lb. maund, the allowance works out at just 2 lb.; if it is the 52 lb. maund, the allowance is about 2½ lb. The former would be a little low, and even the latter would scarcely justify the unkindly phrase 'obese vermin' used of the recipients by Sir Henry Elliot in his discussion of the passage. The reference is more probably to one of these Agra maunds than to the Delhi unit, which would give less than 1½ lb., a very meagre ration.

The Emperor Bâbur recorded[16] the scale of weights used by 'the people of Hind,' but he did not mention the locality where he learned this scale, and he had been in various parts of Hind when he wrote. Both the lower and the upper portions of the scale given by him are familiar: the *tola* contained 96 *rattî*; the unit called by him *mânbân*, which is rendered *man* in the Persian version and is obviously the maund, contained 40 sers; and 20 maunds made a *mânî*. According to the text, 14 *tolas* made a ser; and this would give a maund of about 15 lb., taking the *tola* as 186 gr. This maund is much smaller than those which have so far come under review; and the question naturally presents itself whether the figure 14—a very unusual multiple—is correct. It recurs in the Persian version, and I can hear of no variations in the MSS.; there may be a mistake somewhere, but there are no grounds for proposing an emendation, and we must admit this as a maund existing somewhere in northern India—where, we cannot say, but known in the Mogul Palace.

Gulbadan Begam,[17] writing many years after the event, told (p. 12) a story of one of Bâbur's jokes, which incidentally contains a very puzzling equation. Presents were about to be given, and one man was informed, to his great disgust, that he was to receive only a single gold coin. A special coin had been prepared for the purpose, which was hung round the recipient's neck after he had been blind-folded; and we are told that "he was quite helpless with surprise at its weight, and delighted and very very happy," so that the coin must have been altogether out of the common run. The Begam described it as weighing 3 *bâdshâhî* (*i.e.*, royal) sers, making 15 sers of Hind; and the problem is to know what she meant by a royal ser. Writing, as she did, late in Akbar's reign, it is natural to suppose that she meant the Akbarî ser of 30 *dâm*: in that case the coin would have weighed a little over 4 lb., and the maund 'of Hind' would be just 11 lb., a unit not recorded elsewhere. Professor Hodivala proposed[18] to read 11 for 15 sers in this passage; accepting this correction, the maund of

[16] *Bâburnâma.* Tr. A. S. Beveridge. London, 1921; p. 517.

[17] Gulbadan Begam. *History of Humâyûn.* Text with translation by A. S. Beveridge. London, 1902.

[18] *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics.* Calcutta, 1923; p. 62.

Hind would be nearly 15 lb., or that which has been calculated from the scale given by Bâbur. The suggestion is thus attractive; and the difference in Persian script between 11 (*yâzdah*) and 15 (*pânzdah*) is very slight. There is, however, no MS. authority for the emendation. The only MS. known to me is that in the British Museum (Or. 166) which was used by Mrs. Beveridge; and in it the word *pânzdah* is written with the utmost clearness, as I have found it in various other Mogul MSS., transcribers being obviously alive to the danger of confusion with *yâzdah*. It is certain that the writer of this MS. meant 15, not 11; and if we could be sure of Mrs. Beveridge's suggestion that this MS. is the Begam's autograph, the proposed emendation could not be accepted. If it is a copy, it is certainly a very early one, and on general principles we should not be too ready to depart from the MS., even if it gives a maund not elsewhere recorded.

In correspondence Professor Hodivala has suggested an alternative interpretation, that the royal ser in this passage may be the Kâbul ser of 500 *misqâls* spoken of in the *Bâburnâma* (p. 632). Taking the *misqâl* as before at 70 gr., this Kâbul ser is just 5 lb.; then the ser 'of Hind' would be just 1 lb., and we should have the Agra maund of practically 40 lb., surviving doubtless in the bâzâr after the official change to 52 lb., if the change had been made before Bâbur's arrival. This identification seems possible, for the Begam was a very old lady, and might still think of Kâbul as the Mogul capital, which it had been in her youth, and consequently of its ser as 'royal'; but definite evidence is wanting as to the exact force of the epithet *bâdshâhî*. On this suggestion, the gold coin was 15 lb. in weight, instead of 4 lb.; we may think the smaller coin would have sufficed for the joke, but we cannot summarily reject the larger one, for Bâbur did nothing by halves. Coins of enormous size were occasionally struck for special purposes; and Jahângîr mentions (*Memoirs*, i, 406) a coin weighing 500 ordinary *muhr*, which would be nearly a stone, and is comparable with the 15 lb. coin suggested above.

Another passage may be noticed here in connection with maunds of about 15 lb., though it takes us some distance from Agra. In the *Mirât-i Sikandarî*, which was written in Gujarât about the year 1611, Mahmûd Bigada is said to have eaten daily "one Gujarâtî maund, the ser of which weighed 15 *Bahlolîs*." Taking the *Bahlolî* at 144 gr., this gives a maund of a little over 12 lb.; but there is no reason to suppose that the *Bahlolî*, in the strict sense, was known, or current in Gujarât at the time this chronicle was written, and I think it is reasonable to take the word in a looser sense, as equivalent to *dâm* or *paisa*, which denote the commonest copper coin current at the time and place mentioned, so that all three words are best translated as 'coppers.'[19] We know from the commercial records that the usual 'copper' in Gujarât at this time was the *adhelâ*, a half-*dâm*, weighing nearly 162 gr.; this would give a maund of just under 14 lb. No local unit of this size is recorded in the commercial literature of the period, so, assuming the chronicler's accuracy, the 12 lb. or 14 lb. maund must be taken as non-commercial, whether it was a retailer's unit, or a special unit used in the royal household of Gujarât.

Returning to the vicinity of Agra, I may refer to the statement made in the notice of Abul Fazl in the *Maâsîr-ul Umrâ*, that that eminent literary man consumed daily 22 sers of food. In terms of the Akbarî maund this is over 30 lbs., which is incredible; but if the reference is to the 'maund of Hind' mentioned by Bâbur, the figure works out to about 8 lb., which is within the limits of possibility, and is, at any rate, little more than half of the ration attributed to Mahmûd Bigada. There are, too, some other passages regarding this period and locality which indicate the use of units other than Akbarî in particular departments of the Palace, certainly in the artillery and in the cellar, and possibly in some others.

[19] *Cf.* the statement in the *Âîn-i Akbarî* (i, 27) that the *dâm* was at first called *paisâ*, and also *Bahlolî*; the three names were thus in fact interchangeable in current language.

The *Âîn-i Akbarî*, when referring to the improvements effected by Akbar in the artillery, says (i, 124) that some guns were so large that the ball weighed 12 maunds. In most chapters of this work the maund is clearly the Akbarî; but at this period balls of 660 lb. are quite out of the question, and some other unit must be used here. My guess is that the foreign gunners who first organised Bâbur's artillery used the 2 lb. maund which prevailed to the north-west, and that it survived in the department, so that, after Akbar's improvements, the maximum weight of the ball was about 24 lb. It is true that the *Târîkh-i-Alfî*, referring to a period nearly 30 years earlier, says (*Elliot's History*, v, 175) that on one occasion guns were used " capable of discharging stones of fifty, forty, and twenty maunds "; but this must be taken as mere rhetoric, for Badâûnî, referring to the same occasion, has " five or seven maunds." Badâûnî's figures would mean that early in Akbar's reign the balls used were of 10 to 15 lb., and that as the result of his improvements this figure rose to nearly 25 lb., a reasonable and probable interpretation, which accords with the information collected by Irvine, in *The Army of the Indian Moghuls* (London, 1903). Irvine came to the conclusion (p. 116) that the most important development of the artillery occurred after Akbar's time, and showed that early in the eighteenth century the balls for the heavy guns ranged about 70 to 100 lb. The only passage quoted by him (p. 115) which is inconsistent with the suggestion I have made is one (translated in *Elliot's History*, v, 131) relating to Humâyûn's artillery. In 1540 the balls for the light guns weighed 500 *misqâl*, or about 5 lb.; but for the heavy guns the weight was 5,000 *misqâl*, which would be approximately 50 lb. The text of this passage is in some respects uncertain, as Irvine showed, and its authority is consequently dubious; but in any case it cannot be employed to justify the use of a maund much greater than 2 lb. in the artillery of Akbar's time.

The passages which suggest the use of other units in the cellar and elsewhere occur principally in the *Memoirs of Jahângîr*, which contain numerous references to weights, at first sight so puzzling that they require a section to themselves.

(To be continued.)

SCRAPS OF TIBETO-BURMAN FOLKLORE.

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(Continued from page 186.)

6. Winds.

" For some curious meteorological reason (p. 108) unknown to me, these winds become much stronger in the afternoon. Sometimes the whole morning will be absolutely calm and about 1-30 o'clock a breeze will set in, which by 3-30 or 4 o'clock will have developed into a hurricane. The winds have a tendency to die down after sunset, but sometimes continue far into the night. They are generally regarded as the most terrible and devastating steady winds known anywhere in the world. The cutting gales pierce every form of clothing, and remove the little layer of warm air which ordinarily surrounds the body, rendering frostbite a constant and a very real danger. It is to counteract this that the Tibetan preserves on his body the layer of dirt and grease which renders him so obnoxious, but which is really the finest natural clothing he could secure."

7. Cleanliness and Washing.

" Most Tibetans never touch their bodies with water (p. 157) during the whole course of their lives, and become practically encased in a layer of fat and dirt, which serves the usual function of keeping out the cold. In this connection it may be added that from the time I entered Tibet until I entered Lhasa I found it impossible to wash even my hands or my face. Tibetans find the layer of dirt by no means objectionable, and are even proud of it. They believe that such a layer not only keeps the cold out, but also keeps the luck in, and in many parts of the country a young man wants to be sure that his bride-elect has not

washed this luck-covering away. Not infrequently the natural layer will be supplemented by smearing the body with butter or sheep's fat."

"The afternoon of this day (p. 283) was marked by a very important event, the taking of a bath [at Lhasa]. . . . . At last everything was ready, when, to my horror, I discovered that after all I did not want a bath! Cleanliness and dirtiness are largely a question of habit, and perhaps of climate. At first the steadily increasing layer of dirt had been a misery, but now, with the Tibetans, I had come to regard it as a secure protection."

8. Natural Hot-baths.

"On passing a village (p. 211) situated in the lower valley [of the Brahmaputra], near the water's edge, I saw a number of persons lying stark naked near the roadside. I thought they must be raving lunatics, or else corpses, to be thus exposed to the cold. But as we came nearer I discovered that they were ordinary Tibetan peasants lying in shallow pools of steaming water. The village in question, I learned, is famous for its natural hot springs. Great curative powers are ascribed to the waters, and the Tibetans sometimes overcome their disinclination to wash and will then soak themselves in the steaming water for hours."

"But in addition (p. 212) to the great importance attached to the healing properties of the hot springs, the Tibetan has an ulterior motive for bathing in the sulphurous waters. He is a verminous creature, and his Buddhistic beliefs preclude the hunting and slaughter of the insects which infest his body and clothing. The springs, then, provide him with a simple means of ridding himself of vermin without trespassing too far on his religious scruples."

9. Story of an Abbot.

"The *nemo*, or landlady [at Shigatse], came up to talk to us [pp. 188-189) and to tell us about the local scandal. She had a good deal to say about the local abbot, who was considered to be an 'incarnation of deity,' and the troubles which he was having. He had, of course, been chosen as the true incarnation and appointed abbot when he was still an infant, and during his minority the power had been exercised by one of the senior monks. Even when the young 'divine ruler' came of age, the regent was very unwilling to renounce his power, and a bitter enmity sprang up between the two as to who was to have the real control of the affairs of the monastery. The regent, as the older and craftier man, had proved successful, and in wrath the incarnate abbot had resigned his post and left the temple.

"I was very much interested to learn that an incarnate and re-incarnate abbot could resign his job, and asked our gossipy informant what had become of him. She answered that he had received an invitation from another monastery to become its head, and had ordained that hereafter he would be reborn as the abbot of the new temple, rather than as the ruler of the temple from which he had been ejected. This little incident was of great interest to me, as it threw fresh light on the way in which the Tibetans regard and regulate the institution of re-incarnated divine rulers."

10. Preaching.

"This, I found (p. 280), was the Lhasa pulpit [a curious sort of platform rather elaborately decorated], the only pulpit I ever saw in Tibet. Preaching plays no part in Tibetan religion. The peasants are quite willing to pay money to the priests to perform ceremonies for them. This propitiates the gods and demons: why, therefore, should one be forced to listen to sermons? The monks on the other hand see no reason why religious secrets should be delivered to the masses. . . . . . [this pulpit] is used only by the Dalai Lama, who once a year, in the character of high priest of his people, delivers a short discourse to the Lhasa community, which packs itself in the open space around. This annual sermon is a very quaint custom, and I was very anxious to learn something of its origin, but I found no one who could tell me."

11. Removal of Residence.

"To my surprise I found that he [Tsarong Shape, the Commander-in-Chief] was building a new city palace only a few hundred yards away from his present establishment. I

later found that the real reason for this was that he believes the present palace to be haunted by the old murdered Tsarong and his son, whose estates and women-folk the present man has inherited. Tsarong has had several children who died in infancy, and there is left to him only one sickly little boy. Medical science would account for this in another way, but even the modern and progressive Tsarong believes that these calamities are due to the ghosts of his predecessors, who are thirsting for revenge, and he believes that in a new building the shades of the dead will be powerless."

VII. FOOD AND TABUS.

1. Chickens.

"Chicken (p. 210) is supposed to be an unspeakably filthy food in Tibet, and custom forbids its use. Eggs, for some reason, are also placed on the taboo list, and many strict *lamas*, who consume huge quantities of mutton, refuse to eat eggs on the ground that the practice deprives future chickens of life."

In Burma cocks are kept for fighting, but hens are regarded with indifference, for their eggs are of no use, owing to the Buddhist prejudices against destroying life by eating them. See Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 84.

2. Milk.

"Strangely enough, notwithstanding the enormous number of yaks to be found in Tibet and the great amount of milk which they produce, the Tibetans themselves are very loath to drink it, or to use it in any way in cooking. Most Tibetans regard milk as filthy, as being a different form of urine, and when drunk it is regarded as a kind of medicine which must be taken, however unpleasant it may be, so that when we purchased our supply from the herdsman, we had to explain that one of us was ill and required it on medical grounds."

In Burma, and apparently in all far Eastern lands, milk is not an article of diet.

3. Butter.

"The repugnance (p. 127), which the Tibetans feel against milk, is more than counteracted by their fondness for butter. While, curiously enough, milk is regarded as filthy, butter is considered clean, and incredible quantities of butter are consumed every year. It is chiefly used in the preparation of tea."

4. Butter for Lamps.

"Quite apart from its food value, butter is largely used in other ways, one as a fuel for lamps. Nearly every one of the older religions reveals a fondness for having some light burning before its sacred images, and in Tibetan Buddhism this practice has been carried to extraordinary lengths. At all times the principal idols have two or three sacred lamps burning in front of them, and at festival periods such lamps set alight in a temple will be increased by hundreds and even thousands. It is a common form of piety to bestow a sum of money on a temple to have a special display of such lights. In all such cases the only fuel used is butter. The lamp itself is a wide, shallow bowl, the wick being a twisted cord made of wool placed in the middle of a lump of butter. The flame is a rich and creamy yellow, rather pretty, but it gives out little light, for which reason, and also because of the expense of the fuel, these butter lamps are chiefly used in religious buildings, and are but sparsely employed by laymen."

5. Butter for Decoration.

"As a decoration for the temple, or family shrine (p. 128), butter is also greatly in demand. The butter is moulded into various shapes, having some more or less geometrical form, and frequently having some bas-relief design representing an animal, or more frequently a flower. Although made entirely of butter, these *torma*, as they are called, are usually dyed in various different colours, reds and greens being the popular shades. Some of these *torma* are made only for a special occasion and then ceremoniously destroyed, but many

of the larger ones, on which a great deal of sculptural effort has been expended, are expected to last a year, and are solemnly replaced at some annual festival."

6. Tea.

" The corpse [of the pony] lay in the little stream (pp. 236, 237) which ran down from here to the village at the bottom of the valley. We later found the stream was the water-supply for this village; but the Tibetans are not at all fastidious in these matters, though they have a healthy dislike to drinking cold water, water being only drunk in the form of *chang* or tea, the preparation of which renders it more or less safe. It is curious to find how in many cases popular superstitions have as their basis a certain amount of truth. The Tibetans regard tea as a preventive of typhoid and other forms of fever. The truth is, of course, that in order to prepare the tea they have to boil the water, thereby killing the germs."

7. Buttered Tea.

" The tea is of a very coarse kind (p. 161). It is all imported, chiefly from China in the form of compressed bricks. As it is difficult to make leaves stick together, the tea is mixed with small quantities of yak-dung, which acts as a cement. A portion will be broken off a tea-brick and thrown into the water to boil. After it has bubbled for some time a huge mass of butter will be added, and at the same time a small quantity of soda and salt. This is thoroughly mixed, and then allowed to boil again for several minutes. Needless to say, the use of milk and sugar is unknown. Sometimes sheep's fat will take the place of butter. In any case the butter which is made from the yak's milk is invariably rancid. It is kept for months and even years before being used. As with us wine, so with the Tibetans butter is considered to be improved by age. This buttered tea is consumed in increasing quantities, and served as a food as well as drink."

Tea-bricks, though distinctly manufactured articles, have long been and are still [1892] used in precisely the same way as currency as is salt in many places, mulberries in Persia and sago in the Malay Archipelago, all about the borders of Burma. For numerous references as to the use of tea in bricks, see *Indian Antiquary*, XXVI, 285 f.

8. Cooking.

" The natives (p. 75) of this part of the world [Sikkim] have a prejudice against meat cooked in any way except by boiling. They believe that roasted or grilled meat impedes the breathing when climbing mountains. The same notion in regard to roasted meat obtains in Tibet, I found out later, the nomads in particular having a prejudice against meat cooked in any other way than boiling."

In Burma " there is a particular objection to the smell of cookery, and when anything is fried in oil or prepared so as to produce a strong savour, it is always done to the leeward of the house, and where the fumes may not reach any other dwelling. Such smells are believed to be very productive of fever." Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 70. In large towns, like Mandalay, the use of oil in cooking is a frequent source of violent quarrelling.

VIII. MEASUREMENTS.

1. Reckoning.

" The Tibetans are extraordinarily bad (p. 228) at arithmetic, and find it impossible to add even the simplest problem of arithmetic in their heads. Pen-and-paper calculations are also almost unknown, so that they are forced to count either on their fingers, with little stones, or with beads. This last is the most common way, and nearly every Tibetan is possessed of a rosary, which he sometimes uses for . . . . his prayers and sometimes for secular purposes to add up his accounts. In the larger cities use is also made of the abacus, which is so frequently employed in China. Even with this aid the Tibetans find calculation very hard work, and it took our friends nearly an hour, squatting in the courtyard and fingering their beads, before they arrived at the sum which I had done in my head in a very

few minutes. This slowness of wits the Tibetans share with the Mongolians, and in consequence both peoples were, in the old days of Chinese influence, frequently fleeced by the more nimble-witted Chinese merchants. And this is one of the reasons for the deep-seated hatred which both the Mongolians and the Tibetans have for their Celestial neighbours."

In my *Notes on the Burmese System of Arithmetic, Indian Antiquary*, XIX, 55 ff., it is noted that "it seems to be certain that the Burmese obtained what mathematical knowledge they possess from their priests and astrologers with their religion and civilization generally, and that it is directly of Hindu origin." . . . . Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, the mathematician, informed me that a system of arithmetic nearly corresponding to that of the Burman is still in vogue all over India among Hindu astrologers." . . . . Precisely the same thing appears to have happened in Tibet: for whatever the truth as to the real date may be, there appears to be no doubt that the Tibetans claim to have received their mathematical knowledge directly from India with their religion in the second century B.C., and when I was, about a year ago (1890), explaining the Burmese arithmetic on a blackboard before the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, Babu Sarat Chandra Das, the Tibetan scholar, at once recognised portions of the Burmese system as still current in Tibet. With the Babu was a Lama who further shewed on the board that the system taught him in the indigenous monastic schools in Tibet was much the same. . . . . The Burmese system of arithmetic is specially adapted to mental processes . . . . They commence addition sums by adding the hundreds, then the tens and lastly the units, as do all Hindus and Bank clerks also in England on the reverse system to that used by Europeans on paper. Subtraction is to the Burman, however, a complicated affair and multiplication is a science requiring much exercise of brain power. Division is a very complicated process . . . Burmese arithmetic arose naturally out of a system of notation, which was merely one of writing numbers exactly as they were spoken [1000-100-99=1199; I have seen municipal carts so numbered in Mandalay]."

2. Currency.

"The basis of money (p. 112) in Tibet is the *trangka*, approximately five of which, according to present rates [1923] of exchange, make a rupee, or 1*s*. 3*d*., so that a *trangka* is about a fourth of a shilling. These are supposedly made of silver, but of silver so debased that I wondered if empty tin cans did not form a large item in the purchases of the Lhasa mint, where these and all other Tibetan coins are made. Even *trangkas* are somewhat rare and most of the peasants concern themselves only with the smaller divisions of the *trangka*. These smaller denominations are coined from various copper alloys. The most important are :—

1. The *kakang* or one-sixth of a *trangka*.
2. The *karmanga* or one-third of a *trangka*.
3. The *chegya* or one-half of a *trangka*.
4. The *shokang* or two-thirds of a *trangka*.

This curious division of the mint results in a good deal of extraordinary calculation in Tibet, where the peasants are completely lacking in a mathematical sense."

[It ought, however, to be a very simple matter of calculating prices on such a system for the Tibetan peasant. For to him, if we take the *kakang* as the base of his monetary system, prices are calculated thus:

2 *kakang* make 1 *karmanga*.
3 *kakang* make 1 *chegya*.
4 *kakang* make 1 *shokang*.
6 *kakang* make 1 *trangka*.]

The Tibetan monetary scale, however, is not so complicated as many an European and Asiatic scale in civilised countries has been in quite recent times. See Temple, *Obsolete Tin Currency and Money in the Federated Malay States*, 29 ff.

The Tibetan *trangka* appears to be connected with a universal Asiatic unit of coinage, the *ṭakâ* : Indian *tankâ*, Siamese, *tickal :* Persian, *dâng* : Russian, *dengî* ; Burmese, *dingâ.* See *Indian Antiquary*, XXVI, 235 ff.

As to debasing silver, a common practice everywhere, the alloy in Burmese silver under native rule varied in 1885 from 2½ % to 90 %. *Indian Antiquary*, XLVIII, 11.

There was under native rule some confusion in the name of the half-rupee but none in practice. Thus 10 *mû* made 1 *kyat*, which represented the Indian Government rupee. So 5 *mû*=half a rupee. But in India 16 *annas* made 1 rupee ; so 8 *annas*=half a rupee. This the Burmese understood, but in conversation they always called the 8 *anna*-piece a 5 *mû*-piece. There was no practical confusion as the terms 8 *annas* and 5 *mû* were mere conventions and the coins they represented were always understood.

3. Prices.

" If the accommodation (p. 155) in a Tibetan rest-house is poor, and service practically non-existent, yet we certainly could not complain as to the amount we had to pay as *nela*, or rent, which, apart from supplies purchased, was only a *chegya* or half a *trangka*, approximately 1½*d*., and this for a party of five."

4. Distance.

" The Tibetans are, indeed, extraordinarily inexact (p. 190) in their methods of measuring. For calculating distance I heard mention of only three terms. One of these was *kosatsa*, literally, the distance the voice carries, but which in practice seemed to vary from one to five hundred yards. The second was *tsapo* or *tsasa*, or a half march, ranging from five to ten miles, and finally a *shasa*, a full march, which meant anything from ten to twenty miles."

The Tibetans, however, do not seem to be more inexact than other nationalities in measuring distances. Anything approaching exactitude in measuring a mile in England is comparatively quite recent, not 200 years old. So the measurement of a *kos* (now two English miles) in India is still often very vague. " Clodhoppers " all over the world are very vague in measuring distances.

In Burma says Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 552, " a stone's throw is from 50 to 60 yards and ' a call ' about a couple of hundred yards : ' a musket's sound ' is half an English mile : ' morning meal's distance ' is as far as a ' man can walk between sunrise and breakfast time,' say six English miles : a *mû*, the eighth of a *taing*, is a quarter of a mile : a *mah* is half a mile : a *ngâ-mû*, literally 5 *mû*, is half a *taing* or English mile."

5. Time.

" As regards time (p. 191) they are equally vague, though they have a larger number of terms. Among the phrases I heard most frequently employed in this connection were :

nyima	=	daytime.
tsen or gongmo	=	night-time.
chake-tangpo	=	first cock-crow.
chake-nyipa	=	second cock-crow.
torang	=	just before dawn : ' false dawn.'
tse shar	=	sunrise, *lit.*, ' peak-shining.'
shokke	=	early morning.
tsating	=	late morning.
nyin-gung	=	midday.
gongta	=	afternoon.
sa-rip	=	dusk.
nam-che	=	midnight.

"Owing to the greater exactitude of the European system of the measurement of time, the Tibetans who have come into contact with life in India have learned to understand and even employ European reckoning of the hours. Curiously enough, this is quite irrespective of whether they have watches or not. A certain position of the sun in the sky means to them three p.m., and so on."

As a matter of fact, the Tibetans employ the same methods of reckoning time with sufficient accuracy for their wants as do other peoples who have no watches. Their divisions of the day and night correspond with those of the Nicobarese and Andamanese. The Nicobarese are a semi-civilised people of ultimate origin in Western Chinese highlands, and the Adamanese are savages who cannot count, and yet they divide their days and nights with sufficient accuracy by the same process as the Tibetans.

The Burmese adopted the Indian system of watches of uneven length for daylight and dusk—four watches, nominally three hours each.

In Burma again Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 553 f., tells us that "in the smaller villages and towns time is only roughly indicated by a reference to the position of the sun or the moon or to a certain daily occurrence taking place at a fixed time, as 'in the morning when the sun was as high as a toddy palm': or before the sky was light: when the light got strength (about half-past five): the earliest cock-crowing time; when the monks go a-begging (six or seven in the morning, according to the custom of the monastery): the monks returning time (usually about eight, but varying, of course, with the charity of the neighbourhood): after midday: sky closing time (about six p.m.): 'brothers don't know each other time' (just after dark): when the lamps are lighted: children's go to bed time (about eight): lads go courting time (about the same hour): when grown up people lay their heads down (ten in the country, twelve with *kâlathas* of the town): all the world quiet time: *thagaung-gyaw* 'the wee short hour ayont the twal': when the red star rises—all these and a multitude of others are in common everyday use."

In Burma "a breath's space" serves to denote a moment; "the chewing of a fid of betel" occupies ten minutes; "the time it would take to boil one pot of rice," twenty minutes.

6. The Calendar.

"The first of these [pageants] took place on March 3 [1923], which (p. 317) was the fifteenth day of the first Tibetan month, and as the Tibetans have a lunar calendar, the night of every fifteenth is marked by the full moon." [It is a pity that Dr. McGovern has not told us whether the Tibetans reckon by thirteen months in the solar year.]

Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 549, tells us that "the ordinary year in Burma consists of twelve lunar months of 29 and 30 days alternately. Every third year a thirteenth month is intercalated between the fourth and fifth. The date on which the year begins in the month of April was determined by the calculation of the Royal astronomers in Mandalay, and published throughout the country by the monks and district officials."

ST. THOMAS IN IOTHABIS, CALAMINA, KANTORYA, OR MYLAPORE.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T., TRIVANDRUM.

THE Rev. Fr. H. Hosten's article entitled 'Is St. Thome in Civitate Iothabis ?' published in *The Indian Antiquary* for March 1931 is the same as the one published by him in *The Catholic Register* (of Mylapore) for June and July 1930. My reply to it appeared in the August number (page 12) of the same magazine.

I stated in that reply : "I got the text of the entry in Codex Fuldensis relating to the burial place of St. Thomas from Dr. F. C. Burkitt, of Cambridge. The date 546, too, was supplied by Dr. Burkitt. I do not know if Dr. Burkitt himself is 'responsible for deciphering the name from the Codex.' See *Kerala Society Papers,* Series 6, p. 292, for Dr. Burkitt's text."

Further information about the entry in the Codex was very kindly supplied by Dr. Burkitt in his letter to me from Cambridge dated 6th September 1930. He says : "Cod. Fuldensis, 546 A.D., has between Hebrews and Acts a list, by the original hand, of the places where the Apostles' bones were lying. It says

ThOmaS · IN INdIa · IN CIUITaTE IOThaBIS

"This is not a regular facsimile, but it will give you an idea of the writing, which is quite clear and regular. So far as I know there are no copies of the list in Cod. Fuldensis."

In his letter Dr. Burkitt imitates the lettering of the original, but the above copy of it will only indicate which of the letters are capital and which small as they appear to me in his copy.

This is what Dr. Burkitt had said in *Kerala Society Papers* (*loc. cit.*) :—

"Finally it may be remarked that Codex Fuldensis, the famous MS. of the Latin Diatessaron, written for and corrected by Victor, Bishop of Capua in 546 A.D. has a list of where the Apostles are buried. The entry for Thomas is

THOMAS · IN INDIA · CIVITATE IOTHABIS

The elucidation of this notice I leave to others, but it is so ancient that it ought not to be forgotten in discussions on this subject." (Here an *in* is inadvertently omitted before *civitate.*)

Dr. Burkitt's letter of 6th September 1930 quoted above says that St. Thomas's "bones were lying" *in civitate Iothabis.* May we assume that the author of the entry in the Codex meant the city where St. Thomas's body had originally been buried in the first century, and not some other city in the vague India of olden times, where some portion of his bones was actually lying (as in Edessa) or supposed to be lying ? (An Ethiopic version of *The Acts,* thirteenth century, has Kantorya, instead of Iothabis and Calamina.)

* * *

Now Fr. Hosten attempts to identify Iothabis of the Codex of 546 A.D. with Mylapore, as he "cannot twist the tradition away from the tomb at Mylapore." But no one has yet been able to prove that the tradition that St. Thomas lies buried in Mylapore existed in the early centuries of the Christian era.

From Marco Polo's statement in about 1300 A.D. we can infer that there was such a tradition in his days in Mylapore. And Fr. Hosten endeavours to bridge over the very wide gulf of thirteen centuries between St. Thomas's and Marco Polo's times by means of

(1) Mar Solomon's Mahluph (about 1222 A.D.)
(2) Hulf or Hulfa of medieval German accounts, which he says goes back to the account (about 1122 A.D.) of an Indian bishop
(3) Calamina extending from Barhebraeus (thirteenth century) back to St. Isidore of Seville (about 560 to 636 A.D.)
(4) King Alfred's embassy to India (A.D. 883)
(5) The church and cross on St. Thomas Mount near Mylapore (about 825 A.D.)
(6) The church and monastery of wonderful size visited by Theodore (before 590 A.D.)

(7) The Indian monastery of St. Thomas existing in Zadoe's time (say between 350-390 A.D.)

(8) Christians in South India about 290-315 A.D.

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We shall briefly examine the several parts of this bridge.

1. According to Budge's edition (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886) of Solomon's *Book of the Bee*, the sentence mentioning the burial place of St. Thomas has another reading which does not contain the name Mahlûph. Budge's translation runs: "Others say that he was buried in Mahlûph, a city in the land of the Indians [the Oxford MS says he was buried in India]." (See Medlycott's *India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905, p. 38.)

2. I do not know if the Indian Bishop, who, coming from the town where was St. Thomas' tomb, appeared at Rome about 1122 A.D., specified the name of the town as 'Hulf or Hulfa.'

3. Reliance cannot be placed on my identification (in *The Indian Antiquary* for 1924, pp. 93—95) of Calamina with Chinnamalai, the Little Mount near Mylapore. It was nothing more than a surmise based on nothing better than a Malabar tradition of the Portuguese period. When the authenticity of that tradition itself is open to question, how could my surmise based on it be accepted and made the basis of an argument? In my letter itself (in *The Catholic Register* for April 1930) which called forth Fr. Hosten's article under consideration here, I had said in so many words that "my identification of Calamina with Chinnamalai is, of course, open to question."

Previous to the above identification of mine in 1924 Calamina had been identified (1) with Kalyān near Bombay; (2) with Min-nagara of the *Periplus* (by Cunningham in *Archæological Survey of India*, Report for 1863-4, p. 60); (3) with Kalama, a village on the west of Gedrosia, opposite the island of Karbinê or Karmina (by Gutschmid); (4) with Carmana, the capital of the well-known ancient country Carmania Propria in Persia, on the west of Sîstân, which is on the south-west frontier of Afghânistân (by W. R. Philipps in *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 149); and (5) with Kalah, which is either a place on the Malaya Peninsula, or Point de Galle or some ancient port on the south-east coast of Ceylon formerly known as the Galla country (Medlycott in his *India and Thomas*, 1905, pp. 156 and 158).

These, like my identification and those by Fr. Kircher, Baldaeus, Fra. Paulinus, Fr. Bernard, Mr. F. A. D'Cruz and some others are mere speculations. They may or may not be right. It is not wise, therefore, to base any argument on any of them.

Thus we find that one long portion of Fr. Hosten's bridge, extending from about 1250 back to about 600 A.D., is weak.

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4. As for King Alfred's embassy taking alms (883 A.D.) "to India to Saint Thomas and Saint Bartholomew," according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the earliest document on the subject, no one can say for certain which part of the world the alms for St. Thomas actually reached.

Nor can one assume that since a 'tomb of St. Thomas' existed at Mylapore in the thirteenth century it had been to Mylapore itself that King Alfred's alms were taken in 883 A.D.

According to Dr. Mingana, "The mention of Bartholomew renders almost certain the opinion that King Alfred's India was not India at all, but South Arabia or Abyssinia."—*Early Spread of Christianity in India* (Reprint) 1926, p. 21. Says Dr. Mingana: "the expression 'Great India' is used of Ethiopia and Arabia Felix combined" in a passage of Michael the Syrian's history.—(*Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13, 63.) "Indeed, many other writers count as integral parts of India some localities situated in Persia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan. So the great Michael the Syrian clearly mentions the city of Kabul, in present Afghanistan, as part of India. Another writer, supposedly of the end of the fourth century, counts Ceylon as India." (*Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.) "It is impossible to resist the temptation to believe that the

knowledge of many ecclesiastical writers of the West concerning India was very limited, ... To some of them India seemed to represent a generic name for all the dark peoples of the East, or like Gog and Magog, to represent any Far Eastern country of which little was known."—(*Ibid.*, p. 13.)

And " Spiegel has clearly shown (in *Die arische Periode*, p. 118) by sufficient references that, at least in Sassanian times and doubtless earlier, there prevailed an idea of an India in the west as well as an India in the east." . . . . " the territory of Arachosia which corresponds to the modern province of Kandahar, was known, at least in later Parthian times, as 'White India' ('Ινδική Λευκή). This we have on the authority of the geographer Isidor of Charax (first century A.D.), who, when mentioning Arachosia as the last in his list of Parthian provinces, adds (*Mans. Parth.* 19) 'the Parthians call it "White India." ' "—(*Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, pp. 325, 326.) Regarding the realms of Kabul and Sîstân, the French savant James Darmesteter says (*S.B.E.*, 2nd ed., IV, 2) that " Hindu civilization prevailed in those parts, which in fact in the two centuries before and after Christ were known as White India, and remained more Indian than Iranian till the Musulman conquest."

Now, when in 883 A.D. King Alfred vowed to send alms to Rome and to India, to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew (Thorpe, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II, 66), neither the king nor Sighelm and Aethalstan who conveyed the alms to Rome, nor even Rome must have had any idea about the actual locality of St. Thomas to which it was to be directed. Nor is it clear whether King Alfred meant the alms for the *original* tomb of St. Thomas in India. To offer it at any of the localities where portions of the Apostle's bones were treasured would have satisfied the king and the embassy, and the Pope, whom they visited and must have consulted. And we know that after 22nd August 394 A.D., when the casket containing the bones of St. Thomas in Edessa was taken from the old church to the new basilica in the same town, Bishop Paulinus of Nola (died 431 A.D.), Bishop Gaudentius of Brescia (died between 410 and 427), and Bishop Ambrose of Milan (died 4th April 397) had in their possession bones of St. Thomas in the places mentioned, all in upper Italy.—(Medlycott's *India and Thomas*, p. 45, note 1.) We see also from a sermon preached in 402 A.D. at Edessa on the occasion of an annual festival of St. Thomas, that " The relics of the just have gone round the world. . . Every corner of the earth holds a part of St. Thomas ; he has filled every place, and in each place he subsists entire. . . The barbarians honour Thomas, all people celebrate his feast this day" (very probably 3rd July) " and make an offering of his words as a gift to the Lord, " My Lord and my God ! "—(*Op. cit.*, pp. 106-108.)

From this it is not unreasonable to infer that St. Thomas's bones were enshrined also in many localities east of Edessa after 394 A.D. as they were in Nola, Brescia, and Milan to the west of it. One may infer also that Mylapore was one of those eastern localities treasuring some bones of St. Thomas after 394 A.D., the relics having been obtained perhaps from the casket in Edessa before its removal in that year to the new basilica of St. Thomas.

King Alfred's messengers perhaps offered his alms at one of such St. Thomas shrines in the East much nearer Rome than modern India. The " exotic gems and aromatic liquors," which William of Malmesbury says (about 1120 A.D.) the messenger Sigelinus brought back to England, could very well have been obtained in Arabia or Persia.

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5. The church and cross on St. Thomas' Mount do constitute a real, conspicuous landmark in the early history of Christianity in South India. The Pahlavi inscription around the cross is most probably of the ninth century A.D., while the cross (without the inscription) may date from some earlier century, say after 435 A.D., when Nestorianism was established in Persia. (See my *Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents*, Trivandrum, 1929, pp. 11—32, and *Kerala Society Papers*, Series 5, Trivandrum, 1930, pp. 267-269.) The

Mount cross inscription and the Quilon copper-plates are indeed the only sure and real landmarks between Cosmas (sixth century) and Marco Polo (thirteenth century).

6. Theodore's church and monastery cannot be affirmed to have been in Mylapore. Theodore's account found in Gregory of Tours (*In Gloria Martyrum*) does not contain anything that will help us to identify " the place in the country of India where he first rested " (*in loco regionis Indiae, quo prius quievit*). It may or may not be Mylapore. It may or may not be some place near Gondophares's capital, in North-West India, or Afghânistân and Balûchistân ('White India ' as already mentioned), in which two countries there were not less than five bishoprics in the period 420 to 497 A.D.—(*Kerala Society Papers*, Series 5, p. 257.)

It is indeed a thousand pities that we know only a little about Christianity in the kingdom of Gondophares and Eastern Îrân in the period before 420 A.D. Archæologists in that region seem to have found no Christian vestiges there yet. There is no harm in carrying on investigations there on the assumption that St. Thomas worked, died and was buried there, and not in South India.

* * *

7. As regards the Indian monastery of St. Thomas existing in Zadoe's time, Dr. Mingana says : " Putting all these facts together, I believe provisionally that it is possible to assume that the island was not Ceylon at all, but one of those small islands situated south of Baith Katrâye, on the way to Mazon and Oman," . . . (*Early Spread of Christianity in India*, 1926, p. 20.) As in the case of the church and monastery visited by Theodore (before 590 A.D.) this ' Indian ' monastery of the fourth century cannot at all be proved to have been in Mylapore.

8. Fr. Hosten says that I have myself shown " satisfactorily enough, that there were Christians in South India and in Malabar about 290—315."

In my *Malabar Christians*, p. 2, I said in December 1929 that " there were Christians in ' India,' which most probably is Malabar, about 354 A.D." At that time I took on trust Medlycott's identification of Theophilus the Indian's " Divu " with the Maldives. But subsequently I began to doubt the correctness of his identification and to ask whether Divu cannot be Diu South of Kathiawar, or Diul near the mouth of the Indus. The whole passage about Theophilus the Indian's mission has to be obtained and scrutinized again. (See p. 248 *infra*.)

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Fr. Hosten identifies Andrapolis of *The Acts of Judas Thomas* with Cranganore. It would be well if Fr. Hosten would publish his reasons for the identification.

CORRESPONDENCE.

In reference to Mr. P. Anujan Achan's article on " A Hebrew Inscription from Chennamangalam," which appeared in the July 1930 issue of this Journal (vol. LIX, pp. 134-35), Dr. Kurt Levy, Ph.D., of the Halle University, sends the following letter :—

Halle/Saale, April 16th, 1931.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Indian Antiquary*.

DEAR SIR,

The translation of the Hebrew inscription published in your journal, vol. LIX, p. 135, is to be corrected in several points.

We may read as follows :—

" Praised be the true Judge, &c. [some words of a prayer].
The Rock, his work is perfect, &c. [Deuteronomy 32, 4].
This tomb (hides the remains) of Sarah, daughter of Israel—
God's spirit give her peace. In the year 1581 of (the era of)
contracts, 26 days in the month of Kislev."

Yours very sincerely,

KURT LEVY.

THE GÂYḌÂṆṚ FESTIVAL AND ITS PARALLELS.

(A Bihâr Cattle Festival and the Cult of the Mother Goddess.)

BY KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L., PRINCIPAL, D. J. COLLEGE, MONGHYR.

(Continued from page 190.)

Mr. Roy says that this festival of *Sohorai*—their only festival connected with cattle—has been adopted by the Oraons from the Hindûs. This being so, we can infer that some of the features connected with the *Sohorai* festival which are now not ordinarily found, or which probably for want of sufficient observation have not been described, or which have been forgotten, belonged to the original Hindû festival from which it has been derived. Anyway they are very interesting. The following points deserve notice :—

(1) The date for the celebration of the festival is the day following the new moon day of the month of Kârtik—thus coinciding with the day of the Hindû festival.

(2) Illumination on the Amâvaśya day agrees with the Hindû festival, and *gârsî vrata* in Bengal (which I shall describe later on).

(3) Bathing of the cattle in some tank or stream is also done in connection with the *gârsî vrata.*

(4) Worship, feeding and adorning of the cow agrees with the Hindû festival.

(5) Sacrifice of fowl to the cattle-shed spirit *Go Deotâ*, who is also called Lachhmî, is not found in the Hindû festival.

(6) Leading the cattle outside the *basti*, as the Goâlâs do in Shâhâbâd and other places.

(7) Sacrifice of a black pig in the same manner as in the *gâyḍâṇṛ.*

(8) Adorning the pig, washing its feet, anointing its forehead with vermilion, giving it *aruâ* rice to feed upon, etc.—Cf. adorning the pig with a chaplet of flowers and scattering *achhat* about its snout.

(9) The purchase of the pig by public subscription and the publicity of the ceremony, as in the Hindû festival.

(10) Dressing of Oraon boys from head to foot in straw and decoration with flowers.

(11) Going from house to house with music and dance and begging for gifts, as at Cawnpore at the Govardhan festival (see Crooke, *op. cit.*, p. 261).

(12) Driving away fleas and mosquitoes, as in the *gârsî vrata, navânna*, etc., to be described later on.

(13) Dressing in paddy-straw like women with make-believe babies on their back.

The last four practices may have originally belonged to the Hindû festival, but are now forgotten.

I will here comment on (1) the dressing of Oraon boys in straw, and (2) dressing in paddy-straw like women and bearing make-believe babies on the back.

(1) The practice of dressing up a person in straw, or sheaf of corn (generally the last sheaf) is widely prevalent, the meaning of which is to supply a human duplicate for the corn spirit. In Silesia the binder, and in Bavaria the cutter of the last sheaf is tied up in it. Similarly a person wrapt in branches of leaves represents the tree spirit. The decoration of the straw-dressed Oraon boys with flowers points to the same idea.

(2) In most cases the cutting and binding of the last sheaf, or for the matter of that, the harvesting, seems to have been, partly at least, the woman's business. She was therefore dressed up in straw in the first instance and her nearest approach would be a male attired like a female in straw ; and the straw babies were like the harvest child of north Germany, where a puppet is made of the last sheaf of corn, and the corn spirit is conceived as a child. The Oraon youth in straw dressed as a female may represent the old corn, and the straw baby, the new corn spirit, probably suggesting and thereby securing by symbolical magic uninterrupted agricultural fertility.

After the sacrifice of the pig, the procession of the straw-dressed Oraon boys went with music and dance from house to house collecting grain and money. Another thing deserves

attention. Mr. Roy says that after the pig has been killed, the village Ahîr or herdsman goes dancing and playing on drums to the house of the village *pâhân* (priest), whose wife washes his feet, gives him rice-beer to drink and reverently anoints his staff with oil and vermilion. Then the Ahîr goes home and, taking his wife with him, proceeds to visit each family whose cattle he grazes. The village Gorait musicians follow them playing on drums, and at each house the Ahîr sings and dances, the purport of which is to bring luck to the cattle-owner.

It has not been mentioned what happens to the pig after it has been killed, whether the carcase is eaten or carried in procession. If carried in procession it would furnish a parallel to the procession that in Europe follows the ceremonial hunting of the wren, chanting a rude rhyme while going to every house to collect money, after which the members of the procession bury the wren in the parish churchyard, singing dirges over her, and then they form a circle and dance to music. The taking in procession of the sacred animal before or after death to each house or through the village was done with the object that a portion of the divine virtues that are supposed to emanate from the dead or dying god might accrue to such house or village. Frazer says[6] that such religious processions had great place in prehistoric times and traces of them have survived in rude folk-custom : " On the last day of the year, or Hogmanay as it is called, it used to be customary in the Highlands of Scotland for a man to dress himself up in a cow's hide to go from house to house attended by young fellows each of them armed with a staff to which a bit of raw hide was tied. Round every house the hide-clad man used to run thrice *deiseal* [*pradakṣiṇa*]. Others pursued him, making a noise like drum by beating the hide with their staves. The man stood on the threshold and blest the family,—' May God bless the house and all that belongs to it, cattle, store, etc.' "

I shall notice a few instances in other parts of India where the pig is sacrificed for the benefit of the cattle. While describing the worship of the village deity Peddamma, the great mother, in the Telugu country, Bishop Whitehead relates : " A pig is buried up to the neck in a pit at the entrance of the village, with its head projecting above the earth. The villagers go in procession to the spot, while one of the Madigas carries the rice, soaked in the blood of the lamb, in a basket. *All the cattle of the village are then brought to the place and driven over the head of the unhappy pig, which is, of course, trampled to death*, and as they pass over the pig, the blood and rice are sprinkled upon them to preserve them from disease."[7] He relates, further on, in describing the worship offered to Pallalamma at Gudivada : " In the evening a cart is brought to the image with nine pointed stakes standing upright in it, two at each of the four corners and one in the centre : on *each stake a young pig*, a lamb or a fowl is impaled alive. A Mâlâ, a *Pambala*, i.e., hereditary priest, then sits in the cart *dressed in female attire*, holding in his hand the clay image of the goddess which was made for the festival. The *cart is dragged with ropes to the extreme boundary of the village lands and both cart and ropes are left beyond the boundary*."[8] Living animals were impaled in many villages and though discontinued at Ellore, where they were tied to the stake instead of being impaled, the cruel custom still survives. Swinging sheep by the hook in a festival celebrated in honour of Arikalamma has replaced the swinging of men by means of iron-hooks fastened to their backs.

The pig is also sacrificed as a remedy against cattle disease. " Sometimes," continues the Bishop, " when there is cattle disease, a pig is buried up to its neck at the boundary of the village, a heap of boiled rice is deposited near the spot, and then all the cattle of the

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6 *The Golden Bough*, pp. 537 f.

7 Whitehead—*The Village Gods of South India*, 1921, p. 53.

8 *Ibid*., p. 58. (Italics are mine.)

village are driven over the unhappy pig." He quotes Thurston, *Ethnographical Notes in Southern India* (p. 507):

" In former times the Lambadis, before setting out on a journey, used to procure a little child and bury it in the ground up to its shoulders, and then drive their loaded bullocks over the unfortunate victim. In proportion to the bullocks thoroughly trampling the child to death, so their belief in a successful journey increased."[9]

It will have been noticed that the only difference in this charm to secure the success of the journey, or *yâtrâ*, is that a child was sacrificed instead of a pig. Evidently originally human sacrifice was offered, subsequently pigs, lambs, fowls, etc., being substituted.

The Bishop very cogently remarks : " It is possible that this custom of driving the cattle over the head of a buried pig may be connected with the worship of an agricultural goddess, since in ancient Greece the pig was sacred to agricultural deities, e.g., Aphrodite, Adonis and Demeter ; but it may also be a survival of some former custom of infanticide or human sacrifice such as prevailed among the Lambadis."[10] Dr. Elmore says that "it is a common custom of the Lambadis to bury a pig leaving the head above ground when they are about to start on a journey. The cattle are then driven over it and trample the pig to death. This appears to be a survival of the practice of human sacrifice. The same custom of burying pigs alive was noticed above in connexion with the worship of Nadividhi Śakti. The similarity in the two rites points to a common origin. It may be that, as the Lambadis have adopted many gods from the Dravidians, they have adopted this custom, too, because of the difficulty of obtaining human sacrifices....Another informant, one of their own number, admits human sacrifice, but says that it has ceased within the past ten or twelve years because of the vigilance of the government. He says that the cattle do not trample the victim, but rush by on either side, while the victim is left to die of starvation unless some passer-by rescues him."[11]

The following account of ceremonies observed when founding a new village in the Telugu country is interesting :

" An auspicious site is selected and an auspicious day, and then in the centre of the site is dug a large hole in which are placed different kinds of grain, small pieces of five metals, gold, silver, copper, iron and lead, and a large stone called *boddurayee*, i.e., navel-stone, standing about three and a half feet above the ground, very like the ordinary boundary stone seen in the fields. And then, at the entrance of the village in the centre of the main street, where most of the cattle pass in and out on their way to and from the fields, they dig another hole and bury a pig alive. This ceremony would be quite consistent with either of the explanations suggested as to the origin of pig burying. The pig may be buried at the entrance to the village, *as the emblem of fertility and strength, to secure the prosperity of the agricultural community, the fertility of the fields, and the health and fecundity of the cattle.* Or it may equally be *a substitute for an original human sacrifice.*"[12]

The Bishop further refers to the custom at one time practised by the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills " to place female children, whom it was not desired to rear, on the ground at the entrance of the mund, i.e., a group of huts, and drive buffaloes over them " and to " the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance of a cattle pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not."[13]

Enthoven in his *Folklore of Bombay* connects the wild boar with the prevention against and remedy for cattle disease. " In Hubli and Karnatak a practice prevails of killing a wild boar and burying it feet upwards beyond the village boundary."[14]

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9 *Ibid.*, p. 59. 10 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

11 W. T. Elmore—*Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism*, 1925, pp. 43-45.

12 Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 60. (Italics are mine.)

13 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

14 R. E. Enthoven—*The Folklore of Bombay*, 1924, p. 316, and Intro., p. 22.

The following points call for consideration, viz. :—

(1) there is an indisputable connexion between the cattle and the pig ;

(2) the pig is sacrificed for the benefit of the cattle ;

(3) the pig is either tethered by means of ropes or buried up to its neck in the earth, in which state it is gored or trampled to death by the cattle ;

(4) in Bihâr in some places it is only cows which have calved recently that are set on the pig and kill it ;

(5) the idea of the pig-sacrifice is to *avert disease from cattle* ; and also from men, e.g., by warding off epidemic, as in the case of worship to Pallalamma in which a young pig is impaled ;

(6) in Madras the ceremony is performed at the *village boundary*, e.g., in the case of worship offered to Peddamma (or else the cart of Pallalamma is dragged to the *village boundary*, where both cart and ropes are left) ;

(7) the underlying idea is probably one of sin-transferring which is the same as disease-transferring, or the scape-goat in some of its phases ;

(8) originally the practice was human sacrifice, for which pig sacrifice has been substituted ;

(9) the sacrifice dates as far back as the pastoral state of society and still continues to be characteristic of people now leading a nomadic or pastoral life ;

(10) as subsequently cattle came to be used for agricultural purposes it came to be connected with agriculture, or else

(11) human sacrifice was originally connected with agriculture, i.e., the growing of corn, and therefore with the worship of the Corn Mother, Earth Mother, Mother Goddess, etc., and, as a result of the increasing difficulty of providing a human sacrifice, other animals were substituted, or even vegetables, etc. ; and this sacrifice was handed down to contemporary pastoral society ;

(12) the pig, though an abomination, was eaten by Bihâr Goâlâs, suggesting that it was a sacramental feast ; the pouring of wine by opening the mouth of the carcase being another noticeable feature ;

(13) the Râjpût idea of the identification of the pig with the Mother Goddess, and the relation between the sacrificer, the sacrificed and the object of sacrifice ;

(14) the pig represented evil, the demon, the killing of which must chase away evil and bring luck ;

(15) the annual character of the ceremony, either on the last day of the year or the first day of the year ; the different years and ceremonies attending on them ;

(16) the offerer of sacrifice is in some parts a woman, or in her stead a man disguised as a woman or a man with feminine tendencies or a hermaphrodite or man masquerading as such—of some low caste, suggesting non-Âryan origin ;

(17) the general idea is to secure prosperity to the community, whether pastoral or agricultural, by magic or religion, chasing away evil spirits by diverse means, e.g., by worshipping some goddess in her wrathful or benign aspects by some sacrifice originally human and then animal and vegetable.

PADIHÂRS.

BY JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, *Purâtattva-vichakshaṇa.*

TWENTY years ago, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar wrote his paper on 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population' in this *Journal* (Vol. XL, 1911, pp. 7-37). Mahâmahopâdhyayâ Rai Bahadur Paṇḍit Gauriśankar Hirâchand Ojhâ, in his Hindî history entitled *Râjpûtâne kâ Itihâs* (Vol. I), and Mr. C. V. Vaidya, in his *History of Mediæval Hindu India* (Vol. I, pp. 83 f.; Vol. II, pp. 27 f.), have tried to refute the arguments of the professor. We find, already published, some additional notes on the professor's paper in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Poona, Vol. XII, pp. 117-122 and 164-170. In the present article we will take up the case of the Paḍihârs and try to examine how far the two scholars have been successful in their attempts.

Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojhâ on page 147 of his book says: "The names of royal families such as Guhila, Chaulukya (Solaṅkî), Châhamâna (Chauhân) and others are derived from those of their founders, but Pratihâra is derived from the name, not of any founder of a royal family, but from the designation of a king's officer. For, the Pratihâra was one of the many officers of the state. His duty was to guard the door of the sitting place of the king or his palace gate. In the matter of this appointment there was no distinction of caste or creed; what was wanted was that the man should be worthy of confidence. References to *pratihâra* or *mahâ-pratihâra* are found in old inscriptions. In the vernacular they are called Paḍihâra. The term *pratihâra* is similar to *pañchakula* (pañcholî). In Râjpûtânâ, Brâhmaṇ Pañcholî, Kâyastha Pañcholî, Mahâjan Pañcholî and Śûdra Pañcholî are to be found. Like Pañcholî, Pratihâra does not indicate a caste. Both only indicate a post. For this reason in the inscriptions we find Brâhmaṇ Pratihâras, Kshatriya (Raghuvaṃśî) Pratihâras and Gurjara (Gûjar) Pratihâras. It is a mistake on the part of modern scholars to take all Pratihâras as Gûjars."

Let us now see how far the above remarks are justifiable. *Pratihâra* means an ordinary 'door-keeper.' It has got no restrictive sense, as the Rai Bahadur would make us believe, that is to say, that it was applied only to those door-keepers who guarded the doors of the king's sitting place or of his palace. It is not, again, true that *pratihâras* were appointed irrespective of caste or creed, for the *Śukra-nîti* distinctly tells us that only Śûdras are to be appointed as *pratihâras.*

"*Bhâga-grâhî Kshatriyas=tu sâhas-âdhipatiś=cha saḥ* || 19
Grâmapo Brâhmaṇo yojyaḥ Kâyastho lekhakas=tathâ |
Śulka-grâhî tu Vaiśyo hi Pratihâraś=cha Pâdajaḥ." || 20
(*Śukra-nîti*, Chap. II. Śrî-Veṅkateśvar Press.*)

It will thus be seen that according to the *Śukra-nîti* the office of a *pratihâra* could be held only by a *Pâdaja* or Śûdra, and not by a Brâhmaṇ, Vaiśya Kâyastha or Kshatriya, as the Rai Bahadur thinks. *Mahâ-pratihâras* and *pratihâras*, again, should not be confounded one with the other, as has been done by him. Vast is the difference of position between the two, as between an Inspector-General of Police and a police constable at present. The *mahâ-pratihâra* held a very respectable post, which used sometimes to be held by the king's own kinsmen.[1] So we see that a *pratihâra* was a menial servant. And it passes our comprehension why the Pratihâras should perpetuate this as a clan name, especially when they became kings, as it would clearly indicate their low status and origin. I am afraid the Paṇḍit has done them a distinct disservice by his explanation of the origin of the name Pratihâra. We could have believed it, if the name had been Mahâ-pratihâra, instead of Pratihâra. Again, if the clan had derived its name from that of the post held by its founder, we should have found some other instances of it among the Râjpûts. Can the Mahâmahopâdhyâya cite any? The powerful Peshwa has not become a clan, caste or class name.

* These verses are found on p. 202 of Jîvânanda's edition.

[1] Sandhyâkara Nandi's *Râmacharita*, II, 8 (Commentary), *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 190.

The respectable name of Senâpati had been used by Bhaṭârka and Pushyamitra even when they became kings. But did their descendants use it ? Of course, the historians speak of a 'slave dynasty,' but did the kings of this family style themselves as such ? In the present case we find that it is not others who called them Pratihâras, but they who styled themselves as such in their inscriptions. This clearly shows that the clan name, Pratihâra, cannot arise out of the name of a menial post held by some of their forefathers as the Mahâmahopâdhyâya thinks. We shall have to look for its explanation elsewhere.

The Mahâmahopâdhyâya has compared Pratihâra with Pañcholî, but they do not stand in the same category. The former is a clan name, while the latter is only a surname. Instances of names of posts being used as surnames can be found throughout India, but we do not know of any other instance of a clan being known by the name of a post.

Then again referring to the Jodhpur inscription[2] of Pratihâra Bâuka of V. S. 894 and the two Ghaṭiyâlâ inscriptions[3] of Kakkuka of V. S. 918, both of the Maṇḍor Pratihâra dynasty, the Mahâmahopâdhyâya writes on pages 148-149 of his book :—

" It is clear from these three inscriptions that there was a Brâhmaṇ named Hariśchandra, who was also called Rohilladdhi. He had two wives, one of the Brâhmaṇ and the other of the Kshatriya caste. The sons of the Brâhmaṇ wife were called Brâhmaṇ Pratihâras, and those of the queen (*râjñî*) Bhadrâ were 'wine-drinkers.' We thus find from these three inscriptions that Hariśchandra was a Brâhmaṇ and a door-keeper (*pratihâra*) to some king. From the word 'queen' applied to the second wife, Hariśchandra appears to have had some *jâgîr*. In the Jodhpur State Pratihâra Brâhmaṇs are to be found even now. They must be the descendants of Hariśchandra, the Pratihâra. His sons by his Kshatriya wife, Bhadrâ, according to the custom then prevalent, were 'wine-drinkers,' i.e., Kshatriyas. . . . . Hariśchandra must in the beginning of his life have served as a *pratihâra* to some king. He had four sons by queen Bhadrâ, namely, Bhogabhaṭa, Kakka, Rajjila and Dadda. They by their own might conquered the fort of Maṇḍor and built a high rampart round it. Rajjila was the eldest son."

Let us see how far the author is correct in his remarks. We are extremely sorry to note that he has made statements without authority, and in one case has omitted a most pertinent fact. In the first place, the name of the founder of the family is not Hariśchandra, but Harichandra. This mistake is repeated, not once, but several times, by him. Next, the Maṇḍor Pratihâras have stated not only that they were the descendants of Harichandra, a Brâhmaṇ, but also that they were the descendants of Râmabhadra's brother, who served as a door-keeper (*pratihâra*) to his elder brother, and hence they are called Pratihâras. It is nowhere, however, stated in inscriptions that Harichandra ever was a *pratihâra* to anybody. This is a gratuitous assumption or a subconscious conjecture to support the assertion that *Pratihâra* was derived, not from the personal name of the founder but from his office designation. Nor is it true that Rajjila was the eldest son, because from the order in which their names have been mentioned he appears to have been the third son of Bhadrâ. Surely this amalgam of truth, half truth and untruth is unfortunate. In support of our criticism we will quote the pertinent verses from the inscriptions :—

" *Sva-bhrâttrâ Râmabhadrasya prâtihâryaṃ kṛitaṃ yataḥ* |
Śrî-Pratihâra-vaṁśo=yam=ataś=cha=onnatim=âpnuyât || 4
Vipraḥ Śrî-Harichandra=âkhyaḥ patnî Bhadrâ cha Kshatriyâ |
Tâbhyân=tu ye sutâ jâtâḥ Pratihârâṃś=cha tân=viduḥ || 5
Babhûva Rohilladdhy-aṅko Veda-śâstr-ârttha-pâragaḥ |
Dvijaḥ Śrî-Harichandr-âkhyaḥ Prajâpati-samo guruḥ || 6
Tena Śrî-Harichandreṇa pariṇîtâ dvij-âtmajâ |
Dvitîyâ Kshatriyâ Bhadrâ mahâ-kula-guṇ-ânvitâ || 7

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 88.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 277.

Pratihârâ dvijâ bhûtâ Brâhmaṇyâṃ ye=bhavan sutâḥ |
Râjñî Bhadrâ cha yân=sûte te bhûtâ madhu-pâyinaḥ || 8
Chatvârś=cha=âtmajâs=tasyâṃ jâtâ bhû=dhâraṇa-kshamâḥ." |
(Jodhpur Inscription—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95.)
" *Âsît Pratihâra-vaṃsa-guru-sad-dvijaḥ Śrî-Harichandraḥ*
Anena râjñî-Kshatriya-Bhadrâyâ jâtaḥ Śrîmân=sutaḥ Śrî-Rajjilaḥ." |
(Ghaṭiyâlâ Inscription, No. I—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 279.)

From the Jodhpur inscription, we learn that Harichandra, a Brâhmaṇ, married two wives. The first of these was Brâhmaṇ, the second, *râjñî* Bhadrâ, Kshatriya, by caste. How could he marry a *râjñî*, i.e., a king's wife, unless she was a widow ? The Mahâmahopâdhyâya, apparently to explain away this anomaly, suggests that Harichandra probably had some *jâgîr*, i.e., he was a petty *râjâ*. But this also is a gratuitous assumption and an insult to the memory of Harichandra who was *Veda-śâstr-ârtha-pâraga*. Even if it is accepted as probable, it does not explain all the facts. Why should only Harichandra's Kshatriya wife be designated as *râjñî* and not his Brâhmaṇ wife ? Was this Brâhmaṇî not a real wife of Harichandra ? And if Harichandra was a *râjâ*, how is it that his Kshatriya wife alone, and not the Brâhmaṇî, became a *râjñî* ? The question therefore naturally arises: Was this a regular marriage, or did he simply beget sons on *râjñî* Bhadrâ, as was done by Vaśishṭha on the queen of king Kalmâshapâda ? It is true that the word *pariṇîtâ* has been used in the Jodhpur inscription. But the same inscription describes the Pratihâras as descended once from Harichandra, who was a Brâhmaṇ, and at another time from Râmabhadra's brother, who was a Kshatriya. How can both these things be possible, except on the supposition that it was a *mésalliance* ? This view is supported by the Ghaṭiyâlâ inscription No. 1, where there is no mention of a marriage at all. There it is simply stated that Harichandra was the *guru* of the Pratihâra-*vaṃśa*, and by him Rajjila was begotten on *râjñî* Bhadrâ. In the Jodhpur inscription Harichandra has been described as *prajâpati-samo guruḥ*. This may either mean that Harichandra was as venerable as Brâhmâ, the progenitor, or he was as venerable as father, i.e., procreator, but not legal father. The second alternative interpretation rather strengthens our doubt that it was not perhaps a regular marriage, but only a *niyoga*. We do not know if the system of *niyoga* was in vogue in Harichandra's time, i.e., in the latter part of the sixth century. If it was a marriage at all, it must have been a widow marriage. Could a Brâhmaṇ in that age marry a widow of any other caste ?

Paḍihârs are looked upon as Kshatriyas. Although the sons of Harichandra's Brâhmaṇ wife have been described as Brâhmaṇ Pratihâras, sons of his Kshatriya wife have nowhere been distinctly said to be Kshatriyas. They have been described at one time as Pratihâras and at another time as *madhu-pâyinaḥ*, i.e., " wine-drinkers.' The Mahâmahopâdhyâya has taken this in the sense of Kshatriyas. He means to say that, according to the custom of the time, Kshatriyas were wine-drinkers. We do not know that he has any authority for saying that the Kshatriyas were wine-drinkers in the latter part of the sixth century, to such an extent that the term ' wine-drinker ' was a synonym for Kshatriya. This doubtful compliment to the whole Kshatriya race is not supported by Mr. C. V. Vaidya. He writes in Vol. II, p. 202, of his book : " The kingly family too abstained totally from drink, from the evidence of the Arab travellers supported by the known example of the Guhilots of Mewâḍ. This is indeed still more creditable that being placed at the head of power the kings abstained from drink totally. Such self-abnegation in power is rarely witnessed in history. The ordinary Kshatriyas were temperate in drink and took *three* cups of wine only ! ! ! The Vaiśyas were probably total abstainers. The religious precept of the Smṛitis is that Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas should not drink liquor (*tasmâd Brâhmaṇa-Râjanyau Vaiśyaś=cha na surâm pibet*) . . . . Śûdras and others drank, for we have evidence in inscriptions that liquor was manufactured and was a good source of revenue." According to this the wine-drinkers, far from being Kshatriyas, fall under the category of ' Śûdras and others.' What is meant

by 'others' here ? According to Manu there are only four *varṇas*, and no fifth. The issue of a Brâhmaṇ by a Kshatriya wife cannot be a Śûdra according to any *smṛiti*. Who were, then, the Pratihâras born of Bhadrâ ? They were 'wine-drinkers.' Were they thus Śûdras, or 'others,' i.e., foreigners, according to Mr. Vaidya ?

Prof. Bhandarkar wrote[4]: "The marriage of a Brâhmaṇ with a Kshatriya woman, with the result as related in this inscription, is curious; and can only be accounted for as being of foreign importation." What he mainly questioned was whether the issue of a Brâhmaṇ by a Kshatriya wife could be a Kshatriya. Now let us see how far Messrs. Ojhâ and Vaidya have been successful in answering this question. Both have quoted the following verse from Manu, which says that the issues will be like (*sadṛiśa*) father but a little inferior, owing to the inferior status of the mother :—

"*Strîshv=anantara-jâtâsu dvijair=utpâditân sutân* |
Sadṛiśân=eva tân=āhur=mâtṛi-dosha-vigarhitân || (x. 6).

This did not help them at all. So Mr. Vaidya has taken this opportunity to give in a nutshell a history of the development of the caste system in India, and at the same time imputed to Prof. Bhandarkar something which he never said. "Moreover the marriage," says Mr. Vaidya, "of a Brâhmaṇ with a Kshatriya woman is not curious." This the professor never said; on the other hand he admitted that this was allowed by the *smṛiti*. Mr. Vaidya then says: "The race being the same, caste in ancient times among the Aryans was merely occupational. Hence Brahmins often married Kshatriya wives. In oldest times their progeny was treated as of the Brahmin caste. By degrees, however, caste became rigid and the progeny of such marriages was treated as intermediate between Brahmins and Kshatriyas. In further process of rigidification of caste the progeny followed the caste of the mother. Such was the case in about the sixth century A.D."[5] Scholars will note how precise Mr. Vaidya is about the time limit, 'the sixth century A.D.,' obviously to include just that time when Harichandra flourished. But can he cite from any *smṛiti* not later than the sixth century, that the progeny of a Brâhmaṇ by a Kshatriya wife, obtained by regular marriage ceremony with *mantras*, would be Kshatriya ? The verse quoted above from Manu shows that, though they were just inferior to the Brâhmaṇ, they were yet just superior to the Kshatriya in rank.

Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojhâ, on the other hand, has quoted from other *smṛitis* in support of his contention.[6] But he too does not appear to have attained better success. He has quoted some of the comments of the *Mitâksharâ* on verse 91, Chap. I, of the *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti*, which says that according to Śaṅkha the issue begotten by a Brâhmaṇ on a Kshatriya wife will be Kshatriya. But has he verified this from Śaṅkha ? We ask because we could not find it in the *Śaṅkha-saṃhitâ* published in Bengal. On the other hand, the verse of the *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti*, to which the comment refers, says that such issues will be *Murddhâbhishiktas*, as—

Viprâd=Murddhâbhishikto hi Kshatriyâyâm viśaḥ striyâm |
Ambashṭhaḥ Śûdryâṃ Nishâdo jâtaḥ Pâraśavo=pi-vâ ||

The Mahâmahopâdhyâya then quotes the following from the *Auśanasa-smṛiti* :—
Nṛipâyâṃ vidhinâ viprâj=jâto nṛipa iti smṛitaḥ

But we will invite his attention to two more verses from the same *smṛiti*, quoted below, which are contrary to this statement.

Vidhinâ Brâhmaṇaḥ prâpya nṛipâyân=tu sa-mantrakam || 23
Jâtaḥ su(sa)varṇa ity=uktaḥ s-ânuloma-dvijaḥ smṛitaḥ ||
Nṛipâyâṃ vipratas=chauryyât saṃjâto yo Bhishak smṛitaḥ |
Abhishikta-nṛipasy=âjñâṃ paripâlyet=tu Vaidyakam || 26

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL (1911), p. 24.
[5] *Hist. Med. Hindu Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 85-86.
[6] *Râjpûtâne kâ Itihâs*, Vol. I, p. 149, n.

If we carefully read these verses and those that follow, we find that the Brâhmaṇs used to procreate children on Kshatriya women in three ways :—

(1) By going through marriage ceremony with *mantras*. The children were *savarṇa* (the reading *suvarṇa* in the text is apparently a mistake), i.e., Brâhmaṇs. This is supported also by the *Mahâbhârata* (*Anuśâśana-parva*, Chap. 48, vs. 3-8), and by the *Kauṭilîya artha-śâstra* (Bk. III, Chap. VII, *pra.* 60);

(2) By clandestine means (*chauryyât*). The children were *Bhishakas*, i.e., physicians; and

(3) By *vidhi*, or ritual merely, without reciting any *mantras*. The children were Kshatriyas.

Now, as the Pratihâras claim to be Kshatriyas, they were perhaps the children of *vidhi*, probably *niyoga*. But there are certain objections to this supposition. The children of *niyoga* are not the children of the procreator, but of the man from whose wife (*kshetra*) the children were born. But here we find that the Pratihâras were the sons of the procreator Harichandra. The name of the king-husband of Bhadrâ is not even mentioned. Besides, if they were the sons of a Kshatriya king, they would have inherited some kingdom. But we find them described as acquiring power by their own exertion (*nija-bhuj-ârjjita*). They are not mentioned as Kshatriyas or kings, but as Pratihâras, *madhu-pâyinaḥ* and *bhû-dhâraṇa-kshamâḥ*, i.e., fit to be kings. They, therefore, appear to be the sons of the widow Bhadrâ, who was formerly the wife of a king, by Harichandra. As Harichandra was a Pratihâra, they are called Pratihâras.

That Harichandra was a Pratihâra Brâhmaṇ is clear, for we find that his sons by both the wives were called Pratihâras. We have already seen that it could not be due to his having held the post of *pratihâra*. He, being a Brâhmaṇ, was precluded from serving as a *pratihâra*, which according to the *Śukra-nîti* was reserved for a Śûdra. Even if it be admitted that he served as a *pratihâra* owing to some untoward circumstances, it cannot be believed that his sons, even when they rose into prominence, adopted this family name, which really smacked of servile origin. That they knew of this disadvantage attaching to *pratihâra* as a term of servile designation is clear from their attempt at an explanation, by saying in the Jodhpur inscription that they were the descendants of Râmabhadra's brother, who was a *pratihâra* to Râmabhadra. In the same plate, it is stated they were the sons of the Brâhmaṇ Harichandra. How are we to reconcile these two contradictory statements ? It appears to us that in the Ghaṭiyâlâ inscription No. 1 the unvarnished true facts have been stated, except that the word Paḍihâra has been sanskritized into Pratihâra. In the Jodhpur inscription, which was expressly written for the glorification of ancestors (*Guṇâḥ=pûrvvaṃ pûrushâṇâṃ kîrttyante tena paṇḍitaiḥ | guṇa-kîrttir=anasyantî svargga-vâsakarî yataḥ* || 2), some embellishments have found place. This is the reason why repetitions and contradictions are found in the Jodhpur inscription.

Now, if the clan name Paḍihâra or Pratihâra is not derived from the name of the post, to what is it due ? The only other plausible theory, which has gained ground is the theory propounded by Prof. Bhandarkar, according to which Paḍihâra itself is the clan name. These Paḍihâras, as their name indicates, were foreigners. On coming to India, they gradually became hinduized and were merged into different castes according to the different occupations they pursued. Their name, Paḍihâr, was sanskritized, to give it a meaning and derivation consistent with the Sanskrit language.

The Mahâmahopâdhyâya only admits of the existence of Brâhmaṇ Pratihâras, Kshatriya Pratihâras, and Gûjar Pratihâras, but in the quotation[7] given by him from the book of Bhâṭ Khangâr, we find other castes also among the Pratihâras, such as Bhâṭ, Mahâjana, Raibârî (rearers of camels, etc.), and Kumbhâr (potters). Besides, Paḍihâr is a division of the Ajmer Mers.[8]

We shall now examine the objections to the theory just set forth. Mr. Vaidya says : "The argument that foreigners becoming kings could enter the Kshatriya caste might be plausible though even that is weak but they could not become Brahmins for there could not have been any incentive to admit them as Brahmins " (Vol. I, p. 85). Mr. Vaidya may not

7 *Ibid.*, p. 168.

8 *Bomb. Gazr.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 493.

be able to find any incentive, but our scriptures and traditions furnish ample evidence to show that foreigners and even low castes in batches became Brâhmaṇs, not by severe austerities like those of Viśvâmitra, but by a simple process of purification, namely the fire of a funeral pyre, or by putting on a sacred thread. We have already shown in our " Some Additional Notes, etc.," referred to above, by quotation from the *Mahâbhârata* that the foreigners (*dasyus*) were absorbed into the four *varṇas*. There is a tradition among the Mastâna or Anâvalâ Brâhmaṇs that at one time Râma wanted some Brâhmaṇs. As there was a dearth of Brâhmaṇs, 18,000 hillmen were converted into Brâhmaṇs by investing them with sacred threads.[9] Other traditions[10] of similar nature are not wanting. The *Sahyâdri-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-purâṇa* will also supply some. The Mastâna Brâhmaṇs, also called Anâvalâs, are still cultivators. The Desais represent the higher section of these Brâhmaṇs.[11] By-the-by, Mr. Vaidya, speaking of the Jâṭs, says: " Though treated as Śûdras by modern opinion owing to their being agriculturists, and the practice of widow marriage, etc." (Vol. I, p. 87). If agriculture and widow marriage are the criterions of Śûdradom, how could these Mastâna Brâhmaṇs, who had been cultivators, become Brâhmaṇs and remain as such ? Is the marriage of widows unknown even now among some of the Brâhmaṇs and Râjpûts ? The Râjgors, otherwise called Râjagurus, the priests of the Râjpût chiefs, allow widow marriage and eat with Vâṇiâs and Kaṇbîs.[12] The thing is that these foreigners, when they became kings and were hinduized, required the services of priests, artisans, menials, etc., and they were primarily supplied from among their own tribe. This was a clear incentive to some of the foreign tribes to become Brâhmaṇs also. The process is still going on in society. We shall cite an example from Bengal. There is a sect named Jugi (Yogî). They are all also called Nâtha, as all of them use the surname of Nâtha. They were originally the disciples of Matsyêndranâtha and Gorakshanâtha, who made converts from all castes, high or low. They did not conform to the rites and customs of the ordinary Hindus, and were a religious sect by themselves. They did not observe caste, and they used to bury their dead even up to recent times. Now they burn their dead and observe rites and customs like other Hindus. As no Brâhmaṇs will officiate at their ceremonies as priests, some among them learn *mantras*, put on the sacred thread and officiate as priests. They are called Bâon Jugi or Jugir Bâon, i.e., Brâhmaṇ of the Jogis. In other respects they are like the ordinary Jugis. They will eat with the latter, and have matrimonial connections with them. Some of them have been following this profession for generations. Very recently some Jogis have set up a claim to be of pure Brâhmaṇ origin and say that through the tyranny of king Vallâlasena they were degraded.

Mr. Vaidya further says : " We need not stop to see whether Gurjara, the Sanskrit word, has been coined from Gujar by Sanskritists, though apparently there is no reason why they should have done so, for they could have pronounced Gujar as well as Gurjara, or whether Gujar, Gûjar, Gurjara names still surviving are the natural Prakrit forms coming out of an original Sanskrit word Gurjara." (Vol. I, p. 84.) Does Mr. Vaidya mean to say that difficulty of pronunciation was the only reason for sanskritizing a foreign word for adoption into the Sanskrit language ? Both Mr. Ojhâ and Mr. Vaidya have throughout changed the name Harichandra found in the inscription into Hariśchandra. Was it because they could not pronounce it, or was it to give it a Sanskrit look and correct it according to the Sanskrit grammar ? ' Hari ' was perhaps the name of the man, and ' Chandra ' his surname. Brâhmaṇs with the surname ' Chandra ' are found in the Tippera copper-plate grant of Lokanâtha[13] and the Neulpur grant of Śubhakaradeva [14] of about the eighth century. Any philologist will be able to tell Mr. Vaidya how and for what reasons foreign words have been adopted into the Sanskrit language and given a derivation from Sanskrit roots. Difficulty of pronunciation was not the reason.

Another argument of Mr. Vaidya to prove that foreigners could not gain the status of Kshatriyas within a hundred years of their coming into India, is that caste was not so

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 142. [10] Crooke's *Tribes and Castes of the N.W.P. and Oudh*, Vol. II, p. 145.
[11] *Bomb. Gazr.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, pp. 4-6. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [13] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 312. [14] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

fragile in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. He says that "the inscriptions of the Guptas and even of Harsha's father show that kings were particular in preserving the purity of caste (see Varṇavyavasthâpanapara applied to Prabhâkara Vardhana, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 200)."[15] In the first place, the reference given here by Mr. Vaidya is wrong. It is not *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 200, but *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 210. Secondly, what we find there is the transcript of the Banskhera plate of Harsha. Mr. Vaidya, however, thinks that it is an inscription, not of Harsha but of his father, of whom no record is yet known to any epigraphist or historian. Thirdly, he most strangely overlooks the fact that the word *vyavasthâpana* means 'establishment' and not *rakshaṇa*, 'preserving,' as translated by him. Unless there was unsettlement, was there any necessity for settlement? This argument of his, far from establishing his case, goes to disprove it. That this state of unsettlement prevailed even to the end of the eighth century is evident from the inscriptions of Devapâla of Bengal[16] and Śubhakara of Orissa.[17]

"The existence of a Gûjar Karhada Brahmin family," says Mr. Vaidya, "is also of no importance as it may have got that name by even residence in Gûjar country as the addition of the surname Paṭavardhana suggests."[18] Is there any evidence to show that this family ever resided in Gûjar country? On the other hand, Campbell writes that the Navasârî Gûjar Karhâḍes in south Gujarât came from the south with some Marâṭhâ conquerors.[19] It is again not understood how the surname of Gûjar Paṭavardhana can disprove the fact that the family was originally of Gûjar origin. Can it not be that they were Gûjar by race and held the post of *paṭavardhana* as, for example, the Gûjar Pañcholî cited by Mr. Ojhâ. Besides Gûjars among the Karhâḍe Brâhmaṇs, there are Gûjars among the Marâṭhâs, Kolis and other castes in Mahârâshṭra. This also shows that Gûjar here is the name of a race which was settled in this province and absorbed into its various castes.

The Mahâmahopâdhyâya says that the Maṇḍor Pratihâras and the Pratihâras of Mahodaya, or Kanauj, are not of one stock. He calls the latter Raghuvaṃśî. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, on the other hand, writes: "As the available evidence goes, Harichandra must be looked upon as the earliest Pratihâra chief. The verse 5 of our inscription says that the sons that were born of Harichandra and Bhadrâ were known as Pratihâras and were wine-drinkers. This might imply a common origin for all the Pratihâra ruling class, and it is not impossible that the Imperial Pratihâras of Kanauj also branched off from this family. The two following grounds may be urged in support of this view, although the question cannot be finally settled till fresh evidence is available :—

(1) The common mythical tradition about the origin of the name Pratihâra, both tracing it to Lakshmaṇa, the brother and door-keeper of Râma.

(2) The community of names in the two families, such as those of Kakkuka, Nâgabhaṭa and Bhoja."[20]

Although we do not agree with him in all the details, we must say that there is much force in his argument.

Mr. Ojhâ says that Râjpût clans are called after their originator, but Pratihâra is named after the designation of the founder. Many Râjpût families or clans must, like Pañcholî, have thus been called Pratihâra. This being the case, there should be no bar to marriage among these different families or clans falling under Pratihâra. Do the modern Pratihâras, however, marry among themselves? If not, it shows that they are of the same stock, and Mr. Ojhâ's theory of the origin of the name of Pratihâra falls to the ground.

In the Ghaṭiyâlâ inscriptions, Kakkuka was satisfied with being a descendant of *Pratihâra-vaṃśa-guru sad-dvija* Harichandra and also with his *Pratihâra-jâti*. But his brother Bâuka's ambition could not remain satisfied with simply tracing his descent from Harichandra. Some explanation was considered necessary of their clan or *jâti*-name Paḍihâr, which has been sanskritized into Pratihâra. As the word *pratihâra* indicates servitude, it has been hinted that their forefather was not an ordinary door-keeper of an ordinary person, but a door-keeper of no less a personage than Râmabhadra, who was his brother. Here no

[15] *Hist. Med. Hindu Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 85.
[16] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 254.
[17] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 3, *l.* 2.
[18] *Hist. Med. Hindu Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 85.
[19] *Bomb. Gazr.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 497, n. 8.
[20] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 88.

indication has been given as to who this Râmabhadra was, or who his brother was. But the intention seems to be to point to Râma of the *Raghu-vaṃśa* and his brother Lakshmaṇa. Now Bhoja, belonging to the imperial dynasty, must have had greater ambition than that of the petty chiefs Kakkuka and Bâuka. He could not remain satisfied with the vague hint, nor with the ordinary meaning of the word *pratihâra*, a door-keeper, which after all is a badge of servitude, no matter whether it be of Râma, the incarnation of god Vishṇu or somebody else. So a grandiloquent exposition must be found for the word befitting the imperial dignity of his family. Therefore we find in his Gwalior *praśasti* that the poor Brâhmaṇ Harichandra has been left out altogether, and the genealogy begins with the Sun. And the name Pratihâra has been derived from *pratiharaṇa*, which means 'depriving, taking away, or destroying.' The incident referred to is the fight of Lakshmaṇa with Meghanâda as *Ślâghys=tasy=ânujo=sau Maghava-mada-musho Meghanâdasya saṅkhye Saumittris=tîvra-daṇḍaḥ pratiharaṇa-vidher=yaḥ pratîhâra âsît* || 3 ||

We have so far traced the genesis of the Pratihâras and seen how from the sons of a Brâhmaṇ by a Kshatriya wife they emerged as full-fledged Kshatriyas of the solar race. Is there any mention in the *Râmâyaṇa* or anywhere else that Lakshmaṇa earned the epithet of Pratihâra, so that his descendants came to be known as such towards the end of the ninth century A.D. ? Mr. Ojhâ has failed to quote any mention of their Raghuvaṃśî origin before that time. Where had they been from the time of Râma till the time of Harichandra in the sixth century ? Do not the different versions of their origin go to show the obscurity thereof and the fictitiousness of the stories ? There remains a very striking fact, that some of these reigning dynasties, such as the Châlukyas, Kadambas, Padihâras, Pallavas, etc., although they claim to be Kshatriyas, trace their descent from the priestly class. Why could not they at once lay claim to be Kshatriyas of the solar or lunar dynasties, which some of them afterwards did ! Was it because, according to the *śâstras*, there were no Kshatriyas after the Nandas ? Mr. Vaidya says that "Mr. Bhandarkar's treating the Châlukyas and Kadambas as of priestly origin is indeed ridiculous." Again, he says that "the progenitors of all castes or peoples in India are believed to be Ṛishis especially the seven Ṛishis."[21] We do not know who is ridiculous. Will Mr. Vaidya please state what is the source of his statement that all people in India are the descendants of the seven Ṛishis ? Mr. Vaidya considers it strange that Mr. Bhandarkar should seek to derive any historical inference from these imaginary legends about the progenitors of peoples, and again says that they are important only as traditions, and if traditions are long current they may be treated as proof of race. The Châlukyas of the Deccan looked upon themselves in their oldest documents as born of the Mânavya *gotra*, and hence they may be looked upon as Âryan in race. The Kadambas also thought they were born of the same *gotra*, and hence they also might be looked upon as Kshatriyas and allied in race to the Châlukyas.[22] We do not quite follow his arguments. Why could the non-Aryans on becoming kings not invent their genealogy ? Again, why should they not be looked upon as of Brâhmaṇ origin when they not only mention the *gotra* but also the name of their Brâhmaṇ forefather, as in the cases of the Kadamba and Châhamâna families ? We hope, however, to discuss this matter in some future article.

From the above we are inclined to conclude as follows :—

1. The Paḍihâra clan is of foreign origin. The words Paḍihâra, Rohilladdhi and Pellapelli are decidedly non-Sanskritic. This together with their habit of wine-drinking, even when hinduized, tend to prove this. The word Paḍihâra has been sanskritized, to give it a Sanskrit look and derivation.

2. Harichandra was a Paḍihâra Brâhmaṇ. His connection with queen Bhadrâ, who was a widow of some Kshatriya king, was perhaps a *mésalliance*,[23] or at best a widow-marriage. He was the procreator or founder of the Paḍihâra kings of Maṇḍor and possibly of Mahodaya or Kanauj.

3. This clan after coming to India became hinduized and merged into different castes according to their occupations. This is the explanation why Paḍihâras are to be found among different castes.

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[21] *Hist. Med. Hindu Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 86. [22] *Ibid.*

[23] For a similar instance, see *Padma-purâṇa, Pâtâla-khaṇḍa*, Chap. 102 (Ânandâśrama Series).

BOOK-NOTICE.

HARSHA (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1925), by Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., Itihâsa Śiromaṇi, Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, Lucknow University. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1926.

Chandragupta and Aśoka, Bâbur and Akbar are no longer figures of a dead past, whose names raise but few echoes in the hearts of the living. The story of their exploits and achievements has been recounted by scholars with a wealth of detail and a sobriety of judgment which bid fair to withstand the ravening tooth of time. But, strange as it may seem, Harsha, "the Akbar of the Hindu period," who was fortunate to have an eminent Indian biographer and an equally distinguished foreign panegyrist, is still without an up-to-date and authoritative history in the English language.

Under these circumstances it is only natural that we should gratefully receive it, when a work on the Kanauj Emperor comes from the pen of Dr. R. K. Mookerji. The book embodies lectures delivered before the Calcutta University as a Reader, and is now published as one of the Rulers of India Series. It consists of seven chapters entitled:—1. Early Life and Accession; 2. Campaigns, Conquests and Suzerainty; 3. Assemblies; 4. Administration; 5. Religion and Learning; 6. Economic Conditions; and 7. Social Life. Besides there are Notes, Index, Plates and a Map of India.

A perusal of the book, however, has greatly disappointed us. The author has collected his materials from various sources, but he has not shown much discrimination or critical judgment in sifting the materials which he has taken pains to gather from the storehouses of Fleet and Max Müller, Beal and Watters, Hoernle and Lévi, Cowell and Jackson, Ettinghausen and Panikkar, Vaidya and Smith, and a host of others. Much of the material collected is somewhat out of date and consequently of doubtful value.

Instances of inconsistency are fairly common. On page 41 of the book "Kajaṅgala" is mentioned as the ancient name of Râjmahal. But on pages 47, 75, and 85 the form "Kajughira," favoured by scholars whose views have become out of date, is restored. The author pays equal honour to Hoernle and Lévi, as Harsha did to Śiva and the Buddha. Thus on page 12 Queen Yaśovatî's brother is declared to be no less a person than the "Emperor" Śîlâditya of Mâlava, who is represented as the son of Yaśodharman "Vikramâditya," and the father of Bhaṇḍi. But on p. 31, n., Śîlâditya is "the original ruler of Valabhî to which he annexed Mo-la-po." The bewildered student is at a loss to find out how the imperial son of Yaśodharman of Mandasor can by a stroke of the pen be transformed into a ruler of the Maitraka line of Valabhi, and be still allowed to retain his blood relationship with Yaśodharman, Yaśovatî and Bhaṇḍi (an account of whose struggle with his "natural father" is alluded to on p. 17).

Besides these inconsistencies, we find inaccuracies. On p. 19 the responsibility for statements in the *Gauḍarâjamâlâ* is fathered on Mr. A. K. Maitra, giving Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda the cold shoulder. Similarly on p. 157 two passages[1] are borrowed from the *Priyadarśikâ*, pp. xl, xli, edited by Nariman, Jackson and Ogden, but are fastened upon Cowell and Thomas. But a stranger feat is the transference of the Vindhyaketu episode from the *Priyadarśikâ* to the *Ratnâvalî* (*vide* p. 153). On p. 29, n. 1, we have a reference to a country called Svarâṣṭra, alleged to be one of the five Indias of the Chinese pilgrims (notwithstanding Watters, i, 140). The wrong name is repeated on pp. 44 and 201. One wonders whether the Itihâsa-Śiromaṇi has even heard of the Sanskrit couplet:—

Sârasvatâḥ Kânyakubjâḥ Gauḍâ Maithil-Otkalâḥ
Pañcha Gauḍâ iti khyâtâ Vindhyasyottaravâsinaḥ.

Further proof of the author's up to date knowledge of geographical nomenclature is afforded by the reference on page 167 to Sankâśra(=Kapitha), and on p. 180 to Śrîbhoja, notwithstanding anything written by Coedès and Foucher (*Sir A. Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volume III*, Orientalia, Part I, pp. 3-4).

On page 145, n., the author expresses the opinion that "Harṣa seems to have had some touch with Christianity too. Dr. Edkins makes the statement that his court was visited by the Syrian Christians, Alopen, and his companions in 639 A.D. (*Athenæum*, July 3, 1880, p. 8)." Imagine our surprise when on opening p. 286, n., of Max Müller's "India, what can it teach us," 1883, we find the following lines: "Dr. Edkins (*Athenæum*, 1880, July 3, p. 8) informs us that the same emperor who received Hiouen Thsang, received with equal favour the Syrian Christians, Alopen, and his companions in 639 A.D." Unfortunately the author does not appear to know that the view contained in the passage, borrowed without acknowledgment from Max Müller, namely, that Christians came to India in 639 A.D., has been given up by scholars (*JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 839-40). And what is worse is, that if Prof. Mookerji had really examined the passage in the *Athenæum*, as he implies he has done, Mr. Rama Shankar Tripathi would not have been compelled to inform scholars that the original referred not to Harsha, but to the Emperor of China, who welcomed Hiuen Tsang on his return from India and also received the Syrian Christians, Alopen, and his companions (*JRAS.*, 1928, p. 629).

[1] "His gifts in poetry could hardly find expression in words";
"pouring forth in art-poesy and in stories a nectar unquaffed, etc."

Further proof of his knowledge of religious history is afforded by his calling Pâśupatas Pâṁsupatas on p. 121.

On page 54, n., we find reference to Îśânavarman's victories over the Śûlikas, and the author adds in a footnote: "The Śûlikas might be the Châlukyas. We know of a Châlukya king, Kîrtivarman I, extending his conquests up to Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, etc. (Mahâkûṭa Pillar Inscription)." On opening page 319 of the *JASB.*, N. S. XVI. (1920), we find the following note on the Śûlikas:—"Probably the Chalukyas . . . . . The Mahakûṭa pillar inscription tells us that Kîrtivarman I gained victories over the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Madraka, etc." There is no reference to this passage or its author in the book under review. On p. 67, referring to Fleet's Inscription No. 42, Dr. Mookerji says "*dṛiptârâti* . . . . . might be even Yaśodharman himself. The third king, Jîvitagupta I, made his power felt as far as 'seaside shores,' i.e., on the Gauḍas." Curiously enough, on p. 318 of the *JASB.*, N. S. XVI., referred to above, we have the lines "the *dṛiptârâti* may have been Yaśodharman"; "Jîvitagupta I succeeded in re-establishing the power of his family . . . . . The haughty foes on seaside shores were undoubtedly the Gauḍas." On page 105, n., Dr. Mookerji writes: "Some of the names of the *Bhuktis* of the Gupta empire are given in the epigraphic records; e.g., Tîrabhukti, Puṇḍravardhanabhukti and Nagara Bhukti." "*Sarveṣu deśeṣu vidhâya Goptṛîn.* Here the term *Deśa* stands for the province or *Bhukti*; other examples of this use are Sukulideśa, Surâṣṭradeśa, or Ḍabhâlâ-deśa of the Gupta Inscriptions. Similarly the term *Pradeśa* is sometimes used for *Viṣaya*, e.g., Arikiṇa called a *Pradeśa* in the Eraṇ Inscription of Samudragupta." In a book called *Political History of Ancient India* (by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri) published in 1923, three years before Prof. Mookerji's *Harsha*, we find the following lines on page 286 (1st edition):—"Among Deśas the Gupta inscriptions mention Sukulideśa, Surâshṭra, Ḍabhâlâ and 'Kâlindî Narmadayor Madhya' are also perhaps to be placed under this category. Among Bhuktis we have reference to Tîrabhukti, Puṇḍravardhama bhukti, Śrâvastî bhukti and Nagara bhukti. Among Pradeśas or Vishayas mention is made of . . . . Arikiṇa (called Pradeśa in Samudragupta's Eraṇ inscription . . . .)". "The Deśas were governed by officers called Goptṛis or Wardens of the Marches (cf. Sarveshu Deśeshu vidhâya Goptṛin)." Further comment is unnecessary.

The author of the book, again, is not as up to date as a History Professor of a University ought to be. His statement that Harsha received at his court Alopen and Syrian Christians has already been dealt with. Similarly, he does not know that a Viragal stone inscription has been found in Mysore which says that Harsha had penetrated as far south as this province during his expedition of conquest in the Dekkan and that a Pallava king called Mahendra fled in fear of him. An account of this epigraph has been given by Dr. Shama Sastry in the *Mysore Archæol. Report* for 1923, p. 83. Although the contents of this record were known three years before the book on Harsha was published, it is singular that Professor Mookerji has failed to take note of it.

ATUL K. SUR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DIVU OF THEOPHILUS THE INDIAN.

According to Philostorgius's account (423 A.D.) of Theophilus the Indian's mission of about 354 A.D. to the Sabæans of South Arabia, summarised by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*, the island home of Theophilus was Διβους, the inhabitants of which were called Διβηνοι. The Latin forms in which (according to Medlycott's *India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905, p. 190) these names are reproduced are *Divu* or *Divus* and *Divaei*. Medlycott (*op. cit.*, pp. 188-202) has attempted to establish that Theophilus's Διβους is the Maldive Islands, west of Ceylon. Unfortunately he has not given us the entire passage from Photius and the extracts "chiefly contained in Suidas' *Lexicon*." Photius's summary and the above-mentioned extracts are to be found in the Corpus of Ecclesiastical Historians with notes and Latin translation by Valesius, reproduced by Migne, P. G.-L., tom. lxv. Dr. A. Mingana gives the reference more specifically as Migne's *Pat. Gr.*, lxv, 481-489, although I doubt whether the 'extracts' will be found on those pages.

It has to be ascertained afresh whether Theophilus's island home Διβους is really the Maldives. Why can it not be Diu, south of Kathiawar, or Diul near the mouth of the Indus, or some other place?

I shall be greatly obliged if an English translation of the Theophilus passages from Photius, Suidas and other authors be published in *The Indian Antiquary* and scrutinized with a view to the correct identification of Διβους. Ammianus Marcellinus also, who mentions *Divu* and *Serendivu* (362 A.D.) has to be consulted for the purpose (his *History*, bk. xxii, ch. 3).

T. K. JOSEPH.

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TO

PART DCCLIX—A. VOL. LX—1931.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE BRITISH INDIA PRESS, MAZGAON, BOMBAY.

Agents for Europe and America :

BERNARD QUARITCH, LIMITED, 11, GRAFTON STREET, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON, W.

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Sc. stands for the Supplement, *The Scattergoods and The East India Company*, (continued from vol. LIX), pp. 75—114.

I.A.V. stands for the Supplement *On The Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, pp. 1—56.

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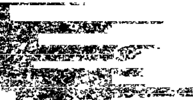
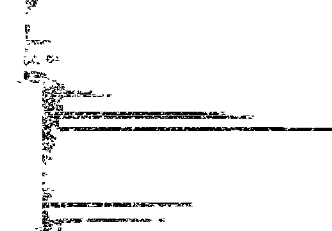
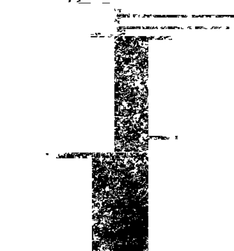
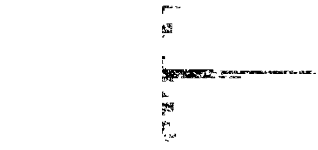
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